Imperative Clause Structure and its Realization in Old English Syntax:

A Corpus Study

by

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ABSTRACT

The nature of imperative syntax has remained an elusive, yet ever-present, subject in syntactic research, spanning several decades of linguistic inquiry and analysis, and it is therefore unsurprising that current views on the subject continue to be somewhat divided. This thesis examines the syntactic evidence from imperatives in Old English and ultimately seeks to develop a picture of the possibilities for imperative clauses in OE alongside an overall framework for imperative syntax within contemporary theoretical models of syntactic structure. The general, perceived pattern for OE imperative clauses (e.g. Millward 1971) is "verb-first," and statistical data from the corpora confirm this perception, with the majority of imperative clauses exhibiting the verb in clause-initial position. Imperative constructions with post- and preverbal overt subjects are also examined at length, and postverbal subjects are found to be the majority case. These results are further expanded by examinations of data from verb-second and verb-third contexts, which include possibilities for topicalized constituents and adverbs. Ultimately, the relative position of both the verb and the subject and the relationship between these and other elements in the totality of the data provide essential clues for constructing a clearer model of OE imperative syntax. Within a relatively rich cartographic framework (Rizzi 1997), I therefore argue that the imperative verb is standardly fronted to the head of ForceP, with the overt subject remaining in spec-FinP, in parallel with other models for imperative syntax and OE syntax. Exceptions to this pattern for imperatives which suggest lower positions for the imperative verb (e.g. verb-second and verb-third constructions) are also accounted for, all with the central goal of demonstrating a consistent pattern underlying the realization of imperative syntax in Old English.

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ABBREVIATIONS

*	Ungrammatical
'	Bar-level (marks merged head and complement)
^{0}	Head-level (marks head of projection)
$_{i,j,\ k,\ \ldots\ n}$	Trace identification
acc	Accusative case
ADV	Adverb
AspP, Asp	Aspect Phrase, Aspect
conj.	Conjunction/Coordinator
Coord.	Coordinate (clause)
CP, C	Complementizer Phrase, Complementizer
DP	Determiner Phrase
FinP, Fin	Finiteness Phrase, Finiteness
FocP, Foc	FocusP, Focus
ForceP, Force	Force Phrase, Force
FP	Functional Phrase
dat	Dative case
dem.	Demonstrative
gen	Genitive case
inf.	Infinitive (non-finite verb form)
IP, I, INFL	Inflection Phrase, Inflection
ImpNP	Imperative Noun Phrase
ModE	Modern English
ModP, Mod	Modality Phrase, Modality
MP	Mood Phrase

neg	Negation
NegP	Negative Phrase
nom	Nominative case
NP, N	Noun Phrase, Noun
obj	Objective case (indistinguishable case morphology)
OE	Old English
OV	Object-Verb
pl.	Plural number
PP	Prepositional Phrase
pron.	Pronominal
sbj.	Subjunctive mood
subj.	Subject
sg.	Singular number
spec	Specifier
ST	Speech Time
t_n	Trace
TopP, Top	Topic Phrase, Top
TP, T	Tense Phrase, Tense
vP/VP, V	Verb Phrase, Verb
V_{FIN}	Finite verb
V_{IMP}	Imperative verb
V1, V2, V3 ...	Verb-Initial, Verb-Second, Verb-Third ...
VO	Verb-Object
voc	Vocative case
YCOE	York-Toronto-Helsinki Corpus of OE Prose/Poetry

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Thesis

At its core, this thesis is concerned with the syntactic structure of imperative clauses. It is equally concerned with the language-specific properties of imperative clauses in the syntax of Old English. Because no single, formalized theory of imperative syntax has yet been fully developed within contemporary programs of syntactic inquiry, the expansion of our cross-linguistic body of knowledge on the subject is, I believe, particularly worthwhile, and the application of previous imperative frameworks and proposals to Old English data serves to further illuminate the strengths and weaknesses of such models. Taking these motivations into account, it is thus necessary for any discussion of imperative syntax to examine the varying positions on the subject, and it is particularly vital for a topic which seeks to expand such positions to a language largely unexamined by such theories thus far (i.e. Old English).

With these motivations in mind, this study will gather and analyze data on the occurrence of imperative structures in Old English (OE) prose and poetic texts, using both the *York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of OE Prose* and the *York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of OE Poetry* as sources for data-collection. The discussion of the data will ultimately serve as the foundation for constructing a framework of OE imperative clause structure, one which may also prove valuable for the purposes of generalization, bringing together elements of the major proposals for imperative clause structure that have been put forward. Therefore, the underlying goal of the analysis is to seek a consistent, underlying pattern that is capable of accounting for the range of variation exhibited within the category of imperative clauses not only in Old English, but also cross-linguistically.

The structure of this paper proceeds as follows: Chapter 1 continues with a broad overview of the theoretical elements vital to the interpretation of the data from the corpus study. These include the establishment of the theoretical stance of the study (in relation to the realms of e.g. linguistic Minimalism and Cartography), as well as certain basic aspects of abstract syntactic structure (the expanded IP/TP and CP domains, for example), which will be relevant to the ultimate conclusions of the study. Chapter 2 addresses the main topic of the study via a review of the body of literature on the properties of imperative clauses and a discussion of the major theories proposed to account for these properties. Chapter 3 continues with a brief overview of current views on Old English syntax, as well as a crucial description of how imperatives manifest in OE in relation to the properties set out in Chapter 2. Chapter 4 introduces the corpus study of OE imperatives, opening with an explanation of the methods of data-collection and analysis, followed by a quantitative, statistical collation of the data drawn from the two York-Toronto-Helsinki Old English corpora. Chapter 5 contains the subsequent evaluation and interpretation of the data, establishing the majority patterns in the context of previous theories on imperatives and ultimately making some conclusions and proposals to account for these patterns and their various exceptions.

1.2 Theoretical Background

1.2.1 Minimalism and Cartography

The linguistics program of Minimalism, as codified in Chomsky's 1995 work *The Minimalist Program* and developed in the later writings of Chomsky and others, seeks to discover the underlying principles involved in the generation of linguistic structures. In contemporary analysis, the precepts of Minimalism manifest in the conception of the inner-workings and representations of syntactic structures, i.e. the essential processes which function to generate syntactic structures within economic

constraints. Principles which characterize minimalist approaches to syntax include specific assumptions about the nature of syntactic configuration. The derivation of linguistic structures begins in the stage of "Narrow Syntax," which is assumed to remain constant cross-linguistically. All cross-linguistic variation is therefore assumed to be the result of variation in interfacing with the semantic-representational system (Logical Form, LF) on one hand and the phonetic-representational system (Phonetic Form, PF) on the other hand.

In terms of syntactic representation, pure Minimalism is characterized by principles such as "bare phrase structure" (i.e. the representational avoidance of all extraneous labeling of syntactic projections). Syntactic structures are built via Merge, both "external" and "internal," whereby lexical items are sequentially combined to form more complex constituents. Simplistically, the processes of Merge are driven by the necessity of valuing "uninterpretable features" instantiated upon certain projections in the clause by means of checking them with corresponding "interpretable features," all governed by principles of economy (locality, last resort, etc.).

The structure of the clause itself is traditionally cast as projecting in three distinct layers: a lexical vP/VP layer where semantic roles are assigned to arguments; an inflectional IP/TP layer encoding projections for tense, modality, aspect, and the assignment of grammatical/functional roles; and an illocutionary force/discourse information-oriented CP layer where complementizers are merged and which interfaces with systems of conversational and inter-clausal discourse. More recent work on "phases" seeks to define relationships between the construction of these layers (strong and weak phases) and the procedures of linguistic derivation (i.e. the process of "spell out"). While certainly not an exhaustive inventory, these fundamental principles serve to sketch a broad framework for syntactic analysis in Minimalism.

In general, the approach to syntactic structures defined as Cartography runs parallel to Minimalism with regard to many of the basic claims noted above. However, it does diverge at certain points, mostly involving issues of representation. The following concepts will serve to establish these differences: The first contrasts with minimalistic "bare phrase structure," since cartographic approaches make use of much more articulated phrase structures, labeled according to the functional content of each projection. Syntactic projections are arranged in consistent hierarchies, and proposals have been made in certain cases to establish a universal hierarchy of projections. Issues of syntactic movement and the mechanisms involved follow many of the same principles of Minimalism, but the focus of cartographic approaches is placed more upon the description of structures involving "interpretable features" than functional processes motivated by "uninterpretable features," etc.

The approach followed within the discussions to come will in some ways straddle the divide between these two programs. Although this might be deemed difficult in some cases, it should be noted that the major points of divergence between Cartography and Minimalism are, in essence, based on the analytical focus of the two frameworks, and neither totally excludes the other. The nature of features makes this quite clear, as both approaches assume similar feature-systems, but focus upon different areas of the system with different assumptions (interpretable features, projecting into a range of possible syntactic heads in Cartography; uninterpretable features, valued as a mechanism for driving movement/merge of constituents in Minimalism). Overall, however, I will lean more toward the framework of Cartography, as its articulated structures offer more freedom and capacity to account for the range of variations observed in the structure of languages in general, as well as in the specific case of Old English. Furthermore, the

advantages of a system at least partially cartographic in its approach will be seen in the analyses of imperative syntax discussed in Chapter 5.

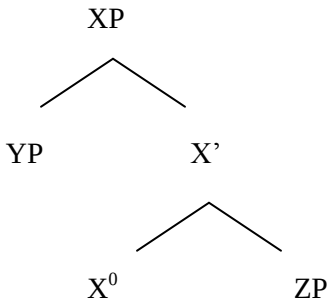
1.3 Syntactic Projections: Some Background

With the establishment of a basic theoretical position accomplished, it is now necessary to provide some color to the backdrop of analysis in the chapters to come. In light of this, a brief historical explanation of some of the important principles underlying a cartographic/minimalistic approach to syntactic structures is in order. In addition to a summary of the basics of X-bar Theory, two primary models that merit further description are related to the respective decompositions of the TP/IP (functional/inflectional) layer and the CP layer. The model for expanding the lexical VP layer into a vP > VP set of projections for the assignment of various semantic roles, a basic tenant of Minimalism in itself, forms the historical basis for these respective extensions of clausal projection, but a discussion of the expanded VP layer is not vital for the purposes of this thesis and will not be examined at length. See Larson (1988) and Baker (1997) for useful discussions on the subject of the VP-shell structure and the assignment of semantic theta-roles.

1.3.1 X-Bar Theory

The current representational system for clausal and constituent structure is based upon the model of X-Bar Theory, an invaluable innovation of contemporary syntactic models. As first developed by scholars such as Chomsky (1970) and Jackendoff (1977), X-Bar Theory essentially holds that syntactic structures are "head-driven," i.e. defined by a head X, which merges with a "complement." This merged head-complement pair projects to a single category, termed X' (X-Bar) level, which is then merged with a "specifier," and again projects to a single category, termed the *maximal projection* XP. Specifiers and complements can be filled by other XPs (YP and ZP in the following

diagram), and the system is thus shown to be fully recursive, capable of generating an infinitely recurring syntactic structure:



The arbitrary nature of the head (e.g. N, D, V, I/T, C) determines the nature of the phrase itself. Thus, a head N (Noun) will project to N' and finally to NP (Noun Phrase). This model provides an overall configuration for bits of syntactic structure, building progressively larger and larger structures to form fully articulated clausal frameworks, such as the clausal CP > IP > VP system noted above. The fundamental nature of this system has made it possible to expand the scope of clausal architecture, adding a variety of functional categories to the clause, all of which conform to the basic X-Bar framework, as will be seen in the following sections. With these baseline facts in mind, I will turn again to a discussion of the historical conception of the distinct functional and complementizer layers of the clause, as represented in the expansions of the IP/TP and CP layers.

1.3.2 Decomposing the Functional Layer: Split-TP

In the late 1980s and beyond, the standard CP > IP > VP clause structure adopted in syntactic descriptions underwent extensive expansion and innovation. Pollock (1989) can be credited as the starting point of these developments, which decomposed the functional layer of the clause into a group of projections; namely, Tense (TP) and Agreement (AgrP). Pollock's initial proposals have since been developed into more articulated structures, such as projections for object agreement (AgrOP; Chomsky 1995),

aspect (AspP; Hendrick 1991), mood/modality (MP/ModP; Rivero and Terzi 1995, Pollock 1997), and negation (NegP; Kayne 1989, 1991), among others. Many of these projections will play a role in the discussion of the clausal structure of Old English in Chapter 3, and it is therefore necessary to provide a general description of their functions, focusing specifically on the functional roles of Tense, Aspect, and Mood/Modality.

The projection labeled TP (Tense Phrase) is posited to host features for tense, such as [±past], etc., assigned in agreement contexts, for example with the head of VP (V^0), which may raise overtly to T^0 (or a related projection) in many languages. Semantically, tense provides the basic temporal reference point of an event structure and is associated with various types of morphology. In Modern English, for example, tense morphology is realized on the lexical verb for past tense (either via ablaut or the past tense suffix *-ed*), while "future" tense makes use of a modal *will*. Similarly, Old English shows tense marking for past and present tenses, but lacks explicit future tense morphology, frequently making use of the present tense verb-forms instead. Additionally, in many models of clausal syntax, the position labeled spec-TP (as an alternative to the older IP label) is considered the target-position of the subject, for various reasons.

Projections for Mood/Modality and Aspect can be seen to convey, respectively, information about the *reality* and the *realization* of an event. Aspect concerns the nature or progression of the event (perfective, imperfective, habitual, etc.), while modality establishes the status of an event with respect to real and possible worlds, as well as meanings such as ability, necessity, etc. In contemporary models of the syntax of modal projections, certain domains of syntactic structure are postulated which may host specific "flavors" of modals and adverbs, including (simplistically) a division between "epistemic" and "deontic" modality. The latter category includes modalities such as "obligation" and "necessity" which relate either (a) to the subject of the clause or (b) to

the addressee within a speech event. These separate relations illustrate a division within deontic modality which is further clarified in analyses such as Hacquard (2006), who establishes projections for modality instantiated in "high" and "low" positions. High modality (ModP) projections are the locus of epistemic and "high deontic" (related to the addressee) modals, while low modality projections contain goal-/ability-oriented and "low deontic" (related to the subject) modals. In many ways, the inclusion of modality as an element of imperative meaning and structure is a useful tool, especially in the context of the relation between modality and tense specifications, as well as the "evaluation time" for different types of modality (speech time for high ModP, tense for low ModP). These elements will also be seen to play a role in the analysis of imperative clause structure in Chapter 5.

As a final point, more contemporary models have dispensed with specific projections for agreement in favor of featural/morphological agreement via Spec-Head relations in other explicitly realized projections such as TP, AspP, etc. The inner workings of agreement itself have undergone further revision within Minimalism (Chomsky 2000), now being cast in terms of a *probe* with uninterpretable features seeking a goal with interpretable features. This feature-driven system serves as the underlying motivation for overt movement (movement at PF) and covert movement (movement at LF) of items in clausal structure, both within the functional layer (now commonly labeled TP) and within the further extension of the CP layer, which will now be addressed.

1.3.3 Decomposing the Complementizer Layer: Split-CP

Although the concept of extraposition of constituents, e.g. for the purposes of "topic" and "focus," was developed somewhat by the 1980s, it was Luigi Rizzi's 1997 article *The Fine Structure of the Left Periphery* that first tackled the task of decomposing

the CP-layer. Previous conceptions cast the CP layer as a domain within which single complementizers could be base-generated (in C^0), and to which various constituents could be attached via adjunction. Rizzi made the claim that such instances of adjunction could, in fact, be postulated as separate functional projections, and he proposed a framework for the CP (the "left periphery" of the clause) which dissolved the complementizer layer into a system of distinct projections containing specifications for illocutionary force (declarative, interrogative, imperative, etc.), focused constituents, topicalized constituents, and finiteness. The hierarchy of projections is postulated as follows:

Force > (Topic) > (Focus) > (Topic) > Fin

The first and last of these projections, Force and Fin, form an "envelope" structure and delineate the upper and lower limits of the CP domain. Force is tied to the overall specifications of the clause-type, and is frequently conceived of as hosting a corresponding clause-type feature, i.e. [declarative], [interrogative], [imperative], etc. ForceP is the "outer-facing" side of the CP, and is therefore responsible for interfacing with pragmatics/discourse-related elements of the speech context. FinP, on the other hand, represents the "inner-facing" side of the CP and interfaces with the functional/lexical domains of the clause. Fin^0 is visualized as carrying a specification of *finiteness*, frequently cast as a feature [±fin]. The definition of finiteness itself has consequences for the description of *finite* and *non-finite* clauses. The former can be characterized as containing tense and mood distinctions, as well as subject agreement and nominative case subjects, all of which serve to anchor the expressed event temporally, modally, and with respect to actors within the event (e.g. the subject).

Non-finite clauses include infinitival and participial clauses and do not generally manifest many of the distinctions noted above (Rizzi 1997, p. 284). However, despite

these structural characteristics, the core of finiteness as a fundamental category, and the structural role of FinP has received only minimal attention since Rizzi's proposal. Models taking FinP or a parallel projection into account , such as Holmberg and Platzack (1995), Branigan (1996) (both technically pre-Rizzi analyses, but with stark parallels to the later expanded CP system), Platzack (1998), Christensen (2004), etc., frequently concern the nature of Verb-Second (V2) languages, which exhibit a particular pattern whereby the verb occupies the second position in the clause. In such languages, FinP provides a natural target for both verb- and subject-raising in finite clause, in addition to the relative positioning of negation, and, in the case of Old English (as will be seen in Chapter 3), patterns of subject placement for pronouns vs. full-NPs/DPs.

Topic (TopP) and Focus (FocP) are, in Rizzi's system, projections which may be activated in order to house a variety of different preposed constituents, including NPs/DPs and various adverbials. Topicalization is conceptually viewed as a manifestation of the information structure TOPIC – COMMENT, where the topic is "old" information (information already given in the discourse) and the comment is "new" information (the remainder of the clause serving as the complement of Top^0). Focus is similar, but involves a FOCUS – PRESUPPOSITION contrast where focalized constituents generally receive focalized stress, regardless of whether they overtly move to spec-FocP. Focus also plays a distinct role, for example, in the structure of information questions with wh-constituents, which are postulated to be focalized in spec-FocP. A final distinction between Focus and Topic projections can be seen in the hierarchy above: TopicP is seen to be recursive, and a clause may contain more than one Topic, each in a distinct position. Focus, on the other hand, appears to be a unique structural position, and therefore only one focalized element may appear, although it may co-occur with multiple

topicalized constituents. In the context of the discussion of Old English, the activation of TopicP will play a role in various constructions involving preposed objects and subjects.

In the end, the Split-TP and Split-CP analyses give rise to a host of new questions, including the status of projections (or the features which they host) as a universal inventory and the relative positioning of projections within the hierarchy of phrase structure. Cinque (1999), for example, posits a rigid, universal hierarchy of projections based on the cross-linguistic positioning of certain adverbials. However, the feasibility of such a massive system instantiated for each clause is difficult to deal with in terms of acquisition and other concerns of economy. I will not tackle these issues here, but will instead say only that a cartographic system (i.e. a system of projections which allows for more than the standard framework of Minimalism) is preferable to account for not only issues of constituent order, but also for the means by which different clause types are distinguished. These advantages will become clear in the discussion of the architecture of imperative clauses, where many analyses involve the absence of specific projections as a part of imperative meaning.

1.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented an overview of the theoretical background which forms a base for the discussions and analyses of OE and imperative syntax in subsequent chapters. Starting from the basic establishment of a position with respect to Minimalism and Cartography, this study falls closer to the side of cartographic frameworks for syntactic structure, although the comparison of both approaches shows that neither excludes the other, and that many of the differences between Minimalism and Cartography stem from the differing foci of each. With this in mind, after a brief detour into the fundamentals of X-Bar Theory, a description of the expanded systems of the IP/TP and CP layers is accomplished, laying out a basic understanding of the various

projections within each domain that will play a role in the conception of imperative clause structure. These include the functional IP/TP projections of tense, mood, and aspect, and the left-peripheral CP projections of Force, Topic, Focus, and Fin(iteness), the latter of which will play a central role in the syntax of Old English at large, as well as in the architecture of imperative syntax.

Chapter 2

IMPERATIVES: A THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Imperatives as a Clause Type

What are imperatives? In the past, this question has proven difficult to answer, mainly due to the inconsistent usage of the term throughout the literature. Van der Wurff (2007, pp. 18-20), discusses the gradual progress of perspectives on imperatives throughout the 1980s and 1990s, one of the most important developments being the eventual admittance of imperatives to the status of a distinctive syntactic clause type, comparable to e.g. declarative, interrogative, and exclamative clauses. Lyons (1977) and Huddleston (1984) provide similar conclusions in this respect on both semantic and syntactic grounds, while Sadock and Zwicky (1985) provide convincing cross-linguistic evidence for the independence of an imperative clause type as a syntactic category on-par with (and therefore mutually distinguished from) other established clause-types.

In contrast, much of early generative theory defined imperative constructions largely according to their role as one of many options within a broader category of *directives* ("commands, orders, permissions, suggestions, etc."). Davies (1986, pp. 33-47) points out very effectively, however, that an attempt to categorize the semantic/pragmatic specifications of imperatives has ultimately proven extremely difficult in terms of parsing between different types of illocutionary force, especially in light of the possibilities for non-imperatives (declaratives, interrogatives) to convey directive force, independent of syntactic structure. Ultimately, in defining imperatives as a distinct syntactic class, it is therefore necessary to separate function from structure, viewing elements of the latter as independent, structural (i.e. syntactic) specifications of a clausal type which may, in certain cases, pattern with a variety of different usages/meanings, some more natural than

others (i.e. imperatives used naturally as commands, declaratives as assertions/statements, etc.).

Accordingly, because the ultimate scope of this discussion will be limited specifically to the syntactic properties of imperative clauses, I will leave off further discussion of function/meaning, turning instead to a description of the syntactic and morphological properties which characterize imperative clauses. For future reference, I use "imperative(s)" as a catch-all term referring to the morphosyntactic construction as a whole, specifying "imperative clause" (a clause with discrete imperative syntactic properties), "imperative verb" (a verbal head with discrete imperative morphological properties), etc. where necessary. These features will together form the basis for identifying and classifying imperatives in the corpus analysis of Old English to come, and I will now discuss each separately. In the following descriptions, I draw heavily upon the exceptional work of Aikhenvald (2010) on the cross-linguistic typology of imperatives, further informed by sources and observations from Van der Wurff (2007).

