Laura Rupp, *The Syntax of Imperatives in English and Germanic: word order variation in the minimalist framework*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003. ISBN 033399342X.

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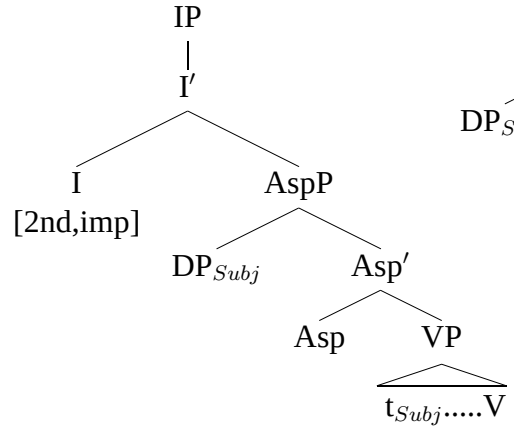
This work contains a clear exposition and a sound analysis of various syntactic properties of the English imperative within the framework of the Minimalist Program. While the bulk of the work is centred on English, the book contains one chapter outlining some of the properties of imperatives in other Germanic languages, hence providing a comparative perspective that adds to the depth and breadth of this book. In this review, I outline the main arguments and the proposal of the book, interleaved with critiques on some of the points.

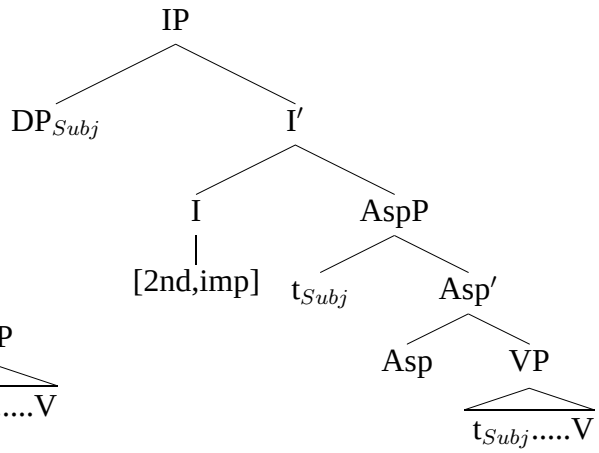
Rupp begins this book with a summary of some of the basic tenets of the Minimalist Program that are most relevant to understanding her proposed analyses. In the same chapter, she outlines the data and syntactic properties of the English imperative to be examined in subsequent chapters.

In Chapter 2, Rupp looks into the clause structure of the English imperative, and proposes that the English imperative is an IP structure, not a CP structure, with a functional projection, most likely an Aspect Phrase (AspP), between IP and VP, as represented in (1).

(1) a.



b.



She postulates that INFL in the English imperative clause structure may be specified with agreement features (though she changes her position in chapter 7), presenting facts from Early Modern English as supporting evidence: the imperative verb was inflected for number and the imperative subject was inflected for nominative case. Rupp also places a force feature [imp] in INFL, following an idea from Belletti and Rizzi (1996). She notes that an imperative is never introduced by an overt complementizer, even when introduced as an indirect speech complement (e.g, *The judge said [(*that/*for) hand over my driving license!]*), and takes this to mean that the imperative clause structure does not project C. The main motivation for the presence of AspP in the clause structure of the imperative comes from imperatives with aspectual *have/be* (e.g., *Be waiting for me on the corner at six!*, *Have seen the Full Monty before you die!*). Following a series of recent work on aspectual auxiliaries, Rupp places *have/be* in Asp. This chapter also addresses why negative imperatives with *have/be* require *do*-support (e.g., *Do not be working when I get back!*), unlike negative declaratives with *have/be* (e.g., **You did not be working when I got back, You were not*

