

The Functional Structure of Imperative Phrase Markers: Evidence from Adult and Child Slovenian Imperatives*

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Imperatives have long been a matter of investigation in the generative syntactic tradition (e.g., Beukema and Coopmans 1989; Han 1998, 2001; Platzack and Rosengren 1997; Rivero and Terzi 1995; Zanuttini 1997, *inter alia*). While most—if not all—accounts agree that imperatives share many properties cross-linguistically, some characteristics still differ considerably from one account to another. For instance, all researchers agree that an imperative form of the verb need not always be marked morphologically, i.e., many languages do not have separate inflectional imperative paradigms as in declaratives and subjunctives (or other moods, for that matter), but rather employ other morphosyntactic devices that give rise to imperative meaning, such as specific particles, clitics, or clitic-like affixes, verb stem alterations, or simply infinitive or subjunctive verbal forms with imperative force (Han 1998; Platzack and Rosengren 1997; Zanuttini 1997). Furthermore, all existing accounts also seem to agree that an overt subject in imperatives never seems to be obligatory and is overtly used for contrast or emphasis only (Han 1998; Platzack and Rosengren 1997). One major characteristic over which the linguistic community seems to be split—and a characteristic that has attracted attention only recently in the literature—has been a putatively universal restriction against embedding imperative clauses. While most accounts argue that embedding imperatives is not an option in grammar (e.g., Han 1998; Palmer 2001; Platzack and Rosengren 1997), some disagree, showing that embedding is possible (e.g., Milojević Sheppard and Golden 2002; Rupp 2003). Another characteristic of imperatives that has been a matter of intense investigation and dispute recently is the source of sentential force associated with the imperative clause. While it is generally assumed in the Chomskian paradigm that force is directly encoded in the clause structure (specifically, via a feature in the

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Complementizer head; e.g., Chomsky 1995; Rizzi 1997), some have recently proposed that sentential force may not be present in the phrase structure *per se*, but rather arises via the interplay between syntax, semantics, and pragmatics (e.g., Zanuttini and Portner 2003). A nontrivial issue is also one of a phrase marker of imperatives and—particularly—the nature of Tense and/or Agreement in the imperative phrase marker¹.

The aim of this paper is twofold. First, I clarify and extend Milojević Sheppard and Golden's (2000, 2002) accounts, arguing that the phrase marker of Slovenian imperatives is not deficient in not having an active T head or not having T at all. I maintain this argument on the basis of imperative morphology, distributional facts of imperatives in *da*-clauses ('that clauses'), the characteristics exhibited by imperative subjects, as well as clitic and negation facts. Second, I show that certain patterns of word order (particularly object DP scrambling) in child Slovenian lend further support to the hypothesis that imperative markers are T-based representations (in the sense that they are not stripped off of T or have an inactive T), which—I argue—conforms to Guasti and Rizzi's (2000) conclusion that child language data can and should inform linguistic theory.

1 Imperatives and 'Finiteness'

Traditional grammars classify imperatives as 'finite' clauses along with indicatives and subjunctives. Infinitives, gerunds, participles, and supines, on the other hand, have generally been treated as 'nonfinite' (Jespersen 1948; Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech and Svartvik 1985, cited in Bohnacker 1999). Traditionally, three arguments are given for the finiteness in imperatives (after Bohnacker 1999): (1) 'sentence-building

¹ In the Chomskian paradigm (Chomsky 1995ff.), agreement (Agr) and tense (T) features are generally subsumed under a T head. However, prior to the 'minimalist' version of the theory, T and Agr were treated as separate heads, each projecting its own phrase. Even prior to that, T and Agr were labeled collectively as Infl (Inflection). There seems to be some confusion in the syntactic literature as to how to categorize formally imperative morphology in terms of these two functional heads (cf. Rupp 2003; Rus 2005). In language acquisition, it has been argued independently that the latest development in linguistic theory should have preserved two distinct functional categories based on evidence from child language data (cf. Guasti and Rizzi 2000).

power' (i.e., imperatives can stand on their own, just as declaratives and interrogatives with indicative verbs do; (2) the presence of nominative subjects (particularly since imperatives can have overt subjects); (3) finite morphology.