2.1.1 Properties of the Imperative Verb

One of the defining characteristics of imperative verb forms is related to the realization of the imperative category in verbal morphology. In particular, the morphological marking of imperative verbs is frequently characterized by the complete *absence* of inflection. This fact is remarkably consistent cross-linguistically, and thus imperative paradigms can generally be distinguished from other verb forms by a lack of morphology, frequently consisting of only a bare verb stem with optional inflection for person/number. This is not the only option, of course. Aikhenvald (2010) distinguishes between three different classes of imperative morphology: (a) those consisting of the bare verbal root or stem (the most frequent pattern), (b) those defined by an overt marker, such as an imperative particle or clitic (Thai, Lao, various Australian languages, etc.), and (c)

those defined by some "analytic construction" (a verb-auxiliary matrix, for example, or a special clause-relator/introducer coupled with the verb) (pp. 19-25). The first class, being the most common, will be the primary focus here, particularly in light of the fact that Old English, along with many languages of Indo-European lineage, fall within this category.

With this is mind, a further distinction should be observed between "true" and "surrogate/suppletive" imperatives in certain languages. Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton (1987) define "true imperatives" as being drawn from a distinct imperative paradigm (i.e. characterized by morphological deficiency, as above), while "surrogate/suppletive imperatives" are generally drawn from other verbal paradigms such as subjunctive, infinitive, or indicative forms, and appear in certain constructions where true imperatives are restricted. The relevancy of these categories has consequences at the syntactic level, where surrogate/suppletive imperatives generally adapt their syntactic structures of origin to an imperative meaning, and are therefore imperative only in their interpretation, being neither morphologically nor syntactically "canon." This is commonly expressed in the incompatibility of true imperatives with negation in certain languages, an issue that has proven difficult to capture so far (see Zanuttini 1991, 1994; Rivero 1991, 1994; Rivero and Terzi 1995; Han 1998, 2000, 2001 for proposals). Although the precise nature of these non-canonical imperative forms will be discussed and evaluated within the context of Old English syntax to a certain extent, overall, true imperatives (and specifically imperatives of the bare root/stem morphological category typical to Old English) will be the main focus.

2.1.2 Properties of the Imperative Subject

The role of the subject in imperative clauses is particularly unique, and yet equally perplexing. Probably the most obvious element of the imperative subject is the fact that it may be optionally realized overtly or it may be completely absent. This is a

nearly universal feature of imperative clauses, since the majority of languages allow the subject to remain covert, and only a small minority actually require the overt presence of the subject (for example, Luo and Hawaiian, Zhang 1990). One intuitive explanation for these facts involves the influence of pragmatic requirements on the syntactic structure: the imperative subject always takes as its reference the "addressee" of a speech event, this role being one of various participant roles within a speech context (contrasted with, for example the speaker, or some third person referent). Because imperatives are intrinsically enmeshed in the pragmatics of the speech event, serving to address a particular participant in real time and invoke that participant to conform their behavior to the proposition of the imperative, it is unsurprising that an overt subject is unnecessary in many contexts. It is instead provided by the direct involvement of the addressee.

This is, of course, only a descriptive explanation for now, and a further reasoning for the consistent absence of an imperative-subject has yet to be fully developed. But despite the optional nature of the imperative subject, one of the main conceptual ties between various analyses of imperative constructions is that there *is*, in fact, an underlying subject, even when it is not phonetically expressed. This is evident in Modern English, as well as in Old English (as will be seen) and accounts for various effects of person agreement morphology appearing on the imperative verb in certain languages, as well as the standard interpretation of imperatives as directed toward the addressee, i.e. a second-person subject. A variety of forms are possible to express the subject beyond the second-person pronominal form ("you"), which is most frequent. These alternatives may, in fact, have a third-person reference on the surface ("everybody, everyone, somebody, nobody, all" etc.), but the underlying interpretation of the subject in imperatives must always be associated with the addressee of the sentence, which manifests as a contextually expressed second person entity (Downes 1977).

The final issue at stake in the context of imperative subjects is the status of such subjects versus the status of vocatives. Potsdam (1996, pp. 185-201) provides three diagnostics for distinguishing an imperative subject from a vocative. These are (1) *intonation* (vocatives occupy a separate intonational phrase from the main clause), (2) *referent* (the exclusive connection of a vocative to the addressee in a speech situation, contrasting with certain types of imperative subject which refer to not only the addressee but also the general "hearer"), and (3) *anaphoric agreement* (vocatives are exclusively second person in terms of agreement, while imperative subjects may have additional, third-person references). The fact that vocatives are distinctly separate from imperative subjects has consequences for the analysis of imperative syntax, as well as for the methodology of data-collection for the Old English corpus study in Chapter 4, which must therefore account for and exclude vocatives, among other elements.

2.1.3 Imperatives in Embedded Clauses

One further property that distinguishes imperative clauses is the fact that they are highly restricted in embedded contexts, to the extent that many analyses in the literature simply state that imperatives cannot appear in subordinate clauses (Katz and Postal 1964, p. 78; Sadock and Zwicky 1985, p. 174). This makes sense intuitively, in view of the basic purposes of imperatives as commands (e.g. the ungrammaticality of *[I think that [don't eat the cookies]]). There are, however, certain observable contexts where embedded imperatives are allowable, but many of these are unique in that they have other non-subordinate properties (e.g. non-restrictive relative clauses such as "The appointment—for which come five minutes early—starts at ten 'o clock."), and therefore behave more like coordinated clauses in general. Other exceptions can be found in languages such as Latin, Ancient Greek, and Old Scandinavian (see Van der Wurff 2007, pp. 22-27 for full discussion), and some attempts have been made to explain what factors

are at work in allowing these constructions to appear (e.g. Platzack 2007 for Old Scandinavian data). In the context of Old English syntax, this property will be noted, mainly because data from the corpus study shows that imperatives in Old English do not appear in truly subordinate clauses, while coordinated imperative clauses are quite frequent (and, interestingly, such examples exhibit syntactic characteristics of embedded clauses, a feature of subordinate clauses which will be discussed in Chapter 3).

2.2 Current Issues and Theoretical Proposals on Imperative Syntax

Now that the general syntactic and morphological properties of imperative clauses have been established, I will turn to a discussion of the specific questions and problems encountered in an analysis of imperatives, followed by a review of various proposals for solving these problems. For a useful and in-depth review of the historical development and the current state of literature on imperatives, see Van der Wurff (2007). Much of the following discussion is informed by his overview of the state of the field.

Probably the most fundamental question for contemporary syntactic frameworks for imperatives has to do with the architecture of the imperative clause itself. The domain of opinion on this subject can be conceptually divided into two approaches. The first follows the perspective that imperatives are structurally equivalent and unexceptional in comparison to other clause types. This is the opinion, for example, of much of the early work on imperative structure, as well as the assumption of models presented by e.g. Potsdam (1995, 1996, 2007), most of which seek to derive imperative clauses via already-present structures and processes exhibited in, e.g. declarative and interrogative clauses. In direct contrast, the second theoretical camp has at its core the idea that imperatives are structurally unique and exceptional in comparison to other clause types, generally connecting the unique properties of imperatives to a difference in syntactic structure, usually a "deficiency," or "truncation" of the imperative clause.

It is significant that these two camps in some ways represent a conflict of theoretical background, beyond their perspectives on imperatives. For example, the frameworks proposed by Eric Potsdam (which will be discussed in further detail below) can be categorized as adhering to minimalistic programs of syntax, confining the essential distinguishing properties of imperatives, declaratives, etc. to the standard CP > IP > VP system of projections and casting them as defined, for example, by a feature in C^0 selecting the unique clausal properties of each type. Although in many ways this is not so much an established rejection of more articulated projection-frameworks, the conclusions of such models are certainly influenced by these basic Minimalist ground-rules of syntactic behavior.

Comparatively, many of the proposals of the second approach hail from a more cartographic origin in that many of the models for a deficient/truncated imperative clause assume a much more articulated structure for syntax in general, even if they explicitly align themselves with the Minimalist program of inquiry. Platzack and Rosengren (1998), for example, base their analysis on the assumption of a rich expanded-CP system, even though their investigation is purposefully set within the bounds of Minimalist theory. Of course, this demonstrates once again that the perspectives of Cartography and Minimalism are not mutually exclusive, but can, in fact, inform each other in many ways, due to their differing foci but shared theoretical assumptions about fundamental issues of syntactic inquiry.

Regardless, these two divisions will form an outline for the following literature review, which will thus address the advantages and disadvantages of various models for the architecture of imperative clauses and will also expand the discussion to remaining problems and questions in the study of imperatives. These include such matters as the role of negation in imperatives; namely the nature of widespread phenomena whereby

negative imperatives must be realized by a form taken from a non-imperative (subjunctive or infinitival) paradigm. Various proposals have been offered to account for such a restriction, but no consensus has yet been reached. Related to the issue of negation, is the question of the role of mood/modality in imperative clauses. As discussed above, imperatives normally exclude the realization of epistemic modalities, but can allow deontic modalities, in some cases as a morphological realization, but more generally as a simple aspect of basic imperative meaning (i.e. obligation, ability) (Aikhenvald 2010, pp. 142-43; Van der Wurff 2007, pp. 55, 65). The involvement of projections such as ModP may therefore play a part in both the meaning and structure of imperative clauses, and this issue will be touched on in later chapters. The specific issue of negation, on the other hand, is beyond the scope of this thesis. See Van der Wurff (2007, pp. 59-65) for a discussion of the various views.

Finally, in the following sections, I will present a synthesis of various major positions on imperative structure for the purpose of building a theoretical foundation for expanding an analysis to Old English, as well as in order to establish a position on the various questions and issues contained therein. The following discussion will focus on several of the major proposals in this area of imperative syntax, tying these to other theories with similar claims. I will also take the opportunity to provide some limited comparison and evaluation of the proposed frameworks in pursuit of a model that accounts for all aspects of imperative clausal structure and one which accounts specifically for the structure of Old English. These analyses will thus form a theoretical basis for understanding and categorizing the data from the corpus study in Chapter 4.

2.2.1 Potsdam (1995, 1996, 2007)

Building on previous work in Government and Binding Theory by Beukema and Coopmans (1989), Potsdam (1995, 1996, 2007) develops an approach to imperative

syntax in Modern English within a distinctively Minimalist framework. As noted above, the underlying assumption of this framework for imperative clauses is that they pattern closely with other clause types in terms of their basic architecture and exhibit the same syntactic possibilities. Before delving further into the issue, some examples of Modern English imperatives are in order (all from Potsdam 1996, pp. 304-305):

(1) a. Don't you give me any lip!

b. Everyone don't expect a raise!

c. Do SOMEone help him quickly!

d. SOMEone do answer the phone!

These sentences exemplify the possibilities for the relative placement of auxiliary-*do* in both negative (1a-b) and emphatic affirmative (1c-d) contexts, as well as the position of the imperative subject (post-auxiliary, (1a, c) and pre-auxiliary (1b, d)). Potsdam's basic claim in light of these examples is that imperatives align with the major contrast distinguishing declarative and interrogative clauses; basically, Chomsky's (1975) "Subject-Auxiliary Inversion." This is now commonly defined as T^0-to-C^0 or I^0-to-C^0 movement (I will follow Potsdam's I^0-to-C^0 terminology). Potsdam uses the structure of negative and emphatic affirmative imperatives, both of which exhibit *do*-insertion with overt subjects, as a means for illuminating the otherwise rather opaque syntax of Modern English. Thus, imperatives are posited to align with interrogative clauses by exhibiting overt movement of the auxiliary via *do*-insertion in I^0 (or some lower functional projection) with subsequent movement to C^0. This places the auxiliary-*do* before the overt subject, which remains in its usual position in the specifier of the IP projection. The following examples (with overt imperative subjects) serve to illustrate the parallels (Potsdam 2007, p. 252):

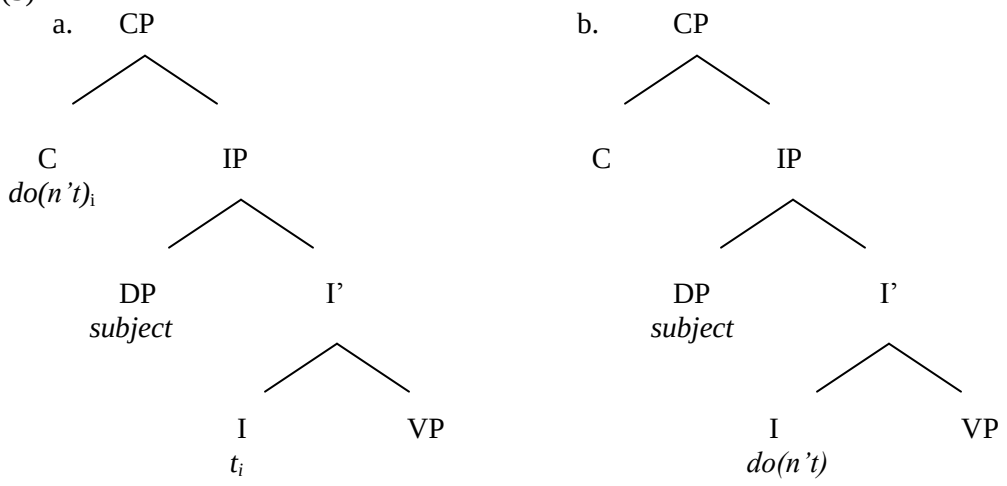
(2) a. Don't you help them! (imperative)

b. Don't you help them? (interrogative)

c. [$_{CP}$ [$_{C}$ don't$_i$ [$_{IP}$ you [$_{I'}$ t_i [help them]]]]]]

Declarative clauses do not show this form of inversion when "do" or some other auxiliary (such as aspectual "have, be" or a modal) is involved, instead leaving the auxiliary in the head of IP ("I am going to the store." "I do like cookies."). Because imperative clauses also exhibit pre-auxiliary overt subjects (1b, d), Potsdam analyzes the two major categories of (negative) imperatives with overt subjects as falling within one of these categories, patterning either with interrogatives (raised *do* in C^0 for negatives and emphatics, post-auxiliary subject) or declaratives (non-raised *do* in I^0, pre-auxiliary subject). This approach is termed the CP hypothesis and contrasts with other frameworks, such as Rupp (1999) and (to some extent) Platzack and Rosengren (1998) which both present pictures of imperative architecture where the subject, rather than the auxiliary, exhibits variation. I illustrate the two resulting tree-structures as follows, adapted from Potsdam (2007, p. 253):

(3)



As a transition from this first theoretical approach (the unexceptional imperative analysis), a few contrasts must be drawn between the framework above and other frameworks. One contrast can be found in the basic assumptions about the significance of imperative morphology. As discussed at length above, one of the distinguishing features of imperative verbs cross-linguistically is a general lack of inflection for features such as tense, modality, etc. Potsdam does not address these aspects of imperative morphology and it would appear that this is partly due to the necessity in his analysis of aligning imperative clausal syntax with the syntax of other finite ("tensed") clauses, all of which are, according to earlier Government and Binding and Minimalist theory, defined by the appearance of inflection for tense on the verb, transmitted from the functional IP layer (see Beukema and Coopmans 1989 for a full description).

If imperatives are to be categorized according to the same system (i.e. declarative and interrogative syntax), they must necessarily show a similar inflectional system. The fact that they do not does not deter Potsdam from proposing a null imperative modal in the same vein as the earlier models of e.g. Stockwell, Schachter and Partee (1973: 633-671), who assume a subjunctive modal in the interests of bringing imperatives in line with subjunctives (which exhibit many similar properties). However, it is difficult to envision how such a system can capture the imperative syntax of other languages which may not follow the same inflectional system as English. Potsdam's analysis is perhaps restricted in this respect mainly because of its exclusive focus on English syntax, which admittedly does not exhibit a true imperative verb form distinguishable from the basic present tense or infinitival stem.

In the interest of extending an analysis to other languages, therefore, the point should be made that the cross-linguistic paucity of morphological specification on imperatives is a unique aspect of imperative morphology, and other frameworks take this

fact at face value, rather than positing a superficial absence of morphology with underlying, null imperative morphology. Considering the fullness of data, this may be a more reasonable approach. However, it will be shown that an analysis taking these elements into account does not, in fact, exclude Potsdam's framework for imperatives and that the various proposals in fact have much in common. For the time being, what should be taken from Potsdam's account is the straightforward model whereby it is the imperative auxiliary/verbal head that moves (for whatever reason), while the subject remains stationary.

2.2.2 Platzack and Rosengren (1998)

Leading off the discussion of the second domain of theory on imperative clauses is the proposal made by Platzack and Rosengren (1998), who make use of cross-linguistic data from German, English, and Mainland Scandinavian and assume Rizzi's (1997) framework for the expanded CP. In fact, the exact structure of the CP domain, decomposed into the upper and lower projections for *force* and *finiteness*, is of great importance to their proposal. The starting point for the analysis is that imperatives are exceptional in comparison to other clause types, and they develop a system whereby declaratives and interrogative are distinguished by a formal [±wh] feature instantiated in the highest projection, Force^0 ([-wh] for declaratives and [+wh] for interrogatives). Imperatives subsequently fall outside of this binary system, and are instead defined by an [imp] feature, also located in Force^0 (pp. 182-187). The motivation behind this system has to do, first of all, with the necessity of distinguishing imperative clauses as a syntactic category (as discussed in section 2.1), and second of all, with the semantic/pragmatic role of *norms* within a speech event. The semantic properties specified by [±wh] features in declaratives and interrogatives result in utterances which *state* a norm on the one hand and *inquire about* a norm on the other, respectively.

In contrast, Platzack and Rosengren assume that imperatives actually *create* or *set* a norm, and this is one of the fundamental principles distinguishing imperative clauses from other clause types. Interestingly, they assume the existence of a *deontic* modal operator on the semantic level which takes scope over the existentially bound proposition and serves to set the norm, directed toward the addressee, with respect to the existence of the event to which the proposition refers (1998, pp.188-189). These specifications lead into the main claim of the study, which involves the role of *finiteness* in the interpretation of the clause. Platzack and Rosengren innovatively connect the concept of *finiteness* (as described in the previous chapter) with the establishment of a specific anchor point in the event structure: speech time: "Finiteness...anchors the event in time and space, by identifying a point on the time line with the speaker's here and now" (1998, p. 191). In essence, finiteness/speech time allows the reference points of tense and aspect to be oriented within an event structure and ultimately anchored to the time of speech. This is cast as allowing a speaker to subsequently talk *about* an event occurring in a certain manner (perfective, imperfective, etc.) at some other point in time (past, present, future) as well as in other possible worlds. It is this aspect of finiteness that Platzack and Rosengren use to define the nature of imperative clauses as follows: whereas declarative and interrogative clauses can be used to talk *about* something (i.e. a person/event in a specific time and a specific world), imperative clauses, which are said to lack a finiteness specification, can only be used to talk *to* someone: the addressee.

The syntactic analysis stemming from these pre-assumptions of featural and semantic specifications, as well as the role of finiteness as a specification of Speech Time in non-imperative event structures, manifests in imperatives as a specific truncation or deficiency of clausal structure, which Platzack and Rosengren cast as the absence of FinP (i.e. finiteness) from the CP domain (pp. 191-193). This further sets imperatives outside

the system of finite and non-finite specifications which are available in other clause types, as an imperative is considered to have no specification for finiteness at all. The absence of FinP is subsequently connected to the absence of projections for tense (TP) and mood (MP), both of which commonly manifest in finite clauses. In this proposal, Platzack and Rosengren rely heavily on Branigan's (1996) analysis of finiteness and the role of a projection (Branigan's "lower C-projection") analogous to FinP in Verb-Second languages.

They further connect the optionality of the subject to the lack of FinP, which is assumed to be the normal position of the subject in finite clauses in analyses such as Platzack and Holmberg (1989), Holmberg and Platzack (1995), etc. The optional realization of the subject in imperative clauses is thus assumed to stem from the consequence that imperative subjects are not *true* subjects in that they do not exhibit a predication relation between the subject (the "designated argument") and the rest of the clause, as is assumed in clauses with a finiteness specification (p. 191). This results in "ImpNPs" which are not bound to a specific position within the clause, and Platzack and Rosengren further connect the freer variation of subject positions in imperative clauses with this lack of binding, demonstrating via data from German and Mainland Scandinavian (in addition to the examples from English discussed above) that the position of imperative subjects is, in many cases, freer than the position of subjects in other clause-types. A further motivation for this approach involves the acceptability of imperatives in embedded clauses, which are assumed to be referring expressions. The absence of FinP in imperatives removes the grounding in time and space required for imperative clauses to have such reference, and this prevents them from being successfully embedded (pp. 195-197).

The attraction of Platzack and Rosengren's approach can be seen primarily in that it attempts to subsume all the various elements which define imperatives (imperative morphology, general absence of tense, optionality of subjects/exclusive addressee-reference of subjects, etc.) under a single category of semantic and syntactic structure (the lack of finiteness/FinP). In many ways, they are quite successful, and one of the main benefits of the "no-FinP" model is the fact that it brings to the forefront the role of speech time as a vital element of event structure, serving to legitimize the specification of speech time as a part of the clausal framework. On a purely structural level, if speech time/finiteness/FinP is necessary for the realization of event structures with tense/aspect, it could reasonably provide a consistent target for the subject and the finite verb to occupy simply in terms of the meaning it conveys. This seems to be particularly salient in V2 languages, where the verb frequently appears in second position, assumed to be the head of FinP.

This speech time analysis also brings out the concept of the "evaluation-time" for events, particularly in the context of recent theories of modality structures. However, the fact that imperatives are evaluated according to the here and now actually illuminates a possible inconsistency in Platzack and Rosengren's analysis. This concerns the actual role of FinP as a specification of speech time. If imperatives lack FinP (and TP, MoodP) altogether, how do they arrive at a speech time-only interpretation? It would seem that imperatives in fact *require* a specification of speech time (and therefore FinP) to remain, while it is actually the lack of a specification for *tense* that provides the vital distinguishing property of imperative event structure. Connected with this, the role of modality, which is touched on only briefly in Platzack and Rosengren's approach, may prove to be more prominent if a system such as that presented by Hacquard (2006) is taken into account, where certain modalities are evaluated exclusively according to

speech time (and are therefore conceptualized as projecting above TP), while others (including certain deontic, obligation-oriented modals) are evaluated at the time specified by tense (projecting below TP). These interesting lines of thought will be pursued in later sections.