working when I got back.) Rupp speculates, using Rohrbacher's (1994) proposal that in Old English there were two paradigms of *be*, that *have/be* is generated under INFL in finite declaratives, but generated under Asp with no further movement to INFL in imperatives. Under this analysis, *do*-support is required in negative imperatives with *have/be* because features in INFL needs to be supported, just as in negative declaratives with main verbs. This approach places the source of the different syntactic behavior of *have/be* in imperatives and declaratives on the auxiliaries themselves, and leaves unanswered the question why different types of auxiliaries are used in the two types of clauses. Another approach, which the author did not explore, is to place the source of the difference on the feature content of INFL. For example, in Han (2000), it is proposed that the presence/absence of a tense feature in INFL explains the difference in the syntactic behavior of *have/be* in the two types of constructions: in negative declaratives, the tense feature in INFL attracts *have/be*, hence no *do*-support is necessary, whereas in negative imperatives, INFL lacks any tense feature, *have/be* cannot be attracted to INFL, and so *do*-support is required.

Chapter 3 begins with a clarification that except for 1st person pronouns (e.g., **We/*I go home!*), practically all sorts of DPs, quantifiers, indefinites, partitives, definite phrases, bare noun plurals, proper nouns, and even 3rd person pronouns, are possible as the subject of the English imperative, given the right context. She argues that these DPs are not vocatives and presents various supporting arguments that they have the syntactic status of regular subjects: for example, no intonational break is necessary between these DPs and the rest of the sentence, DPs that clearly cannot be a vocative occur in imperatives (e.g., *Nobody make a move!*), they can be passivized (e.g., *Don't anyone be caught speeding!*), and can participate in raising (e.g., *You just appear to be sick when your wife comes in!*) and subject control (e.g., *Don't you forget to check the locks before going home!*). In the same chapter, Rupp also argues that imperatives without a lexical subject still have a phonetically null but syntactically active subject, and that the syntactic status of this covert subject is *pro*. She argues that even though English does not allow *pro* in other contexts, given its weak agreement, *pro* is allowed in imperatives because it can be identified. Rupp considers two possible approaches to the restrictions (or non-restrictions, rather) on admissible subjects in imperatives and how imperative *pro* can be identified: semantic/pragmatic and morphosyntactic. As in Potsdam (1998), given that the semantics/pragmatics of imperatives dictates that they be directed at one or a number of addressees to get them to bring about an event, only DPs that can be ascribed some addressee interpretation are acceptable subjects in imperatives. Further, imperative *pro* can be identified as the addressee because this is part of the meaning of imperatives. Alternatively, as in Zhang (1990) and Henry (1995), it could be that the imperative INFL is specified with [2nd], but not [1st] and [3rd], identifying imperative *pro* as 2nd person. And DPs that can either morphosyntactically or semantically agree with [2nd] in INFL are acceptable subjects, where semantic agreement allows 3rd person DPs with addressee interpretation. She defers deciding on this issue until chapter 7 when she considers how imperative subjects behave in other Germanic languages. It seems to me that neither approach however gives a satisfactory answer to why 1st person subjects are not possible in imperatives. As the author herself points out, the fact that hortatives (e.g., *Let's go to the beach!*) exist with 1st person suggests that the unavailability of 1st person subject in imperatives does not quite follow from semantics/pragmatics. Moreover, if 3rd person DPs can semantically agree with [2nd] in INFL, it is not clear why 1st person pronouns can't behave in this way.

Chapters 4 and 5 investigate the syntax of *don't*-imperatives, such as *Don't you try again!* and *You don't try again!*, and addresses the issue of why *do*-support is necessary even though