The diagnostics in (1) and (2) can easily be refuted. First, nonfinite clauses can also stand on their own, given the right context (e.g., *Why not go to Panama's carnival in February?*; *Why throw all this food away if you can feed all the homeless in the street with it?*). Second, with respect to the nominative subjects use, imperatives can also occur without overt subjects, which presumably does not affect the status of the imperative verb. Moreover, null subject languages do not use overt subjects (with finite verbs) anyway. Hence, the [\pm] specification value of nominative subjects cannot be a good criterion for [\pm] 'finiteness'. Furthermore, in certain languages (e.g., Icelandic) finite verbs can take non-nominative oblique subjects. Finally, in some cases (e.g., German), overt nominative subjects may occur with nonfinite non-imperative infinitival verbs (Bohnacker 1999). This leaves us with the third traditional argument for 'finiteness', namely imperative morphology. Ideally, imperative morphology should be distinct from that found in any other mood in a language and—in the strictest sense—distinct from any person in any number in any other mood. This is the case of Slovenian, whose imperative morphology has a distinct verbal paradigm, not overlapping with any other verb paradigm.

This fact seems to contradict Platzack and Rosengren's (1997) account, which asserts that imperatives should be regarded as 'tenseless' and 'nonfinite'—specifically in German, Icelandic, English, and Swedish—because "the imperative form is morphologically meager" (p. 194). Platzack and Rosengren (ibid) (henceforth, P&R) claim that such treatment is necessary since imperatives take the simplest morphological forms, homophonous with the infinitives or nonfinite bare verb stems, and their paradigms have fewer forms than indicative verb paradigms. Though these facts are generally descriptively true, they do not necessarily prove that imperatives are indeed nonfinite, and much less that they do not contain T in their phrase markers². Since directives

² The terms 'finite' and 'nonfinite' are somehow confusing in the literature. Although traditionally, a finite verb form has been described as the one expressing tense (past, present, future) and/or person (hence, agreement or phi-feature agreement in today's terms) and a nonfinite form the one lacking such agreement, modern generative literature generally assumes that finiteness is a

typically have second person addressees, it is not surprising that many imperative paradigms have forms for second person(s) only. Furthermore, while P&R are right in arguing that in many languages the second person singular imperative takes the form of the verb stem, this cannot be sufficient to prove that imperatives are T-based. For example, German, English, and Icelandic all have indicative verbs without overt inflections that are homophonous with the verb stems (e.g., English *drive* in *They drive to the country every weekend*), yet they have never been treated as lacking T³.

In what follows, I first review the imperative morphology in adult Slovenian and offer a stronger piece of evidence for T-based morphology in imperatives rather than simply a rich agreement paradigm. I show that imperatives can embed and that the word order facts as well as the imperative subject characteristics entail that imperatives carry T.

2 Imperatives in Adult Slovenian: Evidence for T

Slovenian is a second position (2P) ('Wackernagel') clitic language, which—according to descriptive grammars—distinguishes among three

phenomenon associated with a lack or presence of a T head (or its featural specification, or even its lexical contents) in a phrase marker, rather than with the (verb's) lexical form itself. For example, infinitives are traditionally nonfinite, but may show tense and/or phi-feature agreement (e.g., inflected infinitives in Portuguese, infinitives inflected with clitic pronouns in Italian, etc.). Conversely, there are nonfinite clauses in which T is present (e.g., in to-infinitival clauses in English). Hence finiteness does not really go hand in hand with the presence of T (or its lexical realization), much less with the presence of Agr (if at all!). I will use the term 'finite(ness)' only when referring to the analyses that crucially rely on this term, but will use T-based forms and T-based representation in my analysis, simply referring to the idea that the phrase marker contains T *structurally*. Hence, one of the reviewers' conclusions that my distinction may be merely one of terminology does not hold. I am agnostic as to whether such representation is finite or nonfinite in traditional sense.

³ Ever since Chomsky's *Syntactic Structures* (1957), it has been assumed that non-3 SG verb forms in the English indicative carry null morphemes and Rupp (2003) argues that it makes no sense to not assume null morphology in imperatives. She shows that in the Early Modern English period, verbs had distinctive 2SG and 2PL imperative forms with no ending (\emptyset) and a *-th* suffix, respectively.

moods, namely indicative, imperative, and exclamative (Toporišič 2000: 657). The indicative and the imperative have distinct verbal morphology. Table 1 shows the imperative (IMP) morphology contrasted with the present indicative (IND) one; the IND one has 9 cells (1/2/3SG, 1/2/3DU, 1/2/3PL), while the IMP one has a restriction in allowing only for 2nd person singular and 1st and 2nd persons DU and PL. Only the person/number cells that the two paradigms have in common are shown, the main focus being distinct morphology:

Table 1: Adult Slovenian indicative and imperative paradigms

	2SG	1DU	2DU	1PL	2PL
PRES	delajš	delava	delata	delamo	delate
IND					
IMP	delaj you- work	delajva let-us two work	delajta you two- work	delajmo let-us three or more- work	delajte you three or more- work

Toporišič (ibid) argues that ‘true’ imperatives, i.e., imperatives with distinct imperative morphology, are used only when one is ordering someone to accomplish an action. This statement is too strong since ‘true’ imperatives can have a wider interpretation which is not limited to ordering only—they can also express suggestion, for example (for details, see Rus 2005). Conversely, sentences with conditionals and modals can also have the interpretation of ordering. Below I focus on imperatives that show ‘true’ imperative morphology regardless of their speech act interpretation. Such imperatives can appear in root (1[a-c]) as well as embedded (1[d-f]) contexts:

- (1) a. Pojej jabolko!
eat_{2SGIMP} apple
‘Eat an apple.’
- b. Pokaži, kaj znata!
Show_{2DUIMP} what can_{2DUPRESIND}
‘Show (us/me) what you can (do).’

- c. Pojdite stran!
 go_{2PLIMP} away
 ‘Go away.’
- d. Rekel je, da pojej jabolko.
 said is that eat_{2SGIMP} apple
 ‘He said that you must/should eat an apple.’
- e. Ukazal je, da pokažita, kaj znata.
 ordered is that show_{2DUIMP} what can_{2DUPRESIND}
 ‘He ordered you to show (him/us, etc.) what you can (do).’
- f. Ali je ukazal, da pojdite stran?
 Q is ordered that go_{2PLIMP} away
 ‘Did he order you to go away?’

Milojević Sheppard and Golden (2002) (henceforth, S&G) argue against P&R by contending that imperative clauses are not ‘tenseless’, where the term ‘tenseless’ (in P&R’s analysis) is not to be understood merely as ‘nonfinite’, but rather as a clause completely lacking the TP projection. P&R state that imperatives do not seem to be related to time and as such, there is *no* tense-feature in their lexical entry and hence *no* TP in their phrase marker. S&G’s argument does not come from the embedding itself since ‘nonfinite’ clauses can be commonly embedded cross-linguistically. Rather, what S&G have in mind when arguing against the lack of T in imperatives (though this is not spelled out in the paper at all) is that the presence of an overt complementizer in C (Slovenian *da*) indicates that there must be a complement clause to the head C, namely a TP. This, however, still does not present good enough evidence since complementizers can crosslinguistically introduce nonfinite clauses (cf.: *It was difficult [CP for John to go there] with for* selecting an infinitival clause). However, in Slovenian *da* (just like English *that*) never c-selects a [-finite] clause, as seen in the examples in (2) below:

- (2) a. Ukazal mi je, (da) naj delam.
 ordered me is (that) naj_{PART} work_{1SGPRESIND}
 ‘He ordered me to work/He told me that I must/should work.’
- b. Ukazal mi je delati.
 ordered me is work_{INF}
 ‘He ordered me to work.’

- c. *Ukazal mi je, da delati.
 ordered me is that work_{INF}
 ‘He ordered me to work.’

In the examples above, we see that the complementizer *c*-selects either a [+finite] T ((2)a) or a [-finite] T ((2)b). However, it cannot be complemented by an infinitival clause with the presence of overt C. Compare the examples in (2) with that in (3), where an imperative verb occurs in an embedded context:

- (3) Ukazal je, da delaj.
 ordered is that work_{2SGIMP}
 ‘He ordered you to work/that you just work.’

From the examples above, we can conclude that an imperative cannot be a clause lacking a TP, whatever its structure may be (i.e., whether it is merely a TP or a fully blown CP with FinP, MoodP, and TP; cf. Rizzi 1997). Crucially, though, I take imperatives to be carrying T, having the same structure as finite clauses (see below for details and structure).

Syntactic subjects in Slovenian imperatives are restricted to 2SG and 1DU/PL and 2DU/PL subjects as we saw above. However, subjects are almost always phonologically null (*pro*). Overt subjects are possible for contrast and/or emphasis, similar to the English scenario:

- (4) Ukazal je, da ti delaj. [stressed *ti*]
 ordered is that you_{2SG} work_{2SGIMP}
 ‘He ordered you to work/that you (must/should) work.’