2.2.3 Jensen (2003, 2007), Rupp (1999, 2003, 2007)

The notion of speech time as an element of syntactic structure is corroborated by the analysis of Jensen (2003), drawing upon the observations of Platzack and Rosengren (1998). However, Jensen (2003) does not postulate the absence of the entire FinP-TP-MoodP matrix, but instead proposes that imperative clauses exhibit a special "flavor" of TP anchored to the speech time (T_{Imp}), in competition with the normal TP of declarative clauses (T_{Decl}), which binds only the event variable of the verb (pp. 157-160). Jensen thus conflates two concepts of temporal orientation (speech time and event time) in order to establish the nature of imperative interpretation. With regard to imperative subject, Jensen also makes use Branigan's (1996) concept of "predication" in defining the role of the subject in non-imperative clauses. Teasing apart the functional/grammatical and semantic/thematic roles of the constituent labeled the "subject" in non-imperative clauses, Jensen proposes that the imperative subject takes a thematic role of "intended agent," while its grammatical role is realized as *addressee*.

As can be seen, the essence of Jensen's proposal again involves the absence of a particular clausal specification (T_{Decl}, replaced by T_{Imp}), and a distinct pattern begins to emerge in the literature whereby the nature of tense itself, as a projection distinct from speech time, is absent in imperatives. Jensen's analysis implies this indirectly, while Platzack and Rosengren's analysis subsumes the absence of tense with a larger context. Interestingly, even Beukema and Coopmans (1989, p. 430), in their analysis of imperative syntax, suggest that the functional IP layer may not actually play a role in the

structure of the imperative clause, and, ultimately, the conclusion of their analysis lends further credence to imperative models lacking tense, as they ultimately settle upon a system with an I^0-head hosting features [-TENSE] and [+AGR].

A more recent proposal by Jensen (2007), echoing similar proposals by Rupp (1999, 2003), goes so far as to postulate the complete absence of a CP layer in imperatives, once again taking the absence of finiteness (instantiated in the CP) as a root for the unique properties of imperatives (including, for example, the restrictions on embedding imperatives) in the same vein as Platzack and Rosengren. Rupp's (2003) proposal bases the concept of an absent CP layer on similar grounds. Han (2003) critiques Rupp's analysis quite effectively, however, pointing out, for example, that the absence of negative inversion in imperatives, which Rupp uses in support of an IP-only analysis, actually provides evidence *for* a CP, as it is also restricted in interrogatives (which are assumed to have a CP layer).

Furthermore, Jensen (2007) makes the claim that imperatives exhibit no CP layer due to the absence of topicalization effects, but this is certainly not the case for all languages, including English, which she uses as the basis of her proposal (compare an example such as "I'll handle the cash. The wallets, you take."). Data from German (H. Koopman 2007), Middle Dutch (Barbiers 2007), and various other languages—including Old English, as will be seen—show that topics are certainly available in imperative constructions. In light of these facts, the feasibility of an IP-analysis is somewhat questionable, but the spirit of such an approach is once again geared toward a truncated/deficient interpretation of the imperative clause, and these frameworks thus fall in line with the overall theme.

2.2.4 Han (1998, 2000, 2001)

Mention of Han's critique of Rupp provides a convenient transition to a discussion of the frameworks proposed by Han herself. Han (1998) offers an extensive, diachronic analysis of Modern English imperative structure, extending back to Middle English periods. The basic claim of the system set forth by Han centers on the featural makeup of an imperative *operator* (a set of features) in imperative clauses as the motivator for the various unique properties exhibited in such clauses. The relevant features in Han's system are [directive] and [irrealis], both of which occur in the imperative operator. In subjunctive and infinitival operators (both of which play a central role for imperatives), only [irrealis] occurs (1998, p. 109). On the analogy of interrogative clauses in German and other languages, Han establishes that the general location of the imperative operator is in C^0, which is later identified with $Force^0$. The [directive] feature conveys directive illocutionary force and drives movement of a relevant verb/auxiliary to the C^0 position (p. 120). As was noted above, this raising property is a common feature of imperative clauses, including Old English (as will be discussed)

Han further proposes that there may be two different versions of the imperative clause determined by the selection of the imperative operator in C^0. Because the imperative operator carries both [directive] and [irrealis] features, it may select either a subjunctive or an infinitival IP (INFL in Han's terminology), both of which carry corresponding [irrealis] features and are therefore in a "subset" relation with the imperative operator. Han uses these options as a means for explaining the usage of infinitive and subjunctive forms in languages where imperative structures are prohibited in certain circumstances, such as negation (1998, pp. 120-123). In the case of Modern English, the motivation behind this proposal also involves the optional realization of the

imperative subject. Han posits that the ModE imperative operator can select either a subjunctive-type IP, requiring an overt subject, or an infinitive-type IP, which does not require a subject. The selection of one of these types results in the realization or non-realization of the imperative subject and serves to resolve the issue of optionality (1998, pp. 131-138). Regarding the position of the subject, Han assumes that the it remains stationary in its standard position of spec-IP, in line once again with the analyses of Potsdam (1996, 2007), who provides compelling evidence from Modern English adverbial placement, VP-ellipsis, and floating quantifiers that the imperative subject must raise out of the VP at least (Potsdam 1996, pp. 343-348; Han 1998, pp. 31-35).

However, ultimately, Han diverges from Potsdam's framework (i.e. a non-truncated framework of imperative clause structure) in her discussion of the architecture of Middle English imperative clauses in the context of the rise of *do*-support. Ultimately, Han aligns imperative clauses with infinitive clauses, which she assumes also lack TP (1998, p. 71, 85). These aspects of her analysis again tie into the necessity of a specification for speech time, which is lacking in Han's analysis. Han states that imperatives can only be future-oriented, providing examples with temporal adverbials such as "tonight" and "now" in support of this, as follows (1998, pp. 160-162):

(4) a. Behave yourself when the guests arrive tonight.

b. Finish your homework tonight.

(5) a. Behave yourself now.

b. Finish your homework now.

Han claims that the interpretation of "now" in (4a, b) has the meaning *from now on*. This is not entirely accurate. For (5a), such an interpretation is adequate, as the imperative conveys the sense that the addressee should conform to the speaker's command from the present moment onward, but (5b) does not have such an interpretation.

In fact, as a native speaker, I must evaluate (5b) with a distinct meaning of *right now*, rather than *from now on*. The underlying issue at stake here is the relevance of speech time to the evaluation of imperatives. Han does not make reference to speech time, and indeed, without taking a specification of speech time as an element of imperative structure, a *right now* interpretation of (5b) would not make sense. It is also telling that, if all temporal adverbials are removed from imperatives such as (5a, b), the default interpretation is *right now*, the present moment, rather than *from now on*, which must be externally added to the core of the imperative meaning. These observations show the advantage of taking speech time into account here, as it provides a baseline point of reference for the imperative speech event, around which the speaker can provide various external temporal references to the present (i.e. at the speech time) or the near/far future (i.e. after the speech time). Crucially, however, these temporal specifications are unconnected to a projection of tense with respect to the verb/auxiliary of imperatives.

A final issue that I wish to address concerns the fact that Han (2000) explicitly leaves out any discussion of Modern English imperatives with overt subjects occurring in pre-auxiliary position in negative contexts. These include, for example, "You don't drink the water." Han does not consider these true imperative subjects, claiming that they "…are degraded unless there is an intonational break between *you* and the rest of the sentence." (2000, p. 3, fn. 2). She concludes that examples of these clause-initial subjects are to be analyzed as vocatives disconnected from the clausal structure. Consequently, Han (1998) leaves out any reference to such constructions. This interpretation clashes considerably with the most basic motivations for Potsdam's earlier analyses, which include these constructions and account for the subject variation via the position of the verb/auxiliary (in C^0 for postverbal subjects, in I^0 for preverbal subjects). By this interpretation, Han actually avoids the problem of subject and verb/auxiliary placement

altogether. However, unfortunately, such a conclusion is not at all supported by native-speaker intuitions. No discernable "intonational break" intervenes between the subject and auxiliary in such cases, and while imperatives with clause-initial subjects are certainly different from other imperative structures, they are most definitely within the same category as other imperatives and are not in any way "degraded," but are instead frequently interchangeable with other overt-subject imperative structures. This is a basic assumption of nearly all other frameworks addressing ModE imperative clauses, and the fact that Han's model does not take it into account is somewhat problematic for the overall analysis.

2.2.5 Zanuttini (1991, 1994), Den Dikken and Blasco (2007)

Finally, to conclude this section, I will briefly mention a few other analyses which propose a truncated/deficient imperative clause structure, in order to fully develop the underlying theme of such analysis—namely, that imperative clause lack at least a tense projection. Zanuttini (1991), in addition to presenting an analysis for the unavailability of negative imperatives, argues that Romance languages do not project a TP in imperatives. This is corroborated by the more recent analysis by Den Dikken and Blasco (2007), who make similar conclusions concerning tense for Spanish. In a further development, Zanuttini (1994) proposes that true imperatives lack an unnamed functional projection occurring directly beneath a Polarity Phrase (carrying features for positive or negative), which in turn projects beneath CP. Although Zanuttini now leaves the identity of this projection unspecified, based on her previous proposal, the label TP still fits well, as this functional projection is the highest projection in a series of three unnamed FPs, as follows:

Full clause:	*CP > PolP > FP1 > FP2 > FP3 …*
Imperative clause:	*CP > PolP > FP2 > FP3 …*

The framework of Den Dikken and Blasco (2007), which analyzes the possibilities for clitic-climbing in imperatives, observes that, in certain languages, such as Spanish and Hungarian, only tensed aspectual verbs may exhibit clitic-climbing. Thus, the absence of clitic-climbing in imperative contexts implies the absence of tense. Once again, such a conclusion falls in line with the overall pattern which emerges in much of the truncated/deficient/exceptional models for imperative clause structure.

2.3 Summary of Imperative Properties

This discussion, overall, has served to further illuminate the issues involved in an analysis of imperative clause structure, and provides an explication of current theories which attempt to answer the persistent questions of what properties distinguish imperative clauses and from whence these properties originate. The role of speech time evaluation and the interplay between tense, modality, and the optional imperative subject, can all be seen as separate, yet interrelated, properties of the imperative clause. In the interest of developing a consistent framework in the upcoming discussion of Old English imperative syntax, I will provide a summary of these basic, conceptual properties, filtered from the frameworks previously discussed, as follows:

(a) Imperative verbs/auxiliaries are raised high in the structure, generally to C^0 or $Force^0$. This is a basic assumption of all frameworks except the (somewhat problematic) IP-only analyses, although such models still place the imperative verb/aux. in the head of IP.

(b) Imperatives generally lack tense morphology and may therefore be distinguished by the absence of at least a TP projection within the functional domain of clause structure.

(c) The specification of speech time as a distinct aspect of event structure, separate from tense and tied to the concept of finiteness (and hence the projection FinP),

provides a necessary feature of the interpretation of imperatives, as well as further allowing for the absence of TP.

(d) The optional nature of the imperative subject, which is co-indexed with the addressee of a speech event, may be tied to the specifications of finiteness, or may be distinguished via a separate type of functional role within the imperative clause.

(e) The role of modality in imperatives is important, if somewhat obscure. Deontic modalities are available both in certain morphological markers for imperatives, as well as in the interpretation of an imperative as obligating the addressee to conform to the proposition presented. This, combined with current observations on the time of evaluation for certain types of modality (speech time vs. tense), may provide a further means of distinguishing the essential meaning and the distinctive structure of imperative clauses.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter begins with a general description of the basic (semi-typological) cross-linguistic properties of imperative clauses, establishing first the necessity of viewing imperatives as a distinct syntactic clause-type, and then progressing to an examination of the properties distinguishing imperative verb-morphology and imperative subjects. The remaining bulk of the chapter consists of an extensive overview whereby a variety of frameworks for imperative clauses are described, compared, and evaluated to a some extent, with the goal of bringing out the consistent patterns amongst them, alongside the relevant advantages and disadvantages of each. In general, the first approach to imperative clauses assumes an unexceptional imperative clause structure. This perspective is figure headed by the analyses of Potsdam (1996, 1997, 2007) and is expanded somewhat by Han (1998, 2000, 2001). In essence, this approach derives

variations between the position of the verb/aux. and the overt subject from variability in the position of the verb/aux. itself (in C^0 or I^0).

Other frameworks take alternative routes to the data, postulating that variation is exhibited instead by the position of the subject: Rupp (1999), Platzack and Rosengren (1998), Jensen (2003) and others. Furthermore, such analyses assume that imperative clauses are inherently exceptional in comparison to other clause-types, and this usually manifests in the postulation of some truncation or deficiency in the clausal hierarchy of imperatives. The absence of FinP as a specification of finiteness and speech time (along with TP, MoodP) is proposed by Platzack and Rosengren (1998) in an attempt to group the various elements of imperatives under one phenomenon, the loss of finiteness having effects upon the nature of clausal interpretation and the role of the subject. Other frameworks, such as Jensen (2003) build upon the concepts of speech time specification for imperatives, while a variety of others consistently postulate that it is in fact tense (TP) that is lacking in imperative clauses (Zanuttini 1991, 1994, Den Dikken and Blasco 2007, etc.). Ultimately, the upshot of these various frameworks is that a consistent set of properties can be defined which distinguish imperative clauses: lack of tense morphology/TP projection, evaluation at/specification of speech time, optionality of the imperative subject/reference of subject to addressee, and the role of certain types of (deontic) modality in imperative meaning.

Chapter 3

OLD ENGLISH SYNTAX: AN OVERVIEW

3.1 Introduction

Old English (OE) is a language of West Germanic descent, and retains many of the general characteristics of Germanic languages, in terms of morphology and lexicon, as well as many of the typical Germanic syntactic patterns, such as the prevalent Verb-Second (V2) construction. However, much like its contemporary descendant Modern English (ModE), Old English diverges in a variety of perplexing ways. The inconsistent application of the V2 pattern, for example, has provided fodder for decades of debate, connected to both the surface realization of V2 and the underlying word order of OE clauses, which, it is generally agreed, appears to have undergone a change from OV (object - verb) to VO (verb - object). These vital issues will inevitably enter into the discussion of imperative syntax, and it is therefore necessary to address them within the context of their relevancy for a discussion of Old English imperatives.

Accordingly, this chapter begins with an overview of the most important factors: the status of V2 in Old English, and the various processes and motivations involved in this pattern are described. A discussion of the significance of basic OV vs. VO word order follows this, in which the opposition between main and subordinate clauses, as well as the status of coordinate clauses, is taken into account (this latter topic especially, due to the fact that it has immediate application to imperatives, since imperatives are restricted in subordinate contexts). An examination of the possibilities for subject-placement, as well as the role of topicalization in imperative and non-imperative clauses will necessarily enter into such discussions at various points, along with a full description of the realization of imperative verb-forms and subject options. The chapter concludes

with a description of the overall framework for Old English syntax that will be used in the analysis of imperatives in Chapter 5.

3.2 OE Syntactic Patterns: Verb-Second

The pattern of verb placement which has, in many of the Germanic languages both past and present, been classified as Verb-Second (V2), superficially consists of the observation that the majority of main clauses place the finite verb as the second constituent in the sentence, with the first position filled by a variety of other constituents, including subjects, objects, and adverbs. Of course, it should be noted that this is not an absolutely strict category, and a host of exceptions are possible in most languages which fall within the V2 category. Van Kemenade (1987) provides a detailed summary of these variations for Old English, in comparison with similar constructions in Dutch and German, and her analysis is expanded further by the discussion in Fischer, Van Kemenade, Koopman, and Van Der Wurff (2000). The overall theory of Verb-Second examined here will also be informed by the observations of Branigan (1996).

As noted above, the pattern of V2, while certainly prevalent in Old English, cannot be neatly classified as such due to the interplay between the position of the verb, the subject, and various preposed constituents, including topicalized objects and adverbs, preposed negation, and wh-constituents. The following examples will illustrate the possibilities for OE (adapted from Fischer et al. 2000, pp. 40, 49 and Van Kemenade 1987, pp. 17-19, 31)[1]:

(1) a. *We habbað hwæðere þa bysne on halgum bocum*
we have .pl yet dem. examples in holy books
"We have, nevertheless, the examples in holy books." (coaelhom: I, 31.474.33)

[1] Where possible, the labeling of the OE texts in the citations here is standardized according to the YCOE tagging system. The section and line numbers have not been altered. See Chapt. 4 (p. 57, fn.2) for information on glosses.

b. *Se swicola Herodes cwæð to ðam tungel -witegum*

dem. treacherous Herod spoke.sg to dem. star-wise men

"The treacherous Herod spoke to the astrologers." (coaelhom: I, 82, 15)

(2) a. *On twæm þingum hæfde God mannes sawle gegodod*

in two things had.sg God man's soul endowed

"With two things had God endowed man's soul." (coaelhom: I, 1.20.1)

b. *Maran cyððe habbað englas to Gode þonne men*

more affinity have.pl angels to God than men

"Angels have more affinity to God than men." (coaelhom: I, 10.3)

c. *Be ðæm we magon suiðe swutule oncnawan ðæt. . .*

by that we may.pl very clearly perceive.inf that. . .

"By that, we can perceive very clearly that. . ." (*CP* 26.181.16)

(3) *Hwæt sægest þu, yrþlingc? Hu begæst þu weorc þin?*

what say.sg you, ploughman.voc? How perform.sg you work yours?

"What do you say, ploughman? How do you do your work?" (*ÆColl* 22.23)[2]

(4) *ne sende se deofol ða fyr of heofenum, þeah ðe hit ufan come.*

neg sent.sg dem. devil dem fire from heaven though that it from-above came.sg

"the devil did not send fire from heaven, though it came from above"

(coaelhom: I, (Pref)6.13)

(5) a. *þa astah se Hælend up on ane dune*

then rose.sg dem. Lord up on a mountain

"Then the Lord went up into a mountain." (coaelhom: I, 182)

[2] *Ælfric's Colloquy* (Garmonsway 1939)

b. *þonne beoð eowere eagan geopenode*

then are.pl your eyes opened

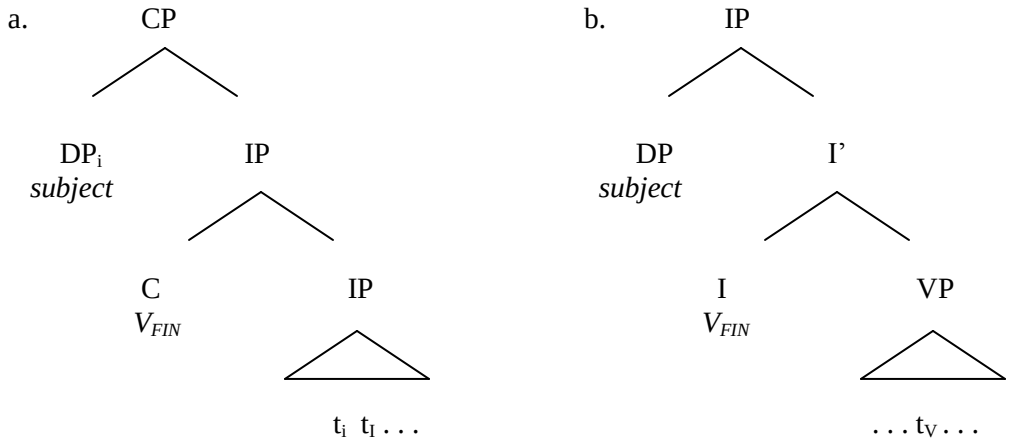
"then your eyes are opened." (coaelhom: I, 18)

The sentences in (1) exemplify typical V2 constructions with the subject (pronoun and full-DP, both in nominative case) as the first constituent. (2a) and (2c) exhibit topic-first constructions with topicalized PP-adjuncts, while (2b) shows a topicalized accusative object. In (2a, b), the DP-subject follows the verb, and this is the overall trend for DP-subjects in topicalized constructions. In (2c), however, the pronoun-subject intervenes between topic and verb. As will be discussed, this issue of the subject-position is particularly problematic for many theories, since this pattern seems to belie a variation either in the position of pronoun-subjects versus DP-subjects or in the position of the finite verb itself with respect to the topic. Van Kemenade (1987) groups the sentences in (3-5) in one category based on the similarities that they exhibit, although they involve different elements. Sentence (3) is a constituent question and therefore shows fronting of the wh-constituent, with subsequent movement of the finite verb to second position. Again, the subject is postverbal. This pattern is repeated in (4) and (5a,b), with the placement of the verb relative to the adverb *þa* in (5b) being a particularly consistent and frequent construction.