imperatives are not tensed and where in the clause structure *don't* and the subject are located. Rupp thoroughly evaluates previous work that propose that *don't* occurring in imperatives is special in one way or another, and identifies problems with each one of them. Rupp says that *do* in imperatives is nothing other than a last resort auxiliary inserted in INFL for feature checking, in negative and emphatic contexts, as was argued in Potsdam (1998). But unlike Potsdam, she argues that *do* is inserted in INFL in imperatives, and does not go any higher than that in the phrase marker. Potsdam and others argue that subject-aux inversion in imperatives, as in *Don't you try again!*, is derived through the movement of the auxiliary to C, just as in the CP structure of interrogatives. Rupp however provides a few arguments against the CP-analysis: first, while *do* is obligatory in positive interrogatives, it is not so in affirmative imperatives, except in emphatic contexts (e.g., *DO YOU try again!*, *DO AT LEAST YOU have a go, even if the others won't!*); second, unlike in interrogatives, imperatives with a subject intervening *do* and *not* are impossible (e.g., **Do you not try again!*); third, neg-inversion (e.g., *On no account should they open the door*), which is standardly assumed to involve a movement of a negative constituent to [Spec,CP] and I-C movement, is impossible in imperatives, and Rupp attributes this to non-availability of CP projection in imperatives; fourth, in examples like *Don't everyone expect a raise!*, only $not > every$ reading is available, but adopting Hornstein's (1995) approach to scope-taking, if the subject raises from a VP-internal to a VP-external position and *don't* raises from INFL to C, then we would expect scope ambiguity because Neg could be interpreted in C or I and the subject could be interpreted in a VP-internal or VP-external position. It seems to me that none of these arguments are knock-down arguments against the CP-analysis. As for the first argument, it may not be so strange that C in imperatives does not force obligatory movement given the behavior of INFL in declaratives. In declaratives, it is standardly assumed that INFL attracts auxiliary *have/be*, but not main verbs. C in imperatives could be like this. It could be attracting whatever is under INFL, namely *do* in negative and emphatic imperatives, but not *have/be* which is in Asp or main verbs that are in V. This was the analysis laid out in Han (2000). As for the second argument, imperatives like *Do you not try again!* were possible in Early Modern English (Ellegård, 1953). Given this, it might be plausible to provide a pragmatic or prosodic explanation as to why such imperatives are not possible in present-day English, as suggested in Davies (1986) and Han (2000). Third, the fact that imperatives cannot participate in neg-inversion is evidence for a CP-analysis, rather than against it. If imperatives are IP projections, then they are like declaratives, and so we should expect neg-inversion to be possible in imperatives, just as in declaratives. Also, as the author notes, interrogatives do not participate in neg-inversion either. So, if imperatives are CP projections, then we can say that whatever blocks neg-inversion in interrogatives is at play in imperatives as well. Fourth, it is standardly assumed that negation does not reconstruct in general, as shown in Potsdam (forthcoming) (e.g., *Didn't everyone get a raise?*, *Only on Fridays doesn't everybody come)*. Hence, the restricted scope fact in inverted imperatives is not a strong argument against the CP-analysis.

Under the assumption that *don't* is in INFL, Rupp further argues that '*don't*-subject' order is derived by movement of the subject from [Spec,VP] to [Spec,AspP], as in (1a), and 'subject-*don't*' order is derived by movement of the subject from [Spec,VP] to [Spec,IP], as in (1b). She ends this chapter by raising the question of how the proposed optionality in subject placement can be accounted for within the Minimalist framework and returns to this issue in chapter 8.

Chapter 6 addresses the constrained use of *not* in imperatives. While *not*-imperatives with a clause-initial subject (e.g., *Somebody do not desert me!*), or covert subject (e.g., *Do not desert me!*)

are possible, those with an inverted subject are not (e.g., **Do you not desert me!*). Further, in some cases, the subject can follow *not* (e.g, *Do not ALL of you desert me!*). Noting that the CP-analysis incorrectly predicts examples like *Do you not desert me!* to be possible, Rupp says that in her analysis, *do* is in INFL and *not* projects NegP between INFL and Asp, and so '*do*-Subject-*not*' order simply cannot be derived. She also says that '*do-not*-Subject' order (e.g. *Do not you desert me!*) is generally ruled out because NegP which is below IP blocks nominative case checking between INFL and the subject in [Spec,AspP], and in cases that show '*do-not*-Subject' order (e.g, *Do not ALL of you desert me!*), *not* is a constituent negation on the subject, rather than sentential negation. Further, in *not*-imperatives with a clause-initial subject or covert subject, the subject is in [Spec,IP], and from there nominative case checking is done in Spec-head configuration with INFL. This analysis however raises a question as to why '*don't*-Subject' imperatives are possible (e.g. *Don't you desert me!*). If *n't* also heads a NegP, then case-checking between INFL and the subject in [Spec,