S&G argue that the subject characteristics (of embedded imperatives) cannot but show that imperative phrase makers must be—in their words—finite. They claim that the subjects of embedded imperatives seem to exhibit the same syntactic characteristics as the subjects of matrix imperatives (in (5) below), which—in turn—exhibit the same syntactic characteristics as the subjects of—in their words—finite clauses (with corresponding examples in (6)):

- (5) a. they can bind an anaphor in VP ((6)a);
 b. they control the PRO subject of non-finite complements ((6)b);

- c. they agree with predicatively used adjectives and past participles ((6)c)
- (6) a. Rekel je, da si kupa kolo.
 said is that *pro* yourself buy_{2SGIMP} bicycle
 ‘He said that you must buy yourself a bicycle.’
- b. Rekel je, da se navadi pospraviti svojo sobo.
 said is that *pro* refl get used_{2SGIMP} *PRO* to clean up your room
 ‘He said that you should learn to clean up your room.’
- c. Rekel je, da bodite previdni.
 said is that be_{2PLIMP} *pro* careful_{PLMASC}
 ‘He said that you (three or more) must be careful.’

Though the examples in (6) above show that there must be a TP present in the embedded structure (after all, there is an overt C in the lower CP), the properties in (5) themselves do not entail that the embedded clause must be ‘finite’ in traditional sense, contrary to what S&G conclude. Embedded nonfinite complement clauses, in fact, show the very same characteristics. This is clearer in English, for example, where nonfinite complementation is very common, as in *She wanted you to buy yourself a bicycle* with [*to buy yourself a bicycle*] as a nonfinite complement where the subject *you* binds the anaphor *yourself*. S&G’s conclusion about ‘finiteness’ in traditional sense then follows solely from the distributional facts on [+finite] and [-finite] clauses in terms of the presence of the complementizer *da*⁴.

With respect to negation, the Neg head *ne* always precedes the conjugated verb in both matrix and embedded imperative contexts:

- (7) a. Ne delaj tako počasi!
 not work_{2SGIMP} so slowly
 ‘Don’t work so slowly.’

⁴ Moreover, on a conceptual level, if the subject agreement features are assumed to be shared by *pro*, which is a standard assumption in the generative literature, then *pro* must be referential. This seems to rule out P&R’s proposal on the absence of TP in imperative clauses for P&R explicitly claim that subject agreement (and aspect) features are unrelated to finiteness; and that would mean that in the system we are proposing, the subject agreement features have no referential role. It is not clear in what particular sense P&R claim that the subject agreement features are non-referential in this sense (cf. S&G).

- b. Rekel je, da ne delaj tako počasi.
 said is that not work_{2SGIMP} so slowly
 ‘He said that you shouldn’t/mustn’t work so slowly.’

Sentential negation in Slovenian is generally expressed by *ne* in preverbal position in indicative clauses. Based on word order facts with respect to pronominal clitic placement and negation, Milojević Sheppard and Golden (2000) propose the following clausal structure for both indicatives and imperatives:

- (8) CP > AgrsP > NegP > TP

Together with the tensed verb, the Neg head functions as a first position (1P) constituent with respect to clitic placement. A fairly standard assumption with respect to constituent positions is shown in (9) below, where the verb has moved to C, which hosts second position (2P) pronominal clitics, with the negation marker having moved along with:

- (9) Ne pokažem ti ga.
 not show_{1SGPRESIND} you_{CLDATSG} it_{CLACCSG}
 1P 2P 3P
 ‘I’m not showing/won’t show it to you.’

Though Slovenian is a typical 2P clitics language, pronominal clitics can sometimes be sentence-initial in cases with omitted question particles:

- (10) a. Daj mi mir!
 give_{2SGIMP} me_{CLDATSG} peace
 ‘Leave me alone.’ vs.
 b. Mi lahko prineseš vodo? (=Ali mi...?)
 me_{CLDATSG} can bring_{2SGPRESIND} water (=Q me...?)
 ‘Can you bring me water?’

However, clitics cannot precede the imperative verb (*CL + V_{IMP}) in matrix imperatives, where the only possible order is V_{IMP} + CL:

- (11) a. Poslušaj ga, če hočeš.
 Listen_{2SGIMP} him_{CLDATSG} if want_{2SGPRESIND}
 ‘Listen to him if you want.’