The contrast between e.g. the pattern of verb and subject placement with wh-constituents, negation, and adverbs and the pattern of topicalized constructions involves the possibilities for the position of the subject, as noted. In the overall literature on V2, two families of theories have been proposed to account for the range of structural phenomena related to these patterns. The first set of theories ("C-position theories") place the raised verb in the head of C^0, with a fronted constituent (the subject or a topicalized element) in spec-CP. The second approach ("Dual-position theories") involves different

structures for subject-verb constructions (the verb raises to I^0 with the subject in spec-IP) and topic-verb constructions (the verb raises to C^0 with the topic in spec-CP, as with C-position theories). The two resultant tree structures are as follows (from Branigan 1996, p. 50):

(6)

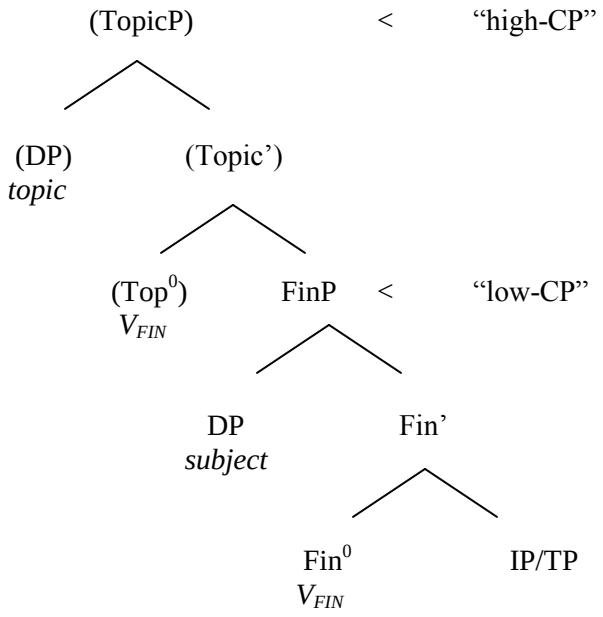


C-position theories *Dual position theories*

Branigan (1996) provides a comprehensive analysis of the advantages and disadvantages of each approach and offers an alternative based upon a semi-expanded-CP model (preceding Rizzi 1997), where the subject occupies a lower spec-CP, with the verb in a lower C-position. Topicalized constituents and the raised verb occupy, respectively, the specifier and head of a separate, higher CP. In essence, this is a compromise between the two previous analyses, taking the observation of the first approach whereby the verb, subject, and topicalized constituents are located within the CP-domain and combining this with the "dual position" structure of the second approach. As noted, this model prefigures the proposals of Rizzi (1997), who applies a label to both the higher CP (TopicP) and the lower CP (FinP). Thus, an updated view of Branigan's proposal can generalize that the V2 verb is standardly raised to Fin^0, with the subject in spec-FinP, while topicalized constituents are raised to spec-TopicP, followed frequently by the verb

in Top^0. This framework can also be applied to the placement of wh-constituents, which are frequently considered to occupy a FocusP projection (with movement of the verb to adjacent Foc^0). The following tree structure summarizes this model, which will be taken as a baseline for the analysis of Old English imperative clause structure in Chapter 5:

(7)



3.3 OE Synactic Patterns: VO vs. OV, Main and Subordinate Clauses

Another aspect of Old English syntax which has received a great deal of attention concerns the underlying "headedness" of base-generated syntactic structures. Two options are available in most current conceptions of syntactic structure: *head – complement* or *complement – head*. In OE clause structure, these options manifest as the pattern VO (verb – object) or OV (object – verb), and the question of which option is basic in OE has been addressed by many scholars (see Van Kemenade 1987, p. 15 for an overview). The overall intuition of most analyses is that OE underwent a change in the basic headedness of clauses, and a significant number of approaches argue that the older pattern was OV, with an eventual shift toward VO. Of course, in light of certain recent theories, e.g. Kayne's (1994) Linear Correspondence Axiom, the entire concept of

variation in the headedness of clause structure has been called into question, since according to such a system, complements may only be merged to the right of the head (V**O**) and specifiers to the left (**S**VO). Fischer et al. (2000, pp. 151-160) propose a framework based upon these constraints on sentence structures; however, the purpose of their proposals is geared more toward identifying what problems must be dealt with in such an approach, and they make few definite conclusions. With this is mind, the following section will stick to the relevant literature taking OV/VO headedness variations as a possibility, partly because the exact nature of this aspect of syntactic structure is not absolutely vital to the discussion of imperatives to follow, and partly because the conclusions of these approaches may actually capture many of the properties of Old English syntax which remain difficult for other models.

Many approaches argue for an OV approach to Old English syntax based upon structures found frequently in subordinate clauses and upon the relative placement of the finite and non-finite verbs (which can offer evidence of finite verb movement from the base-generated position). Accordingly, the following sentences will exemplify notable instances of the OV pattern (adapted from Van Kemenade 1987, pp. 19-20). These may be contrasted with sentences (1-6) in section 3.2, all of which exhibit the opposite (VO) pattern:

(8) a. *þæt he mehte his feorh generian*
that he might.sg his life save.inf
"So that he might save his life." (coorosiu: 48.18)

b. *þæt hie ne mehton þa gefarenan to eorþan bringan*
that they neg could.pl dem. dead to earth bring.inf
"So that they could not bury the dead." (coorosiu: 49.23)

(9) a. *þæt Darius hie mid gefeohte secan wolde.sg*

that Darius them for battle seek.inf wanted

"That Darius wanted to seek them out for battle." (coorosiu: 45.31)

b. . . .*þæt hie þæt to his honda healdan sceoldon*

that they that from his hands hold .inf should.pl

". . .that they ought to withhold it from him." (cochron: 887)

It should be noted that all of these examples appear in embedded contexts, as evidenced by the consistent appearance of the complementizer *þæt*. Sentences (8a,b) exemplify constructions with raising of the finite verb to second position (below the complementizer) and an OV arrangement with the object(s) and the non-finite verb. Van Kemenade (1987) offers these, among various other examples, as evidence for underlying OV word order based upon the position of the non-finite verb, which is assumed to mark the base-position of the raised finite verb. Sentences (9a,b) provide even more color to the picture presented, as they exhibit finite verbs in final position, i.e. right of all objects and the non-finite verb. The status of these finite-verb-final constructions plays an important role in the proposal made by Pintzuk (1999), who argues for a unique position where both OV and VO structures are possible, based upon a background of "phrase-structure competition." In essence, Pintzuk proposes that the apparently different possibilities for headedness in OE are a result of the competition of two different systems—one older, one newer. The OV pattern is taken to be the older pattern, hence its survival in embedded contexts but not in the majority of main clauses.

A further consequence of Pintzuk's approach involves the status not only of VO and OV constructions, but also the "headedness" of the functional domain of syntactic projection: INFL. Pintzuk proposes that the INFL projection also exhibits variation in left or right headedness, and that a right-headed INFL results in the structures seen in (9a,b),

with the finite verb following the rest of the clause: subject, non-finite verb, objects and all. A left-headed INFL would result in the standard V2 construction familiar from the other examples above. Although such an analysis is in many ways quite unique, especially in comparison to other proposals, it is certainly an innovative means of capturing the perplexing level of variety in OE clause structure, and it is also attractive because it allows the finite verb in both verb-final and V2 contexts to be targeting the same position ("INFL"), instead of having to postulate and motivate movement of the verb to various distinct positions. Even Fischer et al, (2000), despite their differing VO-only proposal, admit to a certain extent the advantages of such a framework if phrase structure variation of this kind is accepted (p. 128). However, they also offer the criticism that Pintzuk bases her proposal upon the appearance of verb-final structures which are, according to W. Koopman (1995), statistically very limited. In addition, they also point out that the status of topicalized elements with respect to INFL-final/medial constructions remains unclear in Pintzuk's account (although this is mainly due to the lack of a distinct projection for TopicP, which neither Pintzuk 1999 nor Fischer et al. 2000 employ in their frameworks) (Fischer et al. 2000, pp. 121-123).

The final issue to be addressed here involves the nature of main vs. subordinate/embedded clauses in Old English, as well as the parallels that can be observed between subordinate clauses and coordinate clauses. Van Kemenade (1987, p. 45) states that the majority of subordinate clauses (i.e. introduced by a complementizer) are not V2 and are in fact verb-final. This is motivated by the appearance of an overt complementizer in C^0 which blocks movement of the verb and therefore fulfills the necessary structural requirements of the clause without recourse to verb-raising. Fischer et al. (2000, pp. 52-53) expand the discussion of embedded clauses to Old English coordinate clauses, which, they note, exhibit many of the same properties as embedded

clauses, i.e. decreased frequency of V2 structures and increased frequency of verb-final structures. Coordinate clauses may have topics as well, and the reason they are worth mentioning here is that coordinate clauses have greater relevancy for imperatives due to the fact that they are quite frequent in the data, and because imperatives are generally restricted in embedded contexts. The behavior of coordinate clauses may thus approximate the hypothetical behavior of "embedded imperatives."

3.4 OE Imperative Verb Morphology, Subjects, and Negation

Old English imperative verb forms are marked by a lack of morphology. Generally, they consist of the basic stem of the verb without modification in the case of strong verbs. In the case of weak verbs, a minimal suffix *-a* or *-e* does appear attached to the basic weak stem. When the subject of the imperative is plural, number inflection also appears on the verb stem: *-að/-aþ*. The standard second-person singular imperative subject is *þu* "you." The plural form is *ge.* Millward (1971), being the only previous corpus-based analysis of Old English imperatives, takes third person and first person singular subjects to be legitimate imperatives also, but according to the general properties in Chapter 2, these will be excluded from the category of imperatives, due to the fact that they frequently exhibit subjunctive morphology and may possibly be classified as purely subjunctive constructions. With these features in mind, the following chart will demonstrate the realization of second person (singular and plural) imperative forms, which Millward (1971, p. 16) divides into three classes based upon the form of the stem. I present a revised version of this division based upon the verb-type (strong or weak), expanded with some examples and etymological information from Mitchell and Robinson (2001, pp. 46-47):

Table 1: OE Imperative Verb Morphology

Class		Stem	Infinitive	2sg. Imp.	2pl. Imp.
(I)		V:C	*dēm-an*	*dēm*	*dēm-aþ*
		VCC	*help-an*	*help*	*help-aþ*
(II)	a.	V:C	*hīer-an*	*hīer*	*hīer-aþ*
		VCC	*bærn-an*	*bærn*	*bærn-aþ*
	b.	VC:-an	*fremm-an*	*frem-e*	*frem-aþ*
		Vr-ian	*ner-ian*	*ner-e*	*ner-aþ*
	c.	VC-ian	*luf-ian*	*luf-a*	*luf-aþ*

In this chart, the infinitive form of the verb is exemplified, due to its importance in the derivation of imperative forms. Class I exemplifies the strong verb classes, which distinguish between tense and mood via various gradations of ablaut. Strong verbs form the imperative with the bare stem of the infinitive, dropping the infinitive suffix *-an*. This is the case for strong verbs with both a long stem vowel (cf. *dēman*) and a short stem vowel followed by a consonant cluster (cf. *helpan*). Class II exemplifies the weak verb classes, which do not generally employ ablaut in the inflection of tense and mood, but instead make use of suffixes (such as the "dental" suffix *-ede/-ode* for past tense). Weak verbs generally form the imperative based upon the etymological shape of the stem. Verbs in (IIa) pattern with strong verbs in that they do not exhibit inflection beyond the bare stem form, once again showing the same dichotomy of long-vowel/diphthong stems and short-vowel+consonant cluster stems.

In the case of (IIb), the weak verbs are historically derived via a suffix **-jan*. The stem vowel of these verbs subsequently underwent i-umlaut prior to the loss of the semi-vowel **j*, which motivated gemination of the stem consonant (cf. *fremman* < **fram-jan*), except if the consonant was /r/, in which case the semi-vowel was preserved (cf. *nerian* <

**nær-jan*). The imperative form does not exhibit gemination or the surviving /i/ and instead shows only the suffix *-e*. Weak verbs which pattern according to the model in (IIc) are derived via a historical suffix **-ōjan*, which survives as the infinitive suffix *-ian* (cf. *lufian* < **luf-ōjan*). The imperative forms of such verbs show only a suffix *-a*. Second-person plural inflection is consistent throughout the paradigm here, taking the form *-aþ*. On occasion, plural inflection also shows up as a suffix *-n*, yielding an imperative that is similar to the basic infinitive. These instances are rare, however, and are always accompanied by an overt plural subject *ge* (Millward 1971, p. 19). Finally, certain verbs exhibit "anomalous" imperative forms, most importantly *beon* "to be" and *habban* "to have." The former appears as *beo* in the singular, *beoð/beoþ* in the plural, as well as the suppletive forms *wes* (sg.) and *wesað/wesaþ* (pl.), deriving from the verb *wesan*. *Habban* appears as *hafa* in the imperative singular, *hafað/hafaþ* in the plural.

An additional imperative verb form which is outside of this paradigm should be mentioned. These are the so-called first-person plural imperatives, which involve the particle *uton* and are always followed by an overt subject *we* (1pl. nom. pronoun) and a non-finite verb. Such constructions can be translated in ModE via "let's/let us…" and the nature of these imperative forms is a topic in its own right. Therefore, due to the overall consistency of the construction (*uton*+*we*+infinitive) and in the interest of space, I will not examine these imperative forms further except to note that such constructions do conform to the general principle of verb-first with a post-verbal overt subject (the reference of which includes both the addressee and the speaker). See Millward (1971, pp. 17-18) for further analysis.

Negative imperatives are formed via the same methods of negation found in other clauses; namely, the addition of the negative *ne*, which is largely assumed to be proclitic upon the imperative verb. This type of negation refers back to the distinction made in

Chapter 2 between "true" imperatives and "surrogate/suppletive" imperatives in some languages, and it can be seen that Old English negative imperatives do not show a "surrogate/suppletive" category, since they do not exhibit special morphological forms drawn from subjunctive/infinitive/indicative paradigms with negation, as in Spanish, French, Greek, etc. The nature of *ne* and its counterpart *na/no* within the syntax of the clause will play a role in the following discussions with respect to the processes of movement applied to the verb and subject.

3.5 A Framework for OE Syntax

Taking into account the models for V2 syntax and OV/VO word order discussed in the sections above, we can now construct a tentative overall framework for Old English syntax in preparation for a framework of imperative syntax in Chapter 5. In order to do this, I will bring into the discussion the final model presented by Fischer et al. (2000), which takes into consideration issues of subject placement and negation. This framework will ultimately be combined with observations from Branigan's (1996) proposal above.

As mentioned above, there is seemingly a mismatch between the standard position of full DP-subjects and the position of pronoun-subjects. This distinction becomes apparent when one of these subject types co-occurs with the negative particle *na/no*. In such cases, it is clear that DP-subjects do not raise higher than the negative particle, while pronoun subjects are free to appear higher in the syntactic structure. If we follow a form of Rizzi's Relativized Minimality (1990), we can posit a relation holding between *na/no* and full-XPs whereby the negative particle blocks XP-movement but does not block the movement of pronouns (which can be viewed as heads in isolation) and are therefore allowed to reach the specifier of a higher functional projection. DP-subjects, in contrast, only move as far as spec-TP when the negative particle co-occurs.

In addition, the possibilities for subject positions with topicalized constituents in V2 clauses show a similar problem: DP-subjects always appear directly after the finite verb, which is immediately preceded by the topicalized constituent. Pronoun-subjects, on the other hand, frequently intervene between the verb and the topic. In order to resolve these issues, Fischer et al. (2000) propose that both of these subject-types occupy different positions within the clausal framework: DP-subjects raise at least to spec-TP, which projects below NegP (with *na/no* in the specifier blocking further movement), while pronoun-subjects raise to a pronoun-hosting projection which they label FP, above NegP but below CP. The CP-projection is assumed to host topicalized constituents and the fronted verb in topic-constructions. The hierarchy takes the following form:

$[_{CP}$ (topic) $[_{C}$ $[_{FP}$ pron-sbj$_k$ $[_{F}$ V-fin$_i$ $[_{(NegP)}$ *na/no* $[_{(Neg)}$ *ne-* $[_{TP}$ DP-sbj$_k$ $[_{T}$ t$_i$ $[_{VP}$ tk t$_i$]]]]]]]]]]

These aspects of the model mirror the "dual-position" approach discussed by Branigan, with the further advantage that they account for the seemingly anomalous position of pronominal vs. full-DP subjects in negative constructions with *na/no*. The articulation of this framework in many ways approaches the domain of cartographic approaches, and, in light of the discussion of the expanded CP domain in Chapter 1, some slight terminological alterations can be made. The FP projection here nicely parallels the FinP projection of a Rizzian expanded CP in that it typically hosts the finite verb and subjects, and it plays a vital part in the V2 patterning of main clauses. Also, if a distinct position is postulated to host topicalized constituents, above FP/FinP, but below CP, the various issues involving subject placement in relation to topics and verbs are somewhat reduced. This is because Fischer et al. (2000) limit the possible topic position in their framework to spec-CP, with the finite verb raised to F^0. With the different positioning of

DP- and pronoun-subjects, such a system appears to account for the major variations: preposed negation, adverbials, wh-constituents, and topics occupy the CP-domain and draw the verb to C^0, except for topics, which allow the finite verb to remain in F^0, with preverbal subject in spec-FP if it is a pronoun and postverbal subject in spec-TP if it is a DP. In all, this system accounts for the variation in subject and verb placement by positing that the two different subject types have two different positions, and that the verb moves between them in two different constructions (topics vs. wh-constituent/adverbial/negation contexts).

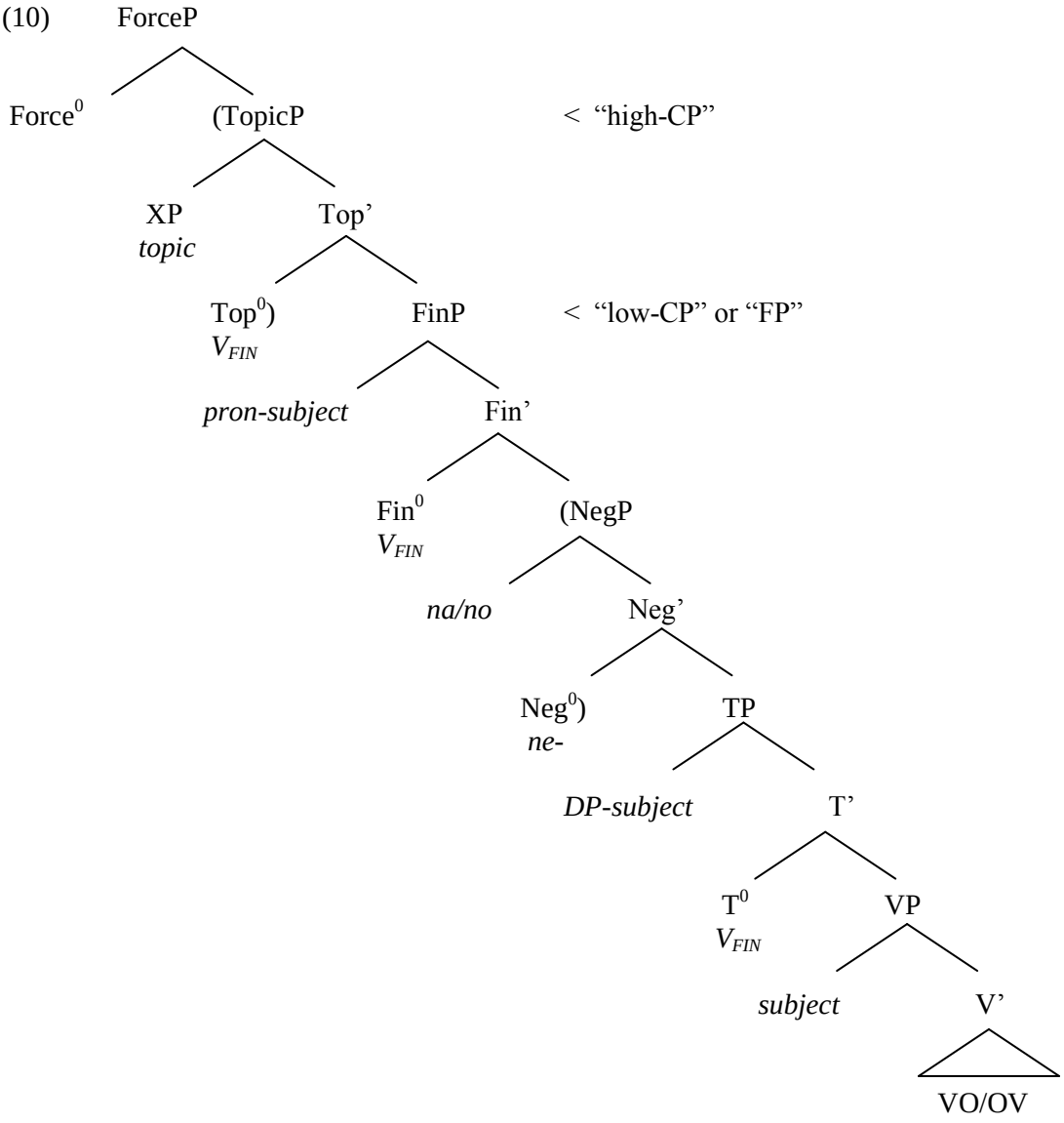
However, if, as in the case of Branigan's proposal (which houses topicalized constituents in a separate higher CP-projection), we assume an optional TopicP projection above the FinP/FP projection, this may in fact account for the variation in subject positions with topic-constructions without recourse to the stipulation that DP-subjects always remain in spec-TP while pronoun subjects raise to spec-FinP/FP. This is necessary for the approach in Fischer et al. (2000), but no motivation is given for the arrested raising of DP-subjects in non-negative contexts (i.e. without *na/no* in spec-NegP). Because of the fact that there are many examples in Old English of DP-subjects *preceding* the raised verb in V2 contexts, where they exhibit nominative case and are assumed to occupy FinP, we must conclude that DP-subjects can, in fact, be raised to spec-FinP. If, contrary to Fischer et al., we postulate that the subject (DP or pronominal) always raises to spec-FinP in non-negative constructions, it is necessary to introduce a TopicP projection which may be overtly marked by raising of the finite verb from Fin^0 to Top^0. When the subject is a pronoun, the finite verb is not absolutely required to move to the head of TopicP. This approach is attractive because it allows the subject to remain stationary in spec-FinP, an assumption necessary, for example, for the assignment of nominative case, which frequently corresponds to the specification of finiteness. In such a

framework, it is the verb itself which shows options for movement, rather than the subject. Evidence for such an interpretation is provided by the data for imperatives, as will be discussed, where the nominative subject practically never intervenes between topic and subject and must instead be postverbal in such cases.

Regarding the optional nature of movement to Top^0 in topic-constructions, it is notable that Van Kemenade (1987) proposes that subject pronouns are in fact cliticized upon the finite verb in V2 contexts in order to account for topic-constructions with the subject pronoun intervening between topic and verb. Although clitic-theories have not played a part in the overall analyses discussed here, it is interesting to note that, if the subject pronoun is indeed proclitic upon the finite verb, the variation is captured by simply assuming that the verb moves to Top^0 in all topic contexts, and that the intervention of the subject pronoun is only superficial.

Finally, in anticipation of a further discussion of imperative clausal syntax, I will assume a ForceP projection above TopicP, completing the expanded CP structure and, as will be seen in Chapter 5, providing a target for verb-first constructions in imperative clauses with postverbal subjects. This is, in essence, simply an expanded version of the model from Fischer et al. (2000), where the projection labeled CP has been dissolved into ForceP and TopicP, in line with the insights of Branigan's (1996) model. Pintzuk's (1999) proposed variation in the headedness of INFL, which, according to Fischer et al. (2000, p. 128) would correspond to FinP/FP, also comes into play here. Although I have not illustrated it in the diagram below, a right-branching Fin^0 would place the finite verb as the final constituent in the clause, and, as noted above, such an analysis is attractive due to the fact that it subsumes both verb-final and V2 constructions in one category where the finite verb generally raises to the head of FinP, regardless of its headedness option. The full syntactic tree is as follows:

(10)



3.6 Conclusion

This chapter covers several of the major themes of Old English syntax, providing an overview of the facts and the analyses proposed to account for them. These include the nature of V2 constructions, for which various models of syntax have been offered. Branigan (1996) provides a principled compromise between the different theories which is also compatible with contemporary cartographic approaches. The status of OV/VO variations in underlying clause structure is also addressed, leading into the proposal by Pintzuk (1999) which expands the head-final argument to the INFL layer of clause

structure, attempting to capture the nature of verb-final constructions via an INFL-final (or FinP-final) option. The interplay of these various properties within main, subordinate, and coordinate clauses is also examined. According to Fischer et al. (2000), coordinate clauses in Old English can be seen to share many of the properties of embedded/subordinate clauses, and the consequences of these facts are applicable to imperatives, which frequently appear in coordinate structures, but cannot be embedded. Continuing into the specifics of Old English imperative verb-morphology, subjects, and negation, a full description of the various imperative forms is provided, along with the forms of the imperative subjects. Finally, a synthesis of syntactic analyses for V2 constructions in OE, with recourse to cartographic principles of the expanded-CP system, results in an overall framework for OE clauses, taking into account the aspects of topicalization, negation, and subject and verb placement. This structure will be vital in the discussions of imperative clauses to come.

Chapter 4

A CORPUS ANALYSIS OF OLD ENGLISH IMPERATIVES

4.1 Introduction

With the three-fold groundwork of imperative syntax, Old English syntax, and an underlying foundation of syntactic theory fully established, it is now time to address the data-oriented portion of this thesis: a corpus-study of Old English imperative clause structure. This chapter is organized as follows: Section 4.1 explains the methodology of the corpus-study, discussing how the York-Helsinki-Toronto parsed corpora are organized, as well as the means by which the two corpora are queried and the structure of the queries themselves. Section 4.2 discusses specific preliminary steps that are necessary in order to focus on the properties of imperative clauses, including the selection of imperative verb forms, the status of subordinate and coordinate clauses, and the identification of imperative subjects (i.e. versus vocatives), objects, adverbials, etc., all in the interest of setting up a basis for narrowing down the precise structures which can provide insight into the structure of OE imperative clauses.

Section 4.3 presents the data/results of the corpus study, which is two-fold. Part One addresses the preliminary objective of the corpus-study, which is to confirm the conclusions of Millward (1971), the only previous corpus-based study of Old English imperatives. The first portion of the study is therefore aimed at either corroborating or contradicting Millward's results within the context of more contemporary syntactic theory as well as within the greater scope of the YCOE corpora. The purpose of Part One is therefore to establish a baseline for a more in-depth investigation of OE imperative clause structure. Part Two expands upon the conclusions of the Part One, targeting specific structures in detail, as informed by the theoretical frameworks for OE and imperative syntax in previous chapters, and ultimately establishing an overall picture of

the syntactic patterns of imperative clauses in OE. Both sections will present the collated data in a series of tables, along with glossed examples of important structures.[3] Section 4.4 concludes the chapter with a summary of the results of each part.

4.2 Methodology

4.2.1 Structure of the Corpora and Queries

The overall purpose of the corpus-study is to determine the statistical frequency of certain structures as they occur in imperative clauses in Old English, and the selection of these specific structures is informed by the discussion of imperative syntax and overall Old English syntax from the previous chapters. All data in this corpus-study is gathered via the *York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose* and the *York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Poetry* (both of which will be referred to as YCOE, specifying prose or poetry where necessary). These corpora are organized according to the Penn parsed tree structure system and are accessed via queries input through the interface-program CorpusSearch. The corpora are split into tokens, which generally include a single clause or a system of conjoined clauses, and the syntax of each query must be set up according to principles of *dominance* and *precedence*. A large variety of functions can be used to specify exact positions for constituents in the clause with regard to these two overall relations, making it possible to narrow a query to a precise set of constructions.

The texts contained within the two corpora encompass a broad range of dates, authors, and dialects. A full list of the texts cited in this paper can be found in Appendix C, along with links to the full list of texts in the YCOE databases. The scope of this paper

[3] Note on glosses: grammatical notations are kept to a minimum. Case is marked on objects where necessary. Plural number is glossed on imperative verbs exhibiting plural morph. Verbal mood on non-imperative verbs is only marked when necessary, i.e. distinguishing subjunctive from imperative morphology. See the Abbreviations (p. vii) for a list of grammatical tags used in the glosses.

is limited with regard to diachronic development, for example between early and late texts, and is instead geared more toward a description of the major possibilities for OE imperative clauses in general. Therefore, I will not delve further into the specific characteristics and contrasts between late and early texts or texts of differing dialect, except where necessary or significant. The overall homogeneity of the data, as will be seen, provides justification for this approach. Each text in the corpora is individually tagged, and each token is labeled according to its text of origin and its position within that text. In citing examples in the body of this paper, therefore, I use the citations from the corpora in order that they may be queried directly (since it is possible to query single tokens from the corpus texts).

The labeling of the corpora follows standard conventions for parts-of-speech. Verbs, nouns, modifiers (adjectives, adverbs), prepositions, and conjunctions (coordinators) are represented as the heads of nodes dominated by the clausal-node, specified as IP or CP. These heads can be modified according to Case (-NOM/-SBJ, -ACC, -DAT, -GEN, etc.) as well as function (-TMP for temporal adverbs and PPs, -VOC for vocative NPs, etc.). The IP node is the most important for the analysis of imperative clauses, as it provides specifications for *matrix* clauses (IP-MAT), as well as *subordinate* clauses (IP-SUB); however, ultimately, only matrix clauses are relevant for imperative syntax for reasons that will be discussed below.

The tree structures of the YCOE are multi-branching, and, thus, a specific clause can be searched with respect to its relation to the dominating node above (*dominance,* e.g. IP immediately dominates a verb in a verb phrase) or according to its relation to other constituents on the same level (*precedence,* e.g. a verb VB immediately precedes an object NP-ACC or a subject NP-NOM). IPs can also be specified in other ways, e.g. “direct speech” (SPE). The label CP is used only when a clause is introduced by a

complementizer, and it can be further modified, for example when it is used adverbially (-ADV). The program CorpusSearch, which interfaces with the YCOE corpora, allows one to submit sets of queries, which are then input to the main corpus source files, and output the resulting data. The output files themselves are likewise available to be used as source files, allowing one to sequentially narrow down a particular set of structures: in this case, clauses with imperative verb structures.

4.2.2 Preliminary Steps

The collection of data begins by querying all instances of imperative verbs. The corpora have a dedicated label for imperative verbs (VBI), imperative forms of "be" (BEI), and imperative forms of "have" (HVI), so this initial step is accomplished simply by querying all IPs where VBI/BEI/HVI exists. The result of this first search then becomes a subcorpus for further queries. One issue to resolve involves the status of verbs labeled "ambiguous imperative/subjunctive verb forms." These include the majority of examples of so-called first-person and third-person imperatives, as discussed by Millward (1971). Almost all of these make use of subjunctive inflections, and, according to the definitions of imperative in previous chapters, these ambiguous constructions are excluded from the search. The goal of this study is to examine only definitive instances of imperative verbs (i.e. with second-person subjects and distinct imperative morphology).

Along the same line of thought, it is vital to be able to distinguish between legitimate imperative subjects and vocatives (the former being generally pronominal and exhibiting nominative case, labeled NP-NOM/SBJ in the corpora). Vocative constituents are generally marked by the tag VOC applied to NP (NP-VOC), and, in the writing of queries, it is possible to single out and "ignore" such constituents, so that they do not show up as imperative subjects at all. This ultimately limits the possibilities for subjects in imperative clauses to the second-person singular/plural pronominal forms *þu* and *ge*,

and prevents vocatives from interfering, for example, with determining the verb position (i.e. in first, second, third position, etc.).

The status of imperatives in subordinate clauses (IP-SUB) is also important, and therefore a query can be input to determine whether or not imperative verbs occur in embedded clauses. Ultimately, I have limited the scope of the corpus study to matrix clauses (IP-MAT), and this is partially due to the fact that, in general, imperatives cannot be embedded as subordinate clauses, and therefore the number of imperative verbs parsed as occurring within subordinate clauses (IP-SUB) is expected to be extremely low. In fact, although a subset of imperative verbs are parsed within IP-SUB, all instances are shown to be inconsistencies within the corpus labeling system, being either examples of coordinate constructions labeled as "subordinate," or instances of direct speech (IP-SUB-SPE) that are inherently independent. To be sure, all such examples have been examined on an individual basis for confirmation of these facts. Thus, after excluding subordinate clauses from consideration, the search is limited only to independent, matrix clauses.

Although subordinate clauses are restricted here, coordinate clauses do play an important role. These are marked by a coordinator/conjunction CONJ and can also appear in "conjunction-phrase" (CONJP) constructions with multiple conjoined clauses. As noted by Fischer et al. (2000), Old English coordinate clauses frequently exhibit the properties of subordinate clauses, despite their independent status, and while imperatives may not appear in subordinate constructions, they do, in fact, appear in coordination. Because of this, I separate coordinate from non-coordinate clauses (labeled "main clauses") in the majority of the following data.

Other elements that play a role in the organization of the data are as follows: (a) "direct" and "indirect" objects, labeled according to their case, NP-ACC (accusative object, "direct object"), NP-DAT (dative, "indirect object"), NP-GEN (genitive,

frequently a modifier, occasionally an object); (c) prepositional phrases (PP), which also appear as objects, in addition to serving as adverbials; (d) adverbial elements (ADV), frequently temporal; and (e) clausal modifiers (CP, CP-ADV). The nature of PPs in particular is one difficulty in the overall search, because there is no easy way to distinguish objective usages of PPs from non-objective (e.g. adverbial) ones. Generally, they have been grouped into a single category.

4.3 Data

4.3.1 Part One: Confirming Millward (1971)

The purpose of this portion of the corpus-study is to confirm or contradict the results of Millward (1971). In order to do so, a brief description of those results is in order. In the conclusions of her study, Millward formulates a list of observable patterns for imperative clauses based on the frequency results from her own corpus analysis. The following sequence of constituents is classified as the most frequent of these patterns (pp. 34-35):

Verb + (Subject) + ((Indirect Object) + Direct Object)

This schema is based on the frequencies of imperatives consisting of a single verb, combined with the number of imperatives with V+(S)+DO, and V+(S)+IO+DO. From the perspective of contemporary syntactic theory, this pattern can be disassembled into a set of claims about the structure of Old English imperative syntax: (1) verb-initial constructions are a dominant pattern, (2) overt imperative subjects immediately follow the imperative verb, (3) direct (accusative case morphology) and indirect (dative case morphology) objects are positioned postverbally and post-subject. A further assumption of this pattern, although not crucial to our purposes here, is that the presence of an indirect object necessitates the presence of a direct object.

The implications of Millward's study can be cast in the light of more current syntactic models by applying some of the general observations from Chapter 2. As noted, the relative positioning of objects is not as vital here, except in light of their position with respect to the subject and imperative verb, both of which provide vital structural cues. Superficially, the pattern above accords with the intuition that the imperative verb form is generally fronted, with the majority of cases showing it in a high position in the clause. The position of the subject, where it is overt, is also important, as it primarily appears after the fronted verb, and thus, in comparison with the generalizations made in Chapter 3 for main declarative clauses in Old English, this provides further evidence for movement of the verb above the position of the subject, much like in other preposing contexts with wh-constituents, negation, and adverbs.

The design of part one is therefore meant to provide confirmation or contradiction for these claims. Verb-initial (V1) constructions are queried by searching all instances where an IP node immediately dominates an imperative verb form (VBI, HVI, BEI) as the first constituent. Postverbal subjects in such cases can be determined by querying IPs which also immediately dominate a nominative subject (NP-NOM or NP-SBJ) in second position, while preverbal subjects are determined by querying instances where a nominative subjects *precedes* a non-initial imperative verb. As a comparison to the results for V1 structures, I will add verb-final constructions by querying IPs immediately dominating an imperative verb in last position. These results can be further tailored in order to winnow out all instances of single-verb constructions (IPs immediately dominating an imperative verb as the first and last constituent), which are subtracted from the totals for verb-initial and verb-final imperative matrix clauses.

As noted above, the additional element of main vs. coordinate clauses is necessary to bring into consideration. Thus, the queries for initial and final verbs can be

duplicated, taking into account the presence of a coordinator/conjunction (CONJ) in first position (whereas conjunctions were ignored in the previous queries). The results for coordinate clauses are also subtracted from the totals for verb-initial and verb-final constructions. For the purposes of this portion of the study, the remaining instances of non-initial and non-final constructions are lumped together under a "verb-medial" category. The totality of this data is collated in Table 2. It is organized according to verb position: initial, final, medial, and single. These groups are further split into Main Clauses and Coordinate Clauses. The number of hits is given along with the percentage for each structure, divided according to the corpus of prose and the corpus of poetry:

Table 2: Preliminary Verb-Position Figures

Position	**Clause-Type**	**Prose**		**Poetry**	
		#	**%**	**#**	**%**
Verb-Initial	Main	4958	53%	138	64%
	Coord.	1843	20%	7	3.2%
Verb-Final	Main	68	.7%	18	8.3%
	Coord.	107	1.1%	5	2.3%
Verb-Medial	Main/Coord.	2049	22%	45	21%
Single-Verb	Main	307	3.3%	2	.9%
	Coord.	86	.9%	2*	.9%
Total		**9418**		**217**	

* One of these is a construction with two coord. verbs and a single object: ?*Hafa nu ond **geheald** husa selest*. (cobeowul,22.658.551)

The following sets of examples will serve to illustrate two of the major categories represented above: verb-initial and verb-final. The verb-medial category will be further explicated in discussions of V2 and V3 constructions in Part Two, while the single-verb category contains all instances of imperative clauses consisting of no more than the imperative verb and is merely intended as a tool to derive the actual numbers of

imperative clauses with structure beyond a single imperative verb. Sentences (1a-d) illustrate the first category, with imperative verbs in bold:

(1) a. ***Saga*** *me hwær scyne seo sunne on niht.*

say me.dat where shines the sun on night

"Tell me where the sun shines at night." (coadrian,Ad:6.1.15)

b. *Ne* ***beo*** *ðu on sefan to forht,*

neg be you in heart too afraid

"Do not be too afraid in your heart." (coandrea,5.98.70)

c. *and* ***beluc*** *þa duru, gyf þu us ne gelyfst,*

and lock dem. door.acc if you us neg believe

"and lock the door if you do not believe us." (coaelhom,+AHom_22:391.3511)

d. *ond* ***fulwiað*** *folc under roderum.*

and baptize.pl folk.acc under heavens

"and baptize people under the heavens." (cochrist,16.480.315)

Sentences (1a, b) are taken from prose texts, while (1c, d) are from poetic texts. Both pairs exemplify imperative construction with the verb in clause-initial position. Sentences (1a, b) exhibit main clause constructions, while (1c, d) have coordinate clauses. Affirmative and negative sentences are also exemplified here, as well as, in the case of (1b), a postverbal subject. This verb-initial pattern constitutes the majority of instances for main and coordinate clause-types in prose texts (53% main, 20% coordinate), while it is the majority for main clauses only in poetic texts (64% main, 3.2% coordinate). Taken together, however, the frequencies of verb-initial constructions in main + coordinate clauses make up about 72% of total instances in prose, 67% in poetry.

The purpose of including verb-final along with verb-initial constructions is two-fold: first, to provide a comparison with the two majority constructions (initial and medial)

and second, to illustrate the ratios of initial and final constructions in both main and coordinate clauses. The following examples illustrate this pattern:

(2) a. *Wið gomena sare, foxes sina* ***genim***
against palate.gen pain fox.gen eye take
"Use fox's eye against pain of the mouth."
(coquadru,Med_1.1_[de_Vriend]:4.8.150)

b. *ne þurh yrhþe ðinre hæle weg.acc ne* ***forlæt.***
nor through cowardice your holy way neg give-up
"nor give up your holy way through cowardice." (cobenrul,BenR:5.11.63)

c. *ðu þæt sar* ***aber;***
you dem.acc pain bear
"Endure that pain." (coandrea,29.956.262)

d. *ne on mode ne* ***murn.***
nor in heart not mourn
"nor mourn in your heart." (coandrea,5.98.71)

As with the previous set of examples, (2a, b) are from prose, (c, d) from poetry, illustrating for main and coordinate clauses the pattern whereby the imperative verb appears clause-finally. It should be noted that the structure of (2a) is highly formulaic, appearing mainly in rigid structures from medicinal texts. This pattern makes up the bulk of verb-final imperatives in main clauses. However, the verb-final nature of (2a) may prove only peripheral in comparison to the nature of the initial element: a clause-initial PP. This issue and the specific texts involved will be noted further in section 4.3.2.3 below.

As recorded in the table, the disparity in the frequency of verb-final constructions in coordinate vs. main clauses in prose texts is far greater than with verb-initial

constructions: a 39-61% split for verb-final constructions versus 73-27% with verbs in initial position. Poetic texts do not show this contrast (78-22% coord. and 95-5% main clauses); however, the number of hits for coordinate clauses is comparatively small (only 23 hits, vs. 175 hits in prose texts). Ultimately, these facts show that the number of verb-final constructions in prose texts is much higher in coordinate clauses than in main clauses, while the opposite is true of verb-initial constructions. Although, in the overall scheme of things, verb-final constructions constitute only a small percentage of imperative clauses (about 2% in prose, 11% in poetry), their distribution between main and coordinated contexts is notable in light of the semi-subordinate nature of OE clauses in coordination, since subordinate clauses also exhibit higher frequencies of verb-final constructions (see Chapter 3, section 3.3) .

The final part of this section concerns the overall position of overt subjects in imperative clauses. At this stage, two categories are relevant: postverbal subjects and preverbal subjects. Table 3 provides the total hits and percentages for each category, parsed once again for main and coordinate clauses in prose and poetic texts:

Table 3: Overt Subjects

Position	**Clause-Type**	**Prose**		**Poetry**	
		#	**%**	**#**	**%**
Postverbal	Main	424	80%	25	52%
	Coord.	66	12%	0	0%
Preverbal	Main	11	2%	19	39.7%
	Coord.	30	6%	4	8.3%
Total		**531**		**48**	

The following sentences exemplify both positions for subjects, starting with (3a-d) which illustrate clauses containing postverbal subjects:

(3) a. *Ne* ***tala*** *þu me, þæt ic ne cunne þone intingan þinre unrotnisse…*

neg tell you me.dat that I neg know dem.acc cause your sorrow.gen

"Do not tell me so that I may not know the cause of your sorrow…"

(cobede,Bede_2:9.128.21.1228)

b. *&* *þurh* *þæt* ***forlæt*** *ðu* *þinne* *þone* *yfelan* *lust.*

and through that give-up you your.acc dem.acc evil desire

"and, by that, give up your evil desire."

(coverhom,HomS_43_[ScraggVerc_13]:31.1759)

c. ***Beo*** *ðu on tid gearu;*

be.imp you on journey ready

"Be prepared on the journey." (coandrea,9.214.155)

d. *Ne* ***sleh*** *þu, Abraham, þin agen bearn, sunu mid sweorde.*

neg slay you Abraham.voc your own child son with sword

"Abraham, do not slay your own child, your son, with the sword."

(coexodus,103.417.336)

The examples in (3a, b) are from prose texts, main and coordinate clauses. Examples (c, d) are from poetry; however, no coordinate clauses with postverbal subjects occur in poetry, and (d) therefore consists of a second example from a main clause. Overt subjects in postverbal position are, according to the table, the overwhelming majority pattern in imperative clauses for both prose and poetic texts. Combining the numbers of main and coordinate clauses, they form 92% of total overt subjects in prose texts, 52% in poetic texts. Another element to take into account here involves the comparative frequency of overt subjects in main and coordinate clauses: 82% of overt subjects (post- and preverbal) appear in main clauses, while only 17% occur in coordinate clauses. This contrast is most likely due to the fact that clauses in coordinate structures frequently lack

overt subjects which appear in preceding clauses. The YCOE corpora frequently parse these as "empty" subject positions (i.e. having no overt realization in the clause); however, in collating the data for subjects in coordinate clauses I have excised these structures in favor of finding only examples with overt subjects in the text itself.

Imperatives with preverbal subjects are exemplified in (4a-d) below, following the same pattern of prose (a, b) vs. poetry (c, d) and main (a, c) vs. coordinate (b, d) clauses:

(4) a. *Þises þu* ***nytta*** *ge on æfenne ge on underne.*
dem.gen you enjoy conj. in evening conj. in morning
"Enjoy this both at evening and morning." (colaece,Lch_II_[2]:6.1.15.2215)

b. *ne ðu him ne* ***ara****, ðæt ðu him gemiltsige & hine bedyhlige,*
nor you him.dat neg run that you him.obj pity and him.acc hide
"[do not…] nor run to him, that you may take pity on him and hide him."
(cootest,Deut:13.6.4734)

c. *þu on sælum* ***wes****, goldwine gumena*
you in happiness be.imp [friend.voc men.gen.]
"Be in happiness, O friend of men." (cobeowul,37.1170.962)

d. *Ond þu Unferð* ***læt*** *ealde lafe … widcuðne man heardecg habban;*
and you Unferð.acc let old remnant wise.acc one hard-edge have.inf
"And let Unferð, the wise one…have the old heirloom, the hard-edge (sword)."
(cobeowul,46.1488.1223)

Preverbal subjects are by far the minority case for overt imperative subjects, making up only 8% in prose texts (41 hits), 48% (23 hits) in poetic texts. In contrast to the frequencies of postverbal subjects, preverbal subjects occur more frequently in prose coordinate constructions: 30 hits for preverbal subjects in coordinate clauses and 11 hits

in main clauses versus only 66 hits for postverbal subjects in coordinate clauses and 424 hits in main clauses. Poetic texts do not show the same disparity, with both post- and preverbal subjects being a majority in main clauses versus coordinate clauses. Further examination of preverbal and postverbal contexts beyond these overall observations will be delayed until Part Two.