- b. *Ga poslušaj, če hočeš.
 him_{CLDATSG} listen_{2SGIMP} if want_{2SGPRESIND}

In interaction with clitics, negation yields the word order Neg + V_{IND} + CL, as shown in the examples in (12) below:

- (12) a. Ne pojem ga.
 not eat_{1SGPRESIND} it_{CLACC SG}
 ‘I don’t eat it.’
 b. *Ne ga pojem.
 not it_{CLACC SG} eat_{1SGPRESIND}
 c. Ne bom ga pojedel.
 not be_{1SGFUTIND} it_{CLACC SG} eaten
 ‘I won’t eat it.’
 d. *Ne ga bom pojedel.
 not it_{CLACC SG} be_{1SGFUTIND} eaten

Hence, with respect to clitic placement, Slovenian matrix imperatives show the same word order as indicative clauses (Neg + V_{IND/IMP} + CL).

The issue of how sentential force arises in the clause is a separate one. While Milojević Sheppard and Golden (2000) follow the ‘classic’ accounts of force (as in Chomsky 1995, Rizzi 1997, etc.), I have hypothesized previously (Rus 2005) that all that narrow syntax needs to do in the phrase structure is to check off (license) the verb clothed with morphological marking in the Mood (M) head. Following Zanuttini and Portner (2003), I take that sentential force is arrived at via syntax/semantics and discourse. I furthermore also adopt a ‘hybrid’ approach—similar to Isac and Jakab (1997)—motivating an additional Mood projection that dominates T. More importantly, though, this account still crucially takes imperative clauses as having the same representation as indicatives. Hence, I posit that cross-linguistically, imperative verbs will move overtly or covertly either from V to M or from V to C via M, the clitics being adjoined to some TP projection or having moved to C together with the verb⁵:

⁵ This analysis hence suggests that all imperatives will check imperative morphology via V-to-M movement in both matrix and subordinate clauses. In matrix clauses only, however, movement can be longer, i.e., with verbs moving all the way to C. This operation may arise for independent reasons, e.g., when a clitic is in P1 position in [Spec, CP] with the imperative verb in C, or when there

- (13) a. $[_{CP} [_{MP} V_{IMP} [_{TP} CL]]]$ /matrix clauses/
 b. $[_{CP} V_{IMP} CL [_{MP} \dots [_{TP} \dots]]]$ /matrix clauses/
 c. ... $[_{CP} C [_{MP} CL V_{IMP} [_{TP} \dots]]]$ /embedded clauses/

To summarize, the above analysis of the morphosyntactic properties of Slovenian imperatives with respect to the properties generally studied in relation to such clauses shows that imperatives cannot be taken to be lacking T in their phrase markers⁶.

3 Imperatives in Child Slovenian: Further Evidence for T

Independent of the current study, Rus and Chandra (2006b) showed that child Slovenian offers some further support for the hypothesis of imperatives being non-T representations. Their study is a reply to Salustri and Hyams' (2003) study, which argues that imperatives in child Italian have the same status as Root Infinitives (RIs) in German and French, namely (1) they do not (generally) carry 'finite' morphology; (2) they display similar modal meanings; (3) they are restricted to eventive predicates; and (4) they are much more frequent in child speech than in the respective child-directed speech.

Following Han (2001), Salustri and Hyams (ibid) (henceforth, S&H) characterize an imperative as a verbal form marked with an 'irrealis' feature, further assuming that the imperative verb checks the irrealis and 'directive' features on Mood and Force heads respectively. For the irrealis feature on Mood to be checked against the verb in a local configuration—namely head-head relation—S&H invoke what they term

is a phrase in P1 providing a host for a clitic in P2 as a consequence of the Wackernagel effect. In embedded contexts imperative verbs do not move to C—C is filled with a complementizer blocking movement. Such an approach to the phrase structure in Slovenian captures all attested word orders with respect to imperatives in both matrix and embedded contexts.

⁶ As Bohnacker (1999) shows, Icelandic imperatives behave in a similar fashion in that they have a separate morphological paradigm, distinct from all other 'finite' and 'nonfinite' forms and exhibit the same word order facts as indicative clauses with respect to negation and adverb placement. Icelandic makes an even stronger case for my argument, though, because verb raising past negation and adverbs is very regular. In Icelandic imperatives, verb raising is the same as in indicatives and different from verb raising in infinitival clauses (for details, see Bohnacker 1999).