Finally, with regard to the placement of (direct and indirect) objects, if the results of Tables 2 and 3 are taken together, the positioning of objects—accusative, dative, etc.—can be derived. Due to the majority positions of imperative verbs (clause-initial) and imperative subjects (postverbal), we may infer that the majority of objects, direct and indirect, will also be postverbal and (to some extent) post-subject. As will be seen, the "post-subject" prediction will be borne out in a complete examination of postverbal subject positions in Part Two, although, as noted above, the relative position of accusative and dative objects is not necessarily crucial to the discussion here. This concludes the first portion of the study, which forms a base for the more detailed analysis in Part Two, which will examine in depth the structure of post- and preverbal subject placement, as well as V2 and V3 constructions.

4.3.2 Part Two: Imperative Clause Structure

The data gathered thus far provides a foundation for a more detailed examination of imperative clause structure, including the exact nature of structures superficially labeled "verb-medial" above (V2, V3 constructions, etc.), as well as the precise contexts for post- and preverbal overt subjects, topicalized objects, and the distribution of adverbs and adverbial-clauses. The goal of this portion of the corpus study is, therefore, to determine the precise frequencies of these structures in imperative clauses, beginning with a detailed look at the contexts within which post- and preverbal subjects appear, and then moving on to verb-second and verb-third constructions, respectively.

Before beginning, however, a brief tangent into the frequencies of affirmative vs. negative imperative constructions will provide some further depth to the body of data. The overall figures for affirmative and negative clauses (i.e. clauses where the imperative verb appears with proclitic *ne*) are as follows: 8962 affirmative (95%), 457 negative (5%) in prose texts; 202 affirmative (93%), 15 negative (7%) in poetic texts. The overall patterning of singular subjects in negative imperatives, as observed by Millward (1971, p. 24) has overt, singular, second-person subjects position directly after the verb (which, as is borne out in the data above, is itself frequently in first position). However, Millward claims, based on her data, that such subjects are *obligatory* in negative constructions. The data for affirmative and negative constructions in the YCOE shows that, in fact, constructions with either non-overt or preverbal (i.e. not appearing directly right-adjacent to the verb) subjects make up about 19.3% of total negative imperatives in prose texts (88 hits), contra the data from Millward (1971). Poetic texts are more limited in number in this respect, with only 4 instances out of 15 total negative constructions lacking overt, right-adjacent subjects (all of these hits show non-overt subjects). While these observations may not be as relevant as other aspects of the data, they do serve to show the value of the data gathered here in evaluating and expanding upon previous conclusions.

4.3.2.1 Postverbal Subjects

With the overall observations from Part One regarding the majority status of postverbal subjects in mind, this section will now focus in on the finer details of constructions with postverbal subjects. The data was gathered via a range of queries designed to find clauses where IP is parsed as immediately dominating specific constituents in precise linear positions: first, second, third, fourth, and so on. Taking the corpus data for verb-initial constructions and adding to this data for constructions with

the verb in a variety of "medial" positions (verb-second, verb-third, etc.), the relative position of (nominative) imperative subjects can be derived.

The results are compiled in Table 4, which is organized according to the position of the verb—first (V1), second (V2), third (V3), and so on—as well as according to the relation of the postverbal subject to the verb. As usual, main vs. coordinated clauses are also distinguished (coord. clauses are marked by a preceding *conj*.), although in certain constructions main and coordinate clauses do not co-occur and have therefore been omitted. Blanks are used in order to illustrate the different placements of subjects and verbs (second, third position, etc.) in a somewhat graphical manner. The total hits and percentages are recorded in the right-hand column for prose and poetic texts:

Table 4: Details of Postverbal Subjects

Position								**Prose**	**Poetry**
V1 (a)		V_1	subj.					421	25
(b)		V_1	___	subj.				2*	0*
(c)		V_1	___	___	subj.			1**	0
(d)	conj.	V_1	subj					65	0
(e)	conj.	V_1	___	subj.				1*	0
V2 (f)		___	V_2	subj.				64	0
(g)	conj.	___	V_2	subj.				37	0
V3 (h)		___	___	V_3	subj.			30	0
(i)	conj.	___	___	V_3	subj.			15	0
V4 (j)		___	___	___	V_4	subj.		2	0
(k)	conj.	___	___	___	V_4	subj.		1	0
V5 (l)		___	___	___	___	V_5	subj.	1	0
Total								**640**	**25**

* Some hits were excluded as mislabeled vocative NPs with -SBJ tag (i.e. non-pronominal).
** A plural construction with subject *eower alc* (coaelhom,+AHom_21:225.3189)

The data here is rather straightforward. Simply put: the supermajority of clauses with postverbal subjects in both prose and poetic texts show the subject immediately right-adjacent to the imperative verb, as seen in lines (a, d, f-l) above. In prose texts, main clauses with this pattern constitute 99.6% of total instances: 519 out of 521 total instances of main clauses with postverbal subjects. The same pattern makes up 99.1% in coordinate clauses: 118 of 119 total instances of coordinate clauses with postverbal subjects.

Combining main and coordinate clause totals, this pattern makes up 99.5% of all imperative constructions with postverbal subjects in prose texts. Poetic texts exhibit this pattern exclusively.

In light of this, the only exceptions (.5%) are quite trivial. However, it should be noted that the only cases where the subject is separated from the imperative verb—lines (b, c, e) above—occur in V1 contexts. In lines (b) and (e), the three examples from prose texts show two clauses with intervening PP-objects and one with an intervening adverb. The clause in line (c) has two intervening adverbs.

4.3.2.2 Preverbal Subjects

Although the number of instances of preverbal overt subjects is comparatively very small (only 8% of the total number of overt subjects), it is necessary to examine the facts in detail, as they constitute the only valid exceptions to the majority pattern (postverbal). The means of deriving the results for preverbal constructions mirror those used in finding postverbal constructions, and therefore Table 5 below is organized in similar fashion as Table 4, i.e. according to verb and subject positions, starting with V2 contexts. Moving downward, the subject occupies positions progressively farther from the verb. As usual, data has been split between main and coordinated clauses (preceded by *conj*.), collated for both prose and poetic texts, and again, as with Table 4, main and coordinated clauses of the same pattern do not always co-occur and have been duly omitted:

Table 5: Details of Preverbal Subjects*

Position									Prose	Poetry
V2 (a)	conj.	subj.	V_2						11	0
V3 (b)		___	subj.	V_3					2	0
(c)	conj.	___	subj.	V_3					2	0
(d)		subj.	___	V_3					1	5
(e)	conj.	subj.	___	V_3					8	1
V4 (f)		___	subj.	___	V_4				1	3
(g)		subj.	___	___	V_4				3	3
(h)	conj.	subj.	___	___	V_4				3	1
V5 (i)	conj.	___	___	___	subj.	V_5			1	0
(j)		___	___	subj.	___	V_5			2	1
(k)		___	subj.	___	___	V_5			0	1
(l)	conj.	___	subj.	___	___	V_5			1	1
(m)		subj.	___	___	___	V_5			0	1
(n)	conj.	subj.	___	___	___	V_5			3	1
V6 (o)		___	___	subj.	___	___	V_6		0	1
(p)		___	subj.	___	___	___	V_6		1	2
(q)		subj.	___	___	___	___	V_6		0	1
(r)	conj.	subj.	___	___	___	___	V_6		1	0
(s)		___	___	___	___	subj.	___	V_7	1	0
Total									**41**	**23**

* Appendices A and B contain a significant selection of constructions from this table. Appendix A contains all examples related to (a) above, while Appendix B consist of selections from (d-h).

Two constructions in particular provide the most frequent patterns: lines (a) and (e) in the table above. The former represents constructions where a preverbal subject immediately precedes the verb (11 hits [27%] in prose texts, 0 in poetry), and the latter represents constructions with one constituent intervening between (preverbal) subject and verb (8 hits [19%] in prose, 1 [4.3%] in poetry). Both of these structures are found in coordinated clauses, although main-clause examples of (e) also occur in (d): 1 hit (2.4%) in prose, 5 hits (22%) in poetry, constituting the majority case for poetic texts. In the case of (d) and (e), the constituent following the postverbal subject is frequently an object (accusative or dative). It should also be noted that, in a number of these constructions (about 30%), the verb is in a position which is either explicitly clause-final or can be interpreted as such. See Appendix B for specific examples. The single instances in (r) and (s) both exhibit clause-final verbs.

In the majority of instances where the subject is preceded by one constituent, this constituent is an introductory/adverbial element such as *nu*, *for ðy* (parsed as a PP), *forðon*, etc. In the case of (f), the introductory element *for ðy* coincides with an acc. object following the subject. Other patterns to note include (g) and (h), the former with 3 hits in prose, 3 hits in poetry, and the latter with 3 hits in prose, 1 hit in poetry. These exemplify contexts where two constituents intervene between (clause-initial) subject and verb in both main (g) and coordinate (h) constructions. In these cases, intervening constituents include temporal adverbs and adverbial-clauses (introduced by *gif* "if" or *þonne* "when/then"), and, in two instances, objects: an acc. object followed by an adverb and a dat. object followed by a PP-object (with the verb in final position).

4.3.2.3 Verb-Second Constructions

Clauses exhibiting verb-second patterns are the most frequent next to verb-initial constructions. The data for V2 clauses is derived by querying all instances of imperative verbs in matrix clauses where IP immediately dominates an imperative verb in second position. The result of this initial output can then be tailored according to main and coordinate clauses, as well as according to the different types of constituents appearing before the verb. Table 6 compiles the data from V2 imperative constructions, listing the specific constituents in clause-initial position, split between main and coordinate clauses. The number of hits is provided along with a percentage of total V2 contexts. In labeling the constituents, I follow to some extent the labeling system of the YCOE corpora for convenience. Thus, subjects are labeled NOM (nominative), while accusative, dative, and genitive objects are ACC, DAT, and GEN, respectively. Objects with "indistinguishable" case-marking (generally weak nouns, certain pronouns, etc.) are simply categorized under OBJ. Adverbial elements are labeled ADV, while adverbial clauses are labeled CP.

Remaining extraneous constituents (including verbal-particles, certain adjectives and participles, and various other elements) are grouped under "Other."

Table 6: **Imperatives in V2 Constructions**

Constituent	Clause-Type	Prose		Poetry	
		#	%	#	%
NOM	Main	0	0%	0	0%
	Coord.	11	.6%	0	0%
ACC	Main	30	2%	0	0%
	Coord.	70	4.1%	0	0%
DAT	Main	2	.1%	2	6%
	Coord.	6	.4%	0	0%
GEN	Main	1	.06%	1	3%
	Coord.	3	.2%	1	3%
OBJ	Main	2	.1%	0	0%
	Coord.	18	1%	0	0%
PP	Main	627	37%	5	15%
	Coord.	85	5%	4	12%
ADV	Main	93	5.6%	1	3%
	Coord.	49	3%	2	3%
CP	Main	462	27%	0	0%
	Coord.	95	5.8%	0	0%
Other	Main	98	6%	11	33.3%
	Coord.	54	3.2%	6	18%
Total		**1706**		**33**	

As can be seen, PP-constituents are the most frequent to appear in first position in V2 main clauses in prose texts (37%), followed by adverbial CPs (27%). Disregarding

the "Other" category, the next highest frequencies for main clauses in prose texts are adverbial elements (5.6%) and accusative objects (2%). The number of hits for poetic texts is dramatically lower, and the majority of constituents in first position are grouped in the "Other" category. Despite this, however, PP-constituents are once again the most frequent clause-initially in main clauses (15%). The result for PP constituents in prose texts is worth mentioning (as it was in Part One) in light of the fact that the majority of these instances consist of formulaic recipes distributed primarily in four specific medicinal texts (*Herbology, Lacnunga, Bald's Leechbooks* and *Quadrupedibus)*. In both cases (main and coord. clauses) the clause-initial PP almost exclusively begins with the preposition *wið*, followed by the imperative verb and an accusative object. Outside of these texts (75 hits total), approximately 64% of constructions with PPs in initial position occur in coordinate clauses, 36% in main clauses.

Turning now to the distribution of object constituents: if the counts for accusative, dative, and genitive objects in prose texts are taken together, the following ratio takes shape: 35 hits in main clauses (27%), 97 (73%) in coordinate clauses. Thus, the frequency of preverbal objects in coordinate clauses is almost triple the frequency of preverbal objects in main clauses. It is significant that the frequency of explicitly objective constituents (contra, for example, PP constituents which may also be adverbial, rather than objective) is distributed in this way, particularly in light of the fact that, as noted above, clause-initial PPs, excluding the formulaic forms found in medicinal texts, are also weighted toward coordinate clauses, rather than main clauses. In fact, only objective constituents and nominative subjects exhibit a distribution whereby their frequency in coordinate clauses outnumbers their frequency in main clauses. PP constituents, adverbial elements, adverbial clauses, and "other" elements show the opposite.

One final element that should be discussed involves the appearance of postverbal subjects in V2 constructions. The data in Table 3 shows 101 total hits in prose (64 in main clauses, 37 in coord. clauses), and the numbers for constituents appearing in first position in these cases are distributed as follows: ACC/DAT/GEN/OBJ (10 hits), PP (13 hits), ADV (14 hits), CP (51 hits), and "Other" (14 hits).

The following examples will serve to illustrate some of the majority structures in the data. Sentences (5a-d) show V2 clauses with ACC and OBJ objects in first position for main and coordinate clauses:

(5) a. *Þine teoðan sceattas & þine frumripan gongendes &*
your tenth.acc wealth.acc and your first-fruits.acc moving.gen and
weaxendes ***agif*** *þu Gode.*
growing.gen give you God.dat
"Give your tithe and your first-fruits of moving and growing things unto God."
(colawafint,LawAfEl:38.96)

b. *Þa wuduwan & þa stiopcild ne* ***sceððað*** *ge,*
dem widow.obj and dem stepchild.obj neg scathe.pl you.pl
"Do not injure the widow and the stepchild." (colawafint,LawAfEl:34.83)

c. *& ðone widfarendan & ðone wædlan* ***læd*** *on ðin hus.*
and dem.acc wanderer.acc and dem.acc poor lead in your house
"and the wanderer and the poor one lead into your house."
(cocura,CP:43.315.12.2110)

d. *and þin lif ne* ***gescyrt*** *on þisum suslum þus…*
and your life neg shorten in dem.dat torments.dat thus
"and do not shorten your life in these torments thus…"
(coaelive,+ALS_[Vincent]:148.7892)

Sentences (6a, b), (7a, b), and (8a, b) contain examples of V2 contexts with initial PP, ADV, and CP constituents, respectively, for main and coordinate clauses, taken variously from prose and poetic texts:

(6) a. *on wine oþþe on ecede* ***sele*** *þæt drincan.*
in wine or in vinegar give dem.acc drink.inf
"Give that to drink in wine or in vinegar." (colaece,Lch_II_[2]:45.1.1.3014)

b. *ond to Geatum* ***spræc*** *mildum wordum, swa sceal man don.*
and to Geats speak mild.dat words.dat as shall one do.inf
"and speak to the Geats with mild words, as one ought to do."
(cobeowul,37.1170.963)

(7) a. *Nu* ***help*** *þu me, leofa Drihten,*
now help you me.obj [beloved Lord.voc]
"Now help me, beloved Lord."
(comargaC,LS_14_[MargaretCCCC_303]:5.22.66)

b. *ond sona* ***forlæt*** *weall wið wealle.*
and quickly forsake wall with wall
"and quickly abandon wall beside wall." (cochrist,3.9.11)

(8) a. *Gif ðu þas þing dest* ***geswutela*** *þe sylfne middanearde.*
if you dem. thing do proclaim refl. middle-earth.dat
"If you do this thing, proclaim yourself to the world."
(cowsgosp,Jn_[WSCp]:7.4.6261)

b. *and þonne þu eft cymst,* ***geoffra*** *þine lac.*
and when you again come offer your gift.acc
"and when you come again, offer your gift." (coaelhom,+AHom_16:19.2269)

4.3.2.4 Verb-Third Constructions

Apart from verb-initial and verb-second constructions, verb-third clauses make up a significant portion of the data for imperative clauses and are therefore worth examining further. Using the same querying methods as those used to find instances of verb-second constructions, it is possible to determine both the overall totals of V3 contexts and also to find the relative frequencies of constituents occur in both first and second positions.

Due to the increased complexity of such data, it is necessary to simplify categories to some extent. With this in mind, Table 7 compiles the frequencies of specific constituents in the first two positions of V3 constructions. The vertical left-hand column lists constituents in first position, while the upper horizontal row lists constituents in second position. The results are again split according to main (M) and coordinate (C) clauses in prose (Pros.) and poetic (Poet.) texts. Subjects are grouped under the category NOM. In second position (horiz. row), nominal constituents marked for accusative, dative, genitive, and/or indistinguishable case (weak nouns, etc.) are grouped into a single object category (OBJ) along with PP-constituents (in the interest of simplification).

In contrast, PP constituents in first position (vertical column) have been kept distinct from other objects (accusative, dative, etc.) due partly to the fact that they make up a significant portion of the data for objects in first position (compared with other DP-objects) and partly due to the fact that constituents parsed as PPs in the corpora do include non-objective elements. To be sure, the exact figures for PPs in second position are noted in the text instead of the table). Other constituents listed include adverbial-clauses (CP) and other adverbial elements (ADV):

Table 7: Imperatives in Verb-Third Constructions

2nd:		NOM		OBJ		ADV		CP		Other		Total
		Pros.	Poet.	Pros.	Poet.	Pros.	Poet.	Pros.	Poet.	Pros.	Poet.	-
1st:												
NOM	M	-	-	0	5	1	0	1	0	0	0	**7**
	C	-	-	6	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	**9**
OBJ	M	1	0	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	**4**
	C	1	0	10	0	12	1	0	0	3	0	**27**
PP	M	0	0	111	0	18	0	19	0	12	0	**160**
	C	0	0	5	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	**11**
ADV	M	1	0	93	0	3	0	18	0	7	0	**122**
	C	1	1	15	1	1	0	2	0	5	0	**27**
CP	M	0	0	18	0	21	0	0	0	29	0	**68**
	C	0	0	1	0	15	0	0	0	3	0	**19**
Total		**4**	**1**	**260**	**8**	**76**	**2**	**40**	**0**	**62**	**0**	**454**

In general, V3 contexts are very much limited to prose texts, wherein about 97% of verb-third constructions appear, with only 3% occurring in poetic texts. Preverbal subjects in initial position are most frequently separated from the verb by object-constituents: 5 instances for main clauses in poetry, 6 instances in coordinate clauses in prose and 1 hit for poetic texts. The only other elements which intervene are an adverbial clause in one case and adverbial elements in three other cases. A somewhat significant contrast can be observed in the frequencies of DP-objects (OBJ above) versus PPs (PP) in first position, particularly when a PP in first position co-occurs with another object in second position. Such constructions make up 25% (111 hits) of total instances in prose texts for main clauses. Just as in the case of V2 constructions, clause-initial PP constituents in prose appear almost exclusively in the four medicinal texts cited above, and most of the second-position constituents in PP + OBJ constructions are either

accusative or of indistinguishable case (most likely accusative or dative). Similarly, clause-initial adverbial elements co-occurring with objects in second position make up 21% (93 hits) for main clauses in prose texts. Of these, 49 hits show a PP in second position and the majority of these (adverb+PP) occur in medicinal texts. 56 hits show an accusative object, or an object with indistinguishable case morphology.

The following sentences exemplify some of the notable constructions discussed here. (9a-c) includes constructions with two preverbal objects, (a, b) from prose, (c) from poetry.

(9) a. *ne nanne man be wege ne gretað.*
nor neg.acc one by way beg greet.pl
"[do not…] nor greet anyone by the way." (cowsgosp,Lk_[WSCp]:10.4.4459)

b. *& þysne drihtenlican lichaman mid mycelre arwurðnysse alecgeað*
and this.acc lordly.acc body.acc with much honor lay.pl
uppon his breost
upon his breast
"and lay this lordly body upon his breast with much honor"
(cogregdH,GD_2_[H]:24.155.1.1513)

c. *soðe treowe ond sibbe mid eow healdað æt heortan…*
true faith.acc and peace.acc with you.pl hold.pl at heart
"Keep true faith and peace between you (pl.) in your heart."
(cocynew,131.652.1490)

(10a-d) shows constructions with PPs, (a-b) with objects in second position (main and coord. clauses from prose), (c, d) with adverbs from poetry (c) and prose (d):

(10) a. *Wið eagena dymnesse wudugate geallan & lytel wines* ***meng*** *tosomne,*

with eyes.gen dimness wild-goat gall and little wine.gen mix together

"Against dimness of the eyes mix together wild-goat gall and a little wine."

(coquadru,Med_1.1_[de_Vriend]:6.5.231)

b. *& mid ðy hiera wædle* ***gebetað****…*

and with that their poverty improve.pl

"and (pl. subj) improve their poverty with it…" (cocura,CP:44.325.8.2183)

c. *ac to Fasiacen & Porre þæm cyninge eft* ***gehworf*** *þu.*

but to Fasiacen and Porre the king again turn you

"but turn again to Fasiacen and Porre the king." (coalex,Alex:40.10.521)

d. *Wið hwostan eft* ***genim*** *sæmintan,*

with cough again take sea-mint

"Against the cough again take sea mint." (colaece,Lch_II_[1]:15.4.1.662)

The status of clausal-adverbials (CP) in first position is notable with respect to the following constituents, which include objects (18 hits in main clauses, 20% of total constructions with CP) and adverbs (21 hits in main clauses [24%]; 15 hits in coord. clauses, [17%]). In the latter case (adverbs in second position), the adverbial element is *þonne* "then" in all instances (main and coord.) except for one instance of *þa*. These structures constitute therefore a parallel to Modern English "if…then" constructions. Adverbial clauses are generally introduced by *gif* "if," *þonne* "then," or *syððan* "after." The latter two are more common in coordination, while *gif* occurs primarily in main clauses. The examples in (11) below illustrate these CP+adverb constructions (all taken from prose):

(11) a. *Gif ðu þonne wylle mannes wambe þwænan þonne* ***nim*** *ðu þa wyrte,*
if you then want man.gen stomach soften.inf then take you the wort
"If you wish to comfort man's stomach, then take the wort."

(coherbar,Lch_I_[Herb]:2.7.154)

b. *& þonne þu hyre handa & hyre fet geseo, þonne* ***gewrið*** *þu hy;*
and when you their hands and their feet see, then bind you them.acc
"and when you see their hands and feet, then bind them;"

(coherbar,Lch_I_[Herb]:132.0.1961)

c. *& syððan hyt geopenud beo, þonne* ***nim*** *ðu ða ylcan wyrte ungesodene*
and after it opened be.sbj then take you the same wort unsodden
"and after it is opened, then take the same unsodden wort…"

(coherbar,Lch_I_[Herb]:4.11.324)

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter examines and collates the wealth of data gathered from the YCOE corpora of prose and poetry using a variety of querying methods. It begins with an introduction to the structure of the corpora themselves, their organization, labeling, and the means by which they are accessed and queried. The corpus study itself then lays out the data in a series of tables, starting with Part One, which is structured around confirming or contradicting the results of Millward (1971), who concluded that verb-initial imperatives with postverbal subjects were the majority pattern in OE imperative clauses, and therefore the first portion of the corpus study focuses on determining the frequencies of constructions with the imperative verb in clause-initial position (compared with other positions, such as "verb-final" and "verb-medial"). Figures for the position of the imperative subject with respect to the verb (pre- and postverbal) are also assembled/

Part Two builds upon the results of the first part, starting with a brief discussion of affirmative versus negative clause frequencies and then examining the exact details and figures for subject placement in postverbal and preverbal position (with examples of the latter gathered in Appendix 1a-c), continuing into an in-depth examination of structures labeled as "verb-medial" in Part One. Verb-second and verb-third contexts are specifically examined, both encompassing issues such as the frequency of specific constituents (objects, PPs, adverbial elements, and adverbial clauses) in clause-initial and other positions, as well as the overall interplay between these constructions in both main and coordinate clauses, with examples illustrating some of the majority structures in prose texts and poetic texts.

Chapter 5

THE STRUCTURE OF OLD ENGLISH IMPERATIVE CLAUSES

5.1 Introduction

The final task of this thesis, after the presentation of the data from Old English, is to provide some explanation of said data and a means of understanding the underlying structure evidenced by the results of the corpus study. Accordingly, the purpose of this chapter is to evaluate and interpret the data from the corpus study in the context of the theoretical models of imperative and OE syntax from previous chapters and, ultimately, to propose a framework that takes these systems into account while at the same time accounting for the observable properties and variations in Old English imperative clause structure.

The chapter is organized as follows: section 5.2 begins with some preliminary discussion of the structure of imperative clauses, recapping certain aspects of Chapter 2, and concludes with the formulation of certain predictions for imperative syntax in general, these being derived from the models of imperative syntax examined previously. Section 5.3 subsequently takes these predictions and applies them to the data from the corpus study in order to illustrate where the data supports said predictions and where it does not. 5.4 continues the interpretation of the data, expanding on the results from 5.3, and ultimately puts forward a series of proposals aimed at providing a consistent and principled explanation of the variations exhibited in the data, bringing to bear the theoretical frameworks for OE syntax examined in Chapter 3. This includes the interpretation of the position of the imperative verb and subject, as well as clause-initial objects, PP-constituents, adverbial elements, and adverbial clauses is V2 and V3 contexts, as well as various other important constructions. Section 5.5 concludes with a summary of the proposals made.

5.2 Predictions and Application of Corpus Data

Taking into account the conclusions of the different theories examined in Chapter 2, a series of predictions and theoretical assumptions can be derived for imperative clause structure in general, and these can then be applied to the results of the corpus study (to their ultimate benefit or contradiction). In the following sections, I will address certain of these predictions alongside the application of the data and will sequentially propose a framework to account for the patterns and exceptions observable in the body of data. Drawing upon the summary of general properties for imperative clauses organized in Chapter 2 (section 2.2.6), the following discussion will therefore examine the properties of the imperatives as evidence in the data, beginning with the basic property of imperative morphology and continuing with further syntactic properties of imperative clauses.

5.2.1 Tense-Marking and Imperative Morphology

The fact that, cross-linguistically, the most common form of imperative marking is the absence of morphology altogether motivates a variety of interpretations. The most common conclusions made in the proposals in Chapter 2 view the morphological paucity of imperatives as an indication of syntactic paucity. The absence of tense-marking in particular is addressed in several models with the view that a lack of tense morphology may translate into the lack of a projection for tense in imperatives. Although this claim is made in several frameworks, it is, in fact, difficult to substantiate or contradict on either hand. The source of the assertion is, of course, based upon the assumption of a correspondence between morphology and syntactic projection, a well-established element of syntactic theory both old and new.

If this is taken as a basic element of our theory then, the absence of tense morphology in imperatives in many languages (including Old English) indeed suggests

the absence of a TP projection. Syntactically, however, it is not clear if the absence of TP can be validated by actual structural evidence alone, except, for example, in the case of Den Dikken and Blasco (2007), who are able to draw a connection between clitic-climbing and tense-marking in Spanish, both of these being absent in imperatives. In any case, motivation for such an approach may instead be motivated by other aspects of syntactic structure, such as scope relations involving projections for modality, in addition to the evidence from morphology.

For the purposes of this section, however, the question of whether or not Old English conforms to this pattern is simple, and has, in fact, already been partially addressed in Chapter 3: OE singular imperative verb forms are marked by the absence of overt morphology on the basic stem of the verb in the case of most strong verb classes (i.e. *dēman* > *dēm*), and by a simple suffix *-a*/*-e* in the case of most weak verb classes (*fremman* > *freme, lufian* > *lufa*). Plural imperatives exhibit only the basic number marker *-að/-aþ* applied to the verbal stem without further modification (*dēmaþ, fremaþ,* etc.). In this, it can be seen that OE imperative morphology conforms to the overall cross-linguistic pattern whereby imperative verbs show person/number morphology in some degree but lack further morphological specifications for tense, mood, aspect, etc. The question of the legitimacy of models postulating an absent tense (or other) projection will be addressed in a later section below in the context of not just tense, but also the specification of modality and finiteness in imperative and non-imperative clauses.

5.2.2 Position of the Imperative Verb and Subject

Moving on to realms of discussion wherein the frequency-data from the corpus study plays a much greater role, the issue of the positioning of the imperative verb is addressed in the majority of theoretical frameworks proposed, and the common thread connecting these frameworks involves the fact that, cross-linguistically, the imperative

verb/aux. appears to be raised to a relatively high position in the clause. This is a major conclusion of nearly all the models proposed, although the exact fronted position to which the imperative verb moves varies to some extent. Potsdam (1996, 2007) postulates that the position of the aux. *do/don't* in ModE imperatives varies between C^0 and I^0, resulting in a superficial variation in the position of the subject with respect to the auxiliary (post- and preverbal). Other models, such as Platzack and Rosengren (1998), assume that the verb/aux. remains stationary (in this case, in $Force^0$), and that it is instead the imperative subject that moves freely, based on the idea that imperative subjects are not "prototypical subjects" bound by issues of reference and predication, all of which are, according to Platzack and Rosengren, related to the presence or absence of a specification for finiteness (which is explicitly tied to the projection labeled FinP).

The question of verb position in OE can be answered straightforwardly, based on the data: imperative clauses with the verb in clause-initial position are by far the majority case (73% in prose, 67.2% in poetry), compared to clauses with the verb in non-initial (i.e. medial, final) position. Old English imperative structure therefore accords overall with the generalization that the imperative verb moves to a high position in the clause. One question that remains, however, is related to the exact nature of that position. In comparison with non-imperative clause structures, is the position of the imperative verb different in any way from the standard verbal position in Old English clauses? To answer this question, it is necessary to look at the relation of the imperative verb to other constituents in the clause. Of these, the most important is the imperative subject, recalling once again the general framework for OE syntax presented in Chapter 3. In that model of syntactic structure, the subject is generally assumed to occupy spec-FinP, with the finite verb in Fin^0 in non-imperative clauses. Within an expanded-CP framework, clauses involving wh-constituents, preposed topics, negation, adverbs, etc. are assumed to exhibit

verb-fronting to a position higher than Fin^0 (such as Top^0 or Foc^0) and therefore higher than the position of the subject, resulting in the common pattern of subject-verb inversion.

With this underlying system in mind, the position of the subject is obviously important for determining the position of the verb, since, if subject-verb inversion occurs in imperatives, this supports the idea that the verb raises to a projection higher than the projection hosting the subject. The answer to these questions is found in the overall data for the positioning of overt subjects in imperatives: 92% of overt subjects occur postverbally (i.e. following the verb) in prose, 52% (25 hits) in poetry, while only 8% are preverbal in prose, 48% (23 hits) in poetry. Subject-verb inversion is, therefore, the majority pattern in imperatives, and the prediction that imperative verbs in OE are raised to a higher position in the clause (parallel to other instances of verb-raising) is borne out by the data.

With the expanded-CP model in mind, I will at this stage propose that the imperative verb is raised to $Force^0$, in accord with the model of Platzack and Rosengren (1998), this being the highest projecting head in the clause. In fact, at this point, such a position for the imperative verb also accords with the conclusions of Potsdam (1996, 2007), who simply does not make use of an expanded-CP model. The fact that, if we hold to the basic pattern of OE syntax from Chapter 3, the subject in both imperative and non-imperative clauses must remain stationary as a diagnostic for the verbal position (e.g. Fischer et al. 2000) actually goes against the assumptions of Platzack and Rosengren (1998), who predict that the imperative subject will exhibit freer variation in imperatives. At the moment, this does not appear to be the case for OE, and some further discussion of the exact nature of post- and preverbal subjects is in order.

Looking at the data for imperative subjects presented and discussed in sections 4.2.2.2 and 4.2.2.3 above (Tables 4 and 5), it can be seen that postverbal imperative

subjects remain immediately right-adjacent to the imperative verb in all but 4 instances, which, as noted in the discussion, involve two intervening adverbs in one case, and intervening subjects in the three remaining cases. Crucially, however, the only instances where the subject is itself separated from the verb occur when the imperative verb is in clause-initial position (i.e. Force^0). If we assume, as above, that the subject occupies spec-FinP in all of these cases, then the intervening objects must occur somewhere between ForceP and FinP. If we postulate a TopicP, which naturally intervenes between these two projections, these anomalous structures (despite their extremely limited occurrence) can be easily captured and the overall pattern is thoroughly consistent.

In contrast, the issue of preverbal subjects is somewhat more difficult to account for. Although they constitute a minority of the total constructions with overt subjects, preverbal subjects make up 64 hits in all, and steps must certainly be taken to understand these exceptions to the majority pattern. Taking once again the basic assumption that the subject remains relatively stationary, it is notable that the majority pattern for preverbal subjects mirrors the majority pattern for postverbal subjects, in that they appear immediately left-adjacent to the verb. If the imperative subject remains in spec-FinP, it must therefore be the verb which shows some variation in its position. According to our framework, the best candidate for this position is simply Fin^0, immediately right-adjacent to spec-FinP.

While this accounts for the majority pattern, a secondary pattern also occurs whereby the preverbal subject is separated from the verb by a single constituent—most frequently an object. It should be noted that constructions such as this, despite their minority status, are by no means limited to imperative clauses and have remained a consistent problem in theoretical frameworks for OE syntax. As mentioned in Chapter 3, Fischer et al. (2000) conclude that in such constructions the subject is itself topicalized,

while the object occupies the lower spec-FinP projection (spec-FP in their model). Such an account is certainly also applicable to the structure developed for OE imperatives thus far. Appendix B (16-29) in Chapter 4 contains examples of all constructions with a single intervening object (about 14 total). 6 of these are pronominal (5 from prose, 1 from poetry), 8 are DPs/PPs (3 from prose, 5 from poetry).

Within the structure proposed thus far (whereby the subject occupies spec-FinP and topics occupy an optional Topic projection above FinP), the placement of these second position objects in spec-FinP is difficult to reconcile, particularly in light of the fact that most models of syntax which make use of FinP generally correlate spec-FinP with the assignment of nominative case. One solution may be that the subject in such constructions is focused (and therefore occupies spec-FocP) with a lower TopicP projection hosting the object (sandwiched between FocP and FinP). Ultimately, such a solution is rather ad hoc (since focus otherwise does not come into play here), but the fact that these constructions constitute only a small percentage of the total constructions with preverbal subjects (a minority constructions in itself), coupled with the fact that a satisfactory solution has not been achieved in any framework (imperative or non-imperative) as of yet, means that they are not overly worrisome in the broad scheme of things, and I will not pursue this line of thought further.

5.2.3 Exceptions

Having established the majority patterns of imperative clauses in OE (the position of the verb and subject), now is the appropriate time to address the chief observable exceptions to these patterns. These primarily include constructions that do not show the verb in clause-initial position, except for constructions involving preverbal subjects, which have already been discussed. The data for verb-second and verb-third constructions (Tables 6 and 7) form the basis for observations here. Beginning with V2

contexts, the nature of the first constituent is of primary importance. Excluding subjects (nominative case), the first constituent may consist of an object (accusative, dative, genitive, etc.), a PP, an adverb, or an adverbial-clause. These elements all exhibit different functions which must be captured in an overall framework.

Starting with the category of objects (which may also include some PPs), according to the theoretical frameworks for OE established so far, objects (as well as various adverbs) which are preposed are identified as topicalized constituents This is the assumption of the analyses of Fischer et al. 2000, Van Kemenade (1987), and Pintzuk (1999), as well as Kiparsky (1995). I will therefore define object-constituents occurring in clause-initial position as preposed topics. Altogether, V2 contexts with topicalized objects (excluding PPs) make up about 8% of total constructions in prose, 12% in poetry.

PPs in initial position make up a much higher percentage (42% in prose, 28% in poetry); however, as discussed previously in the presentation of the data, these instances of clause-initial PPs in both V2 and V3 constructions are restricted primarily to a set of four medicinal texts and follow a rigidly formulaic structure (generally introduced by *wið…*). With this in mind, it is unclear if these examples should be treated with as much weight as their DP counterparts, since their status as a part of the imperative clause itself is somewhat questionable (most are set apart from the clause by commas, as can be seen in the examples quoted in Chapter 4). If such structures are included as topicalized constituents, the frequency of such constructions jumps to 54% in prose, 40% in poetry. In the end, the core issue at stake here is related to both the representation and categorization of these preposed PP constituents. For example, if the clause-initial PPs are categorized as external to the clausal structure, the constructions in which they occur would simply be subsumed under the verb-initial category. Of course, this would be attractive since it would do away with a great number of the exceptions to the majority

pattern. In this case, however, I do not believe that the data necessitates such a step, and I will group clause-initial PPs with other topicalized objects with the proviso that the frequency of such constructions (as exceptions to the verb-initial rule) may be inflated to some extent.

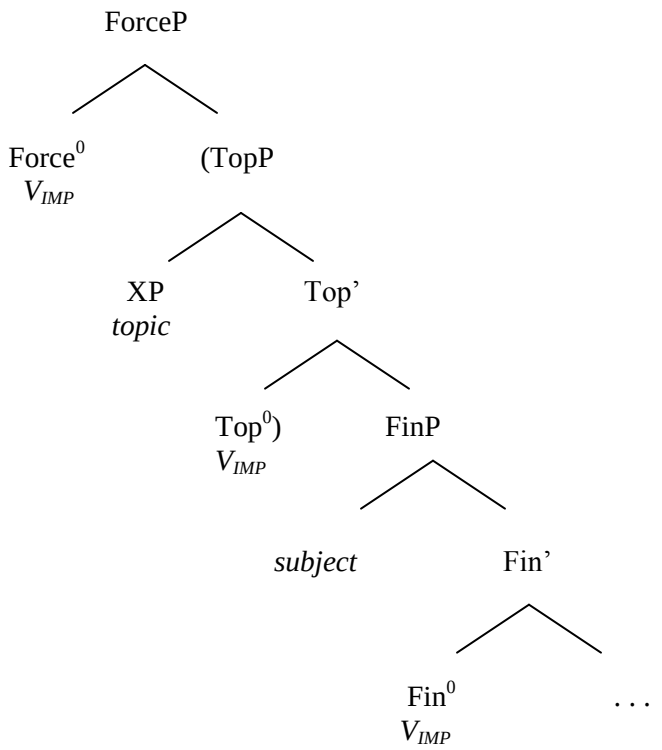
With these points established, the question of the positioning of topics in the clausal structure of imperatives must now be addressed. Thus far, I have assumed an expanded-CP structure, which provides room for optionally instantiated TopicP (TopP) projections between ForceP and FinP. In V2 constructions, we may therefore postulate that topics are hosted by a TopP. The next question that arises relates to the position of the verb in such contexts. As in the case of preverbal subjects, it may be useful to simply assume that the imperative verb remains in Fin^0 in topic-constructions, and the imperative subject may again serve as a diagnostic. If the imperative verb remains in the head of FinP, with the topic in spec-TopP, we would expect that a preverbal subject could intervene between topic and verb (i.e. in spec-FinP).

The data for preverbal subjects shows that such a construction (preposed topic + subject + verb) occurs only 3 times, both in prose texts. In contrast, postverbal subjects show 23 hits total in V2 contexts, distributed amongst PPs and other objects. Although the number of hits in not especially large here, the contrast between post- and preverbal subjects in topic constructions is certainly apparent, with the majority of overt subjects occurring in postverbal position. This poses a problem if the imperative verb is positioned in Fin^0, since a subject would then have to be lower in the structure. If instead we postulate a separate position for the verb in topic constructions, higher than FinP, these constructions may be resolved.

In parallel with the overall model of OE syntax arrived at in Chapter 3, section 3.2 (based upon the framework of Fischer et al. 2000), I will propose that the imperative

verb is normally fronted to the head of TopP in topic constructions. This accounts for the frequency of postverbal subjects in topic constructions, as well as the limited appearance of intervening preverbal subjects (where the verb again remains in Fin). The reason for placing the imperative verb in Top^0 is based on a comparison of topic constructions in imperative and non-imperative clauses. As discussed in Chapter 3, a persistent problem for OE syntactic frameworks has been the fact that pronominal subjects (but not full-DP subjects) may, in fact, intervene between topic and finite verb in non-imperative clauses (a construction that is extremely limited in imperatives, as has been shown). In Chapter 3, section 3.2, an alternative solution was derived based on variable positions for the finite verb, e.g. in Top^0 in the case of DP-subjects and Fin^0 in the case of pronominal subjects. Thus, the model proposed here is basically identical for both imperative and non-imperative clauses, the results differing only in the fact that imperative clauses (almost) obligatorily front the verb to Top^0. At this point, a syntactic tree is in order:

(1)



In summary, the majority pattern raises the imperative verb to Force^0, but in specific cases it may remain lower: in Top^0 with topicalized constituents in spec-TopP or in Fin^0 (the standard position of the finite verb in non-imperative clauses) with the subject in spec-FinP. Throughout this model, the subject crucially remains stationary in spec-FinP, and it is the imperative verb which exhibits variation. Once again, this aligns explicitly with the conclusions of Potsdam (1996, 2007) for ModE imperatives, and it also fits comfortably into the system for OE syntax proposed by Fischer et al. (2000), simply expanding the CP realm of both analyses in order to account for the variation observed between the imperative verb, the imperative subject, and topicalized constituents.

The issue of fitting adverbial elements and adverbial clauses (both of which form a significant portion of the data for V2 contexts) into this system must now be addressed. Adverbs in general are not highly problematic due to their nature as elements which do not necessarily interfere with regular processes of movement. It should be noted, however, that the vast majority of adverbs appearing in the CP domain in OE imperatives are explicitly temporal in meaning: *þonne* "then/when," *þa* "then/when" *nu* "now," *æfre* "ever," *eft* "afterward, again," *ā* "always," and various others all provide further temporal orientation for the imperative utterance. In V2 constructions they constitute about 9% of total examples in prose, 6% in poetry. The status of these adverbs, i.e. whether they are base generated within the CP layer or are instead moved there from a lower base-generation point, is open to interpretation, and very little research has actually been done on the nature of OE adverbs thus far.

The case of *þa* is notable, however, as it almost exclusively occurs with verb-movement, in the same contexts as wh-constituents and topics. For this reason, it is frequently categorized as a focus-particle, occupying a spec-FocP position and drawing

the verb to the head of Foc^0. Such an analysis does not contradict the proposals made above in any way, and only adds further depth to the structure. In fact, the conclusions made thus far with regard to the imperative verb ultimately show that imperative clauses generally parallel other non-imperative clauses in terms of their structure and processes of movement in OE. If this is so, can such an approach be reconciled with approaches which assume an exceptional structure for imperative clauses (i.e. distinct from non-imperative constructions)? This question will be addressed in later sections.

Turning now to the nature of "adverbial clauses" (CPs), a few preliminary observations are in order, drawn from those made in Chapter 4. The majority of these clauses are introduced by *gif* "if,"*þonne* "then/when," or *syððan* "after," the latter two being more common in coordinate contexts. These make up a large number (33%) of the total clause-initial constituents in V2 constructions for prose texts (they do not occur in poetic texts). One of the issues I wish to address concerning these constructions involves their status as an actual part of the imperative clause structure. Although they are parsed within the IP domain in the corpora, I will argue that, in fact, they are external to the clausal structure. The reasons for this are two-fold: first, as in the case of clause-initial PPs above, categorizing these structures (which make up a significant portion of the exceptions to the verb-initial rule) as outside of the imperative clause itself would allow these instances to be grouped with the majority case verb-initial constructions; and second, I believe that the properties of these "*if*-clauses" (as I will refer to them) in both Old and Modern English force a clause-external interpretation.

Starting with the latter line of reasoning, I will note again that these adverbial-clauses occur as a non-initial constituent in a minority of cases (40 hits total in prose), and, when they are clause-internal, they act as insertions to the text, breaking up the flow of a narrative (e.g. "I think that, if you get here on time, we can still go bowling."). In

addition to this, they exhibit a high frequency as the first constituent in V2 clauses, but they are far less frequent as the first-constituent in V3 clauses (557 instances vs. 87 instances). Since the majority pattern for imperatives is to place the verb in clause-initial position, if these *if*-clauses are external to the imperative clause altogether, we would expect that "CP + imperative clause" structures would show the same ratio of verb-initial and non-initial structures, and this is borne out in the data. Even more influential, however, is the ratio of postverbal subjects in V2 constructions with clause-initial CPs. As noted in Chapter 4, section 4.2.2.4, 51 hits exhibit the pattern CP + verb + subject—nearly five times the number of any other constituent in clause-initial position. If it is indeed that case that these *if*-clauses are outside the clause structure, then these 51 instances actually constitute verb-initial constructions, which, as has been noted, show much higher frequencies of overt postverbal subjects than any other construction.