“feature underspecification”, basically referring to TP/AgrP/Asp elimination⁷.

The mechanism behind underspecification in child grammars as presented in S&H is largely unmotivated. Underspecification is an operation akin to other deletion operations and as such carries some computational cost. Hence, it is not obvious why child grammars would prefer underspecification to *Move*. S&H conveniently fail to address this issue, particularly when arguing that imperatives in child Italian (and other pro-drop languages with rich morphology) involve both *Move* and underspecification. This casts doubt on their claim that IMPs in Italian and Italian-like languages are more economical derivations than RIs and are analogous to RIs.

S&H seem to be right in hypothesizing that early null subject languages will show a high number of imperatives, though they claim that early imperatives are RIs with no real Agr/T and those that do show agreement, are simply spelled-out default forms. Our data (reported below), however, show that early imperatives are productive in the sense that they appear with different verb types and verb tokens. Furthermore, early Slovenian imperatives carry correct adult-like inflection and appear correctly in adult contexts with clitics that speak for the presence of T. Last but not least, early imperatives appear in a non-adult context of object scrambling that nevertheless speaks for the presence of T (see below).

The data for the present study constitute part of a bigger database of naturalistic production data coming from 15 children and collected over a 3-month period (for details, see Rus and Chandra 2005). The children’s

⁷ Crucially for S&H, the technology adopted for IMPs is the same as for RIs. Infinitivals (INFs) have an irrealis feature that is checked against MoodP and a local checking relation is rendered possible only by underspecifying intermediate projections. IMPs and RIs are thus outcomes of the same underlying structures, and subsequently share temporal, modal, and aspectual interpretations. This claim concurs well with their general views on the transition from RI/RI-analogue states to adult systems. As spelled out somewhat more clearly in Hyams (2005), the core idea is that the transition takes place when modals become more productive, indicating the ‘emergence’ of functional layers such as TP, AgrP, and AspP. It is at this stage of development, Hyams argues, that the operation of Merge takes precedence over Move, and the latter, a ‘more marked’ feature-checking option is pushed out of the grammar. Arguably, adult systems make use of underspecification as well.

mean MLU was 1.94. Table 2 below shows the data with respect to utterance type.

Table 2: Utterance types in child Slovenian

Types	Imperatives	Past Participles	Other
Total #	679	197	329
%	56.4	16.3	27.3

As we see in Table 2, the number of imperatives in our data is extremely high, with practically every other utterance being an imperative. These, however, appear with a variety of verbs and verb patterns, as seen in the examples below:

- (14) a. Čaki! (Vesna, 1;7)
wait_{2SGIMP}
 ‘Wait.’
- b. Glej jih! (Lenart, 1;11)
look_{2SGIMP} them_{CLACCPL}
 ‘Look at them.’
- c. Vesna, (d)ej men! (Doroteja, 1;11)
Vesna_{NOMSG} give_{2SGIMP} me_{CLDATSG}
 ‘Vesna, give it to me.’
- d. Tuki makni tole! (Kaja, 1;11)
here move_{2SGIMP} this_{SGACC}
 ‘Move this in here.’

Child imperatives bear adult-like agreement morphology. The suppliance of agreement is schematized in Table 3, showing that agreement reaches almost 100% correct⁸.

⁸ A partial paradigm (with _{2SG} forms only) should not be taken as absence of T/Agr, contrary to what one reviewer suggests. To illustrate the point in case, when Valian (1991) argued that what looked as occasional ‘finite’ V_s in early child English were simply V_s with ‘attached’ T/Agr inflections in the VP, a number of acquisitionists protested that it is impossible to accommodate overt T/Agr inflections without positing the existence of T/Agr projections in the grammar (cf. Guasti 1993/4; Hyams 1992). They concluded that early V_s show a full clause structure with at least T/Agr if not even CP and that despite the incomplete paradigm, children know ‘finiteness’. In line with this conclusion,

Though non-adult, the DP object scrambling cases speak of structural presence of T. I interpret this as a piece of evidence of how child language data can in fact inform linguistic theory, similarly to Guasti and Rizzi's (2000) conclusion.