Finally, the nature of *if*-clauses in general provides evidence that they are not a part of the imperative clause structure. They do not select the following clause-type, since indicative, interrogative, and imperative clauses can all co-occur with *if*-clauses ("If you want, pick up some milk on the way home." "If you want, I can pick up some milk for you." "If you want to, why don't you just buy some?"). The only influence these clauses actually exert involves issues of modality for indicative clause, but in this they serve only as external information which is drawn upon by the following clause ("**If** I hadn't stopped, he **would** have hit me."). In V3 constructions in OE, these clause-initial CPs are frequently followed by the adverbs *þonne* (35 hits) or *þa* (1 hit), forming an "if-then + imperative clause" structure which I will also assume to be outside of the clausal structure due to the closely related, yet seemingly optional nature of "then" (which could be inserted in most of the ModE examples above, in parallel with the patterns in OE).

The outcome of these conclusions for the data is as follows: all instances of *if*-clauses in V2 constructions and all instances of CP + ADV in V3 constructions can be grouped with the majority pattern of V1. V2 constructions involving these constituents total 557 hits in prose texts, while V3 constructions total 36 hits. Thus, 593 hits can be added to the counts for verb-initial constructions. As stated above, the advantage of this interpretation is that it provides an acceptable account of a large subset of seeming exceptions to the general observable rule, allowing these exceptions to be re-interpreted as non-exceptions.

As a final point, I will address in more detail the data for V3 constructions. The structure of V3 constructions with objects in both first and second position pose an immediate problem for the analysis here, since, according to the system developed thus far, these objects would both require movement above the position of the verb. A total of 13 instances exemplify these constructions (about 2% of total V3 contexts), and therefore frequency is not an issue here. 10 of these occur in coordinate clauses, which, as noted previously, frequently exhibit properties of embedded clauses (i.e. higher percentages of verb-final constructions). In this case, only 4 hits are verb final, while 2 hits (both negative imperatives) exhibit postverbal subjects in clause-final position. One final thing to note involves the nature of the second object constituent—in fact, most of these objects are locative PPs and may, in fact, be adverbial in usage. If these constituents in second position are sufficiently accounted for (i.e. as non-arguments) then the problem is lessened somewhat. It should be noted that this issue is almost identical to that encountered with preverbal subjects with objects intervening between subject and imperative verb. In this case, as in that previous case, the minority-status of these exceptions does not plausibly threaten the overall framework thus far, and I will not seek to further explicate them.

In the case of V3 constructions with initial PPs, the same concern arises as encountered in the data for V2 constructions above, i.e. with respect to the limited distribution and rigid nature of these high-frequency constructions within four medicinal texts. My conclusion here remains the same as the conclusion made for V2 contexts: because of the high frequencies of these constructions in a limited set of texts, the prevalence of such structures may be somewhat skewed and should be accepted with some caution. In relation to the position of such constituents, it is again possible to host them in topic projections preceding the imperative verb. Instances of intervening adverbs in V3 contexts are treated in much the same way as in V2 contexts. Because, in general, adverbs do not interfere with processes of movement, their positioning in these constructions is not crucial, except to once again note that the majority of these adverbs provide temporal specifications. This concludes the discussion of V3 contexts, as well as the overall interpretation of the data from the corpus study.

5.3 A Model for Imperative Syntax

With the addition of the model for OE imperatives constructed in the previous section, the purpose of the following discussion will be to delve deeper into what elements actually determine the properties that distinguish imperative clauses from other clause types. These points have been touched on only briefly in this chapter so far, and more thoroughly in Chapter 2, but at this point I will offer a series of interrelated proposals taking into account and reconciling a variety of theoretical principles drawn from the proposed frameworks for imperative and OE syntax. These proposals are focused toward further explicating the overall structure of imperative syntax, as well as providing support for elements of the approach to OE imperatives established in the previous section.

The first issue to be discussed is taken from the framework proposed by Platzack and Rosengren (1998). The core assumption of Platzack and Rosengren's analysis is that imperative clauses lack a specification for "finiteness." They tie finiteness to the syntactic projection FinP, which is assumed to frequently host the finite verb in verb-second languages, as well as the subject of the finite clause (associated specifically with nominative case). They also postulate that FinP hosts a [finite] feature which enters into relations with projections for Tense (TP) and Mood (MP), both of which also contain a [finite] feature. It is the matrix formed by these three projections that motivates the overall [±finite] valuation of a clause.

Of specific interest to the discussion here, however, is the definition of finiteness provided by Platzack and Rosengren. As discussed in Chapter 2, finiteness is tied to the specification of Speech Time (ST) in the event structure. ST is vital in that it provides the context for the establishment of tense (which must be oriented according to ST) and anchors an event in the immediate speech context. Platzack and Rosengren further claim that the ST-tense-mood matrix allows the speaker within a speech event to talk *to* someone (the addressee) *about* an event (occurring at a particular time, in a possible world). This is classified as *stating* a norm.

According to their analysis, imperative clauses crucially lack a specification of finiteness altogether. Specifications for tense and mood (all of which are assumed to form a part of the finiteness "matrix") are therefore also postulated to be absent. Thus, imperatives can only be used to talk *to* someone, directly *setting* a norm with respect to the participant, addressed in the here and now. It is because of this structural feature that imperatives may only be interpreted with force in the immediate situation, since they lack the frames of ST, tense, and mood necessary to set the content of an utterance apart from the immediate speech context.

One criticism of this theory that I have already put forward in Chapter 2 deals with the exact role of finiteness and its relation to speech time in Platzack and Rosengren's model. If an imperative may only be interpreted in the immediate speech context, and the specification of speech time serves to anchor an event at that time, how is it that imperatives must crucially lack a specification of finiteness (and therefore ST) in order for them to be interpreted as setting a norm with respect to the addressee? Would it not be more consistent to preserve a specification of ST, which seems to be the only possible means of interpreting an imperative utterance, in favor of the absence of another projection?

The reason behind this line of argument involves, to a great extent, the results from the corpus study. In all, the pattern for imperative clauses does not deviate drastically from the standard processes of movement, verb-raising, subject-verb inversion, etc. that apply consistently to other OE clause types, including main clauses with finite verbs. It is for this reason that the proposal for OE imperative clauses made above vitally includes a projection FinP, which is important for capturing verb-second structures in both imperative and non-imperative constructions. Because Platzack and Rosengren posit the absence of this FinP projection as a specification of finiteness (and therefore speech time), this would mean that the features of OE imperative clause structure, which obviously follow the same structural cues as non-imperatives, must be accounted for without projections for FinP, TP, or MP. This does not seem plausible in light of the data presented here, and we must therefore seek a different means by which imperative and non-imperative clauses are distinguished.

It is evident that, at the very core of the arguments put forward to capture imperative clause structure, lies the issue of the *interpretation* of imperative structures. Simply put: what properties of imperative structure allow them to be interpreted

differently from non-imperatives? Platzack and Rosengren assume that the differing interpretation (i.e. stating vs. setting a norm) involves the conveyance of speech time, tense, and mood within the projecting structure of the clause. Their absence is assumed to force the interpretation of an imperative command within the immediate speech context and between the immediate speech participants (speaker and addressee). In a similar vein, Jensen (2003) proposes that it is a variation in the evaluation-time of imperatives that crucially distinguishes them from other clause-types: whereas non-imperative clauses project a standard TP (and are thus interpreted according to that specification of tense), imperative clauses are specified for time of utterance and are interpreted according to speech time instead.

Accordingly, a generalization that can ultimately be made here is that the "time of evaluation" for imperatives is consistently associated with the "time of speech," i.e. the immediate context of the speech event. And with this point established, the inconsistency in the approach of Platzack and Rosengren with regard to the appearance of a FinP projection is made clear: if FinP is associated with a specification of "speech time" in the same way that TP is associated with a specification of "tense" or "reference time," this would seemingly necessitate the projection of FinP at the very least within imperative clause structure, and, as noted above, the syntactic reality of a FinP projection is supported by the theoretical framework of OE syntax (Chapter 3), as well as the application of the corpus data to that framework (section 5.2 above).

Although it is for this reason that I employ FinP as a projection in the framework for OE imperatives proposed above, this does not mean that the intuition that imperatives are somehow syntactically deficient (a common conclusion or inference of the frameworks examined) plays no role here. Although the postulation of a finiteness/speech time projection goes against the analysis of Platzack and Rosengren, the underlying

assumptions of their theory (that speech time plays an important role in the interpretation of imperatives) certainly remains valid, and it is this conclusion that allows for a modification of the truncated/deficient imperative clause theory. If speech time is kept independent of tense, then we are certainly free to postulate the absence of TP (a common conclusion in imperative theories) while at the same time preserving ST. The assumption of FinP as a distinct projection makes this possible.

The final aspect of imperative interpretation that will be discussed here is the nature of modality as an element of imperative clause structure. As noted in Chapter 2 (sections 2.2 and 2.3), imperatives notably restrict the realization of epistemic modality cross-linguistically but may exhibit some distinctions of deontic modality. These manifest, for example, in the morphological realization of imperative forms in some languages. But, more importantly, it is the nature of deontic meaning itself, ranging over concepts such as "obligation," "necessity," and "ability," that provides the most explicit parallel, since these meanings all play a role to some extent as elements of imperative meaning. The first of these meanings is particularly intuitive, since the expression of obligation (e.g. ModE *should, must, ought to*) is a natural part of an imperative expression.

Bringing this discussion into the realm of syntactic structure, Hacquard (2006, pp.157-159) lays out a somewhat complex model whereby epistemic and deontic modalities are both housed in separate projections (Modality Phrase, ModP) of syntactic structure. Epistemic and certain types of deontic modality are assumed to project as a higher ModP, while certain deontic modalities appear as a lower ModP projection. These are further oriented in relation to tense, with TP sandwiched between $\text{ModP}_{\text{HIGH}}$ and ModP_{LOW}, as in the following summarized hierarchy:

$$\ldots > ModP_{HIGH} > TP > ModP_{LOW} > AspP > vP \ldots$$

This succession is derived by Hacquard from observations on the relative *scope* of projections. In ModE, the lower ModP hosts deontic modals such as *can, could, should,* and *must* (although these latter two can be inserted higher for epistemic interpretations) and generally relate to the ability or obligation of the subject in modifying an actual event in the real world. This is codified as an "actuality entailment." Epistemic modals such as *might, would,* and *must/should* (again, optionally deontic or epistemic) instead relate to the probability or likelihood of an event in some possible world (not necessarily the real world). Crucially, and with distinct consequences for the discussion of imperatives above, the role of scope in determining the position of each of these projections can be seen in the "time of evaluation" for each type of modality. Deontic modals are evaluated or governed by the tense of the event they modify, and can thus be seen to scope below TP. Epistemic modals, on the other hand, can only be evaluated at the time of speech, scoping above TP.

This final point is of great importance for the approach to imperative syntax in development here, viewed in the light of the conclusions for the evaluation-time of imperatives. Some relevant properties of imperatives are worth repeating here: (1) imperatives lack epistemic modality, but may be specified for deontic modality, (2) imperatives are not oriented according to tense, (3) imperatives are evaluated at speech time. These latter two points become salient in light of the role of modality discussed above. If epistemic modality is also evaluated at Speech Time, this suggests a further projection above $\text{ModP}_{\text{HIGH}}$ relating to ST. I will identify this projection as FinP, again in accordance with the analyses of Platzack and Rosengren (1998) and (to a certain extent) Jensen (2003). The question now arises: how can the issues of deontic modality, speech time evaluation, and lack of tense specifications be reconciled for imperatives within this system? I propose a structure based on the following observations: The absence of the

higher ModP in imperatives is evidenced by the restriction on epistemic modality. Likewise, the possibility for low deontic modality implies the instantiation of the lower ModP, while the exclusive speech time evaluation for imperatives implies the projection of FinP and the absence of TP. The resultant structure is as follows:

$$FinP > ModP_{LOW} > AspP > vP \ldots$$

Thus, an imperative can be conceptualized as a clausal structure consisting of a form of deontic modality (e.g. obligation/necessity) ungoverned by the constraints of tense and therefore evaluated only at speech time. This modifies an event (AspP/vP) with an "actuality entailment" that conveys its realization in the real world (although it may or may not be realized at the time of utterance). This structure is directed toward an addressee-participant in the speech event (who, in imperative structures, is co-indexed with the clausal subject). Further observations concerning the relationship between both epistemic and deontic modality and the clausal subject and speech event participants (speaker and addressee) are made by Hacquard (2006), and the results of these may at some stage be able to account for certain other properties of imperative clauses, such as the nature of the imperative subject. For the purposes of this thesis, however, I will not pursue these avenues of discussion further, since they stray even farther afield of the topic of OE imperative syntax than the observations of modality have thus far.

Ultimately, I postulate that the relations holding between projections for modality, tense, and speech time, as well as the overarching evaluation-time of imperatives established thus far provide us with a principled means of capturing the properties of imperative clauses which serve to distinguish imperative from non-imperative constructions, and these observations motivate further questions regarding the precise structure of imperative syntax. The proposals made with regard to Old English imperative clauses remain consistent with these latter discussions, although the realization of

modality is extremely obscure in the body of OE data and does not necessarily have immediate applications. Instead, the totality of these proposals serves to construct an overall model for the structure of imperatives on one hand, as well as a model for its realization in the syntax of Old English.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter provides an examination and interpretation of the data drawn from the corpus study of Old English imperative clause structure. It begins with a set of predictions and expectations based on the frameworks for imperative syntax put forward in other accounts, and applies these predictions sequentially to the corpus data in order to support or falsify these claims. Beginning with the properties of imperative morphology, it can be seen that OE conforms to the cross-linguistic patterns in that it lacks overt morphological specification beyond some basic imperative morphemes and number morphology. Moving on to the position of the imperative verb and the imperative subject, it is determine that verb-initial structures are the majority pattern for imperatives, and that the majority position of the subject is postverbal, immediately right adjacent to the imperative verb.

Some exceptions (e.g. preverbal subjects) are discussed and accounted for, and a basic framework begins to arise, whereby the imperative verb normally occupies Force^0, but may also occur in Fin^0 in some limited contexts. Expanding the discussion to account for V2 contexts with topicalized constituents, the framework is developed further with the postulation of TopP projections to host said constituents in topic constructions, and it is argued that the imperative verb moves to the head of TopP in almost all cases, in contrast to non-imperative clauses, where variation in verb movement results in variable surface position of pronominal- and DP-subjects. The status and categorization of adverbial-clauses (*if*-clauses) with respect to the imperative clauses is also evaluated, and

it is argued that such constructions in V2 and V3 (followed by an adverb) are, for a variety of reasons, external to the clause itself and that constructions containing CP and CP + ADV can be subsumed under the category of verb-initial constructions, summarily resolving a large set of exceptions to the majority rule. Some further exceptions are addressed in the body of data for V3 contexts, including the nature of double object constructions and the role of adverbs.

Section 5.3 contains an in-depth evaluation of specific aspects of imperative clause structure that play a role in various models of imperative syntax. These include the role and interrelation between speech time, tense, and modality. Ultimately, it is established that imperatives are distinguished from other clause-types via some aspect of their structure which motivates imperative interpretation. The "time of evaluation" for imperatives is established as speech time (ST), corresponding to the syntactic projection of FinP, and the exclusive nature of ST in the interpretation of imperatives (as well as the dearth of tense morphology in imperative forms) further supports the idea that imperative clauses crucially lack a projection of tense (TP). Throughout this discussion, the models of imperative syntax proposed by e.g. Platzack and Rosengren (1998) and Jensen (20003) are primarily evaluated, and certain aspects of each are expanded and reconciled in the ultimate conclusions. Finally, the role of modality (epistemic or deontic) is examined at length, and a hierarchy of projections is proposed, taking into account the roles of projections such as FinP, TP, and $ModP_{HIGH/LOW}$. Based upon the scope relations of FinP vs. TP and the relationship of both to ModP projections, it is further argued that TP is absent in imperatives, and that imperative clause structure ultimately consists of a low deontic modality projection dominated by FinP (the specification of speech time).

In the end, the joint proposals made for imperative clause structure in Old English and imperative clause structure in general complete the development of this

chapter, as well as the development of this paper at large, having accomplished, sequentially, the establishment of background frameworks for syntactic theory, imperative syntax, and Old English syntax, followed by the presentation of the body of data derived from the study of the YCOE corpora. With the analysis and interpretation of the results of the corpus study, a set of theoretical frameworks are proposed in order to account for the majority patterns and exceptions found in the OE data, along with an approach to understanding the overall nature of imperative syntax. While questions related to various aspects of the syntax of imperatives still remain to be answered, it is with the completion of these final tasks that this thesis comes to a close.

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APPENDIX A

SELECTED PREVERBAL SUBJECTS

(1) *ne þu ne **gecyr** on erre from þinre þeowene;*
(coblick,HomS_26_[BlHom_7]:89.109.1136)

(2) *ne ðu ne **beseoh** to þinum ærran wuldre.*
(coeust,LS_8_[Eust]:120.127)

(3) *Ne þu ne **wen** na þæt ic aht underfenge for ænegum welan,*
(comary,LS_23_[MaryofEgypt]:340.215)

(4) *ne þu ne **ætstand** nahwar on ðisum earde,*
(cootest,Gen:19.17.780)

(5) *Ne þu ne **wanda** on þerfan dome.*
(cootest,Exod:23.6.3305)

(6) *ne ðu ne **forhta**.*
(cootest,Deut:31.8.4982)

(7) *ne ðu ne **gebuh** fram ðære æ on ða swyðran healfe ne on ða wynstran, ðæt ðu ongyte ealle ða ðingc ðe ðu dest.*
(cootest,Josh:1.7.5175)

(8) *Ne ðu ne **swere** þurh þin heafod, forþam þe þu ne miht ænne locc gedon hwitne oððe blacne.*
(cowsgosp,Mt_[WSCp]:5.36.263)

(9) *& þu **far** to ðæra Francena rice*
(cocathom1,+ACHom_I,_37:498.39.7343)

(10) *and ðu **genere** minne lichome, for ic ne recce þise leasere þrowunge.*
(comargaC,LS_14_[MargaretCCCC_303]:10.13.154)

(11) *& ðu **gewissa** ða sacerdas, ða þe ðæt scrin berað, ðæt hi gebidon on ðære ea.*
(cootest,Josh:3.8.5239)

APPENDIX B

PREVERBAL SUBJECTS WITH PREVERBAL OBJECTS

Prose

(12) *eal þæt fæt, ðu **sing** ofer ðas sealmas, Beati immaculati, ælcne ðriwa ofer, & gloria in excelsis deo, & Credo in deum patrem,*
(colacnu,Med_3_[Grattan-Singer]:63.31.372)

(13) *Þises þu **nytta** ge on æfenne ge on underne.*
(colaece,Lch_II_[2]:6.1.15.2215)

(14) *ne nænig wiht ðweorlices be him ðu **gehyr** sprecan.*
(coverhom,HomU_7_[ScraggVerc_22]:141.2941)

(15) *& him anum þu **þeowa**.*
(coblick,HomS_10_[BlHom_3]:27.17.370)

(16) *For ðy þu hy **bewrit**, swa we ær cwædon, mid iserne,*
(coherbar,Lch_I_[Herb]:132.0.1958)

(17) *ne þu me ne **hrepa**, forðan þe þu ne eart gyt gefullod.*
(coaelive,+ALS_[Sebastian]:301.1395)

(18) *ne þu me ne **syle** on þone biterestan deað.*
(coblick,LS_1.2_[AndrewMor[BlHom_19]]:229.21.2935)

(19) *ne ðu hine **bletsa**.*
(cootest,Num:23.25.4387)

(20) *ne ðu him ne **ara**, ðæt ðu him gemiltsige & hine bedyhlige,*
(cootest,Deut:13.6.4734)

(21) *& þu ða gyrdan **nim***
(corood,LS_5_[InventCrossNap]:196.195)

(22) *& þu naht þæs tintrega ne **ondred** forþam þe heo beoð ðe to mycele blisse igearwod.*
(corood,LS_5_[InventCrossNap]:417.436)

(23) *and þu nanum men on ðinum framfære ne drece;*
(cocathom2,+ACHom_II,_18:169.18.3754)

Poetry

(24) *ðu þæt sar **aber**;*
(coandrea,29.956.262)

(25) *þu on sælum **wes**, goldwine gumena,*
(cobeowul,37.1170.962)

(26) *ðu þe **lær** be þon,*
(cobeowul,53.1722.1422)

(27) *þu to heofenum **beseoh** on wuldres weard, þær ðu wraðe findest, sigores tacen.*
(cocynew,68.83.179)

(28) *þu ðas næglas **hat** þam æðelestan eorðcyninga burgagendra on his bridels don, meare to midlum.*
(cocynew,98.1172.927)

(29) *Ond þu Unferð **læt** ealde lafe, wrætlic wægsweord, widcuðne man heardecg habban;*
(cobeowul,46.1488.1223)

APPENDIX C

OLD ENGLISH TEXTS

This appendix lists the YCOE labels for Old English texts, along with the corresponding title of the text. These labels correspond to the individual citations for numbered examples in the body of this paper. Full descriptions of these and all other texts in YCOE databases, including authors, dating, dialect, and other information, can be found on the YCOE websites for OE prose texts (http://www-users.york.ac.uk/~lang22/YCOE/info/YcoeTextFile.htm#list) and OE poetic texts (http://www-users.york.ac.uk/~lang18/ptext-list.html).

Prose:

Label	Text Title
coadrian	*Adrian and Ritheus*
coaelhom	*Ælfric's Homilies Supplemental*
coaelive	*Ælfric's Lives of Saints*
coalex	*Alexander's Letter to Aristotle*
cobede	*Bede's History of the English Church*
cobenrul	*Benedictine Rule*
cochron	*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*
cocura	*Cura Pastoralis*
cogregd	*Gregory's Dialogues*
colaece	*Leechdoms*
colawafint	*Alfred's Introduction to Laws*
comarga	*Saint Margaret*
coorosiu	*Orosius*
cootest	*Heptateuch*
coquadru	*Quadrupedibus*
coverhom	*Vercelli Homilies*
cowsgosp	*West-Saxon Gospels*

Poetry:

Label	Text Title
coandrea	*Andreas and the Fates of the Apostles*
cobeowul	*Beowulf*
cochrist	*The Advent Lyrics of the Exeter Book*
cocynew	*The Juliana of Cynewulf*
coexodus	*Exodus*