Some imperative constructions sometimes appear with reflexive clitics, which are standardly assumed to be either generated directly in T or moved to the T-domain (S&G):

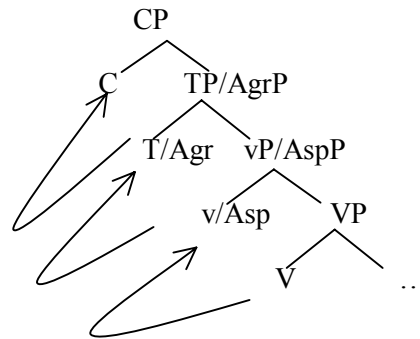
- (16) Se obuj teta! (Vesna, 1;7)
 refl put on (shoes)_{2SGIMP} auntie_{NOMSG}
 'Put on your shoes, auntie/woman.'

Last but not least, the examples below in (17) show an imperative verb raising to the C-domain with the clitics in the T-domain (with adult-like case and agreement marking):

- (17) a. Iski ga! (=Išči ga!) (Katja, 1;10)
 search_{2SGIMP} it_{CLACC SGMASC}
 'Look for it.'
- b. Glej jih! (Lenart, 1;11)
 look_{2SGIMP} them_{CLACC PLMASC}
 'Look at them.'
- c. Dej mi ga! (Tomaž, 1;10)
 give_{2SGIMP} me_{CLDATSG} it_{CLACC SGMASC}
 'Give it to me.'
- d. Biba, biba, lej jo. (Katja, 1;10)
 creepy-crawley_{NOMFEM} look it_{CLACC SGFEM}
 'Creepy-crawley, look at it.'

Following standard generative theories on adult imperatives (e.g., Han 2001) and to be as consistent as possible with the S&H account, I will also assume here that early Slovenian imperatives carry an irrealis/mood feature located in C/Mood that must be checked by the raising of the imperative verb. However, to capture agreement, as well as the word order facts presented above, I propose 'classic' successive-cyclic movement of the V via v/Asp and T/Agr. In this analysis then, the V_{IMP} checks the irrealis feature in a local head-head configuration as illustrated below in (18):

(18)



This analysis is consistent with our (conceptual and empirical) arguments against T/Agr elimination as well as with respect to economy considerations regarding local feature checking. It also has two immediate advantages. First, it captures the agreement patterns observed in the imperatives; and second, it is explanatorily more desirable by undermining an operation like TP-underspecification in child grammars.

We saw that child Slovenian imperatives show perfect [person] [number] agreement morphology, exhibit (adult-like) clitic placement as well as object scrambling. Hence, I conclude that child Slovenian imperatives do not lack the T/Agr projections and that imperatives in null subject languages like Slovenian are not analogous to RIs. That said, however, I would like to address one further issue that has appeared recently to discredit the account and conclusions that I presented here.

Hyams (p.c.) posits that imperative clauses in our data may simply be ‘hidden subjunctives’. There is indeed no (separate) morphological verb paradigm for subjunctives, which may suggest that semantically children’s imperatives might be ‘subjunctive-like’ clauses, expressing irrealis meaning (volition, intention), which is basically what imperatives are *prima facie*. However, imperatives in our data preserve the directive force, which argues against extending a ‘subjunctive’ status to them. In other words, subjunctive is a verbal form that can have various force interpretations—an imperative force interpretation among them—but an imperative, on the other hand, cannot have a ‘subjunctive-like’ force interpretation from a semantic perspective (Zanuttini p.c.). Moreover—and crucially for the present purposes—subjunctive clauses would still contain a TP in their phrase markers.

4 Conclusion

On the basis of adult and child Slovenian, this paper argued against the syntactic accounts that propose that imperative clauses are clauses with degenerate or no T. Explicating and extending the analysis in Milojević Sheppard and Golden (2000, 2002), the paper explored imperative morphology and word order and distributional facts found in Slovenian imperatives, arguing that imperatives should be taken to be T-based in the sense that they cannot be devoid of T/Agr or have an incomplete/impooverished T/Agr head. The paper further argued against Salustri and Hyams' (2003) hypothesis that imperatives in early (pro-drop) morphologically rich languages are RI-analogues. Specifically, the paper argued that early imperatives show morphological productivity and that an incomplete paradigm cannot be taken as evidence for non-knowledge or absence of T/Agr, and that imperatives cannot be merely spelled-out default forms with only 'apparent' functional material. On the basis of child Slovenian data on object scrambling and pronominal and reflexive clitic placement, the paper concluded that both adult and non-adult child language data can and should inform linguistic theory.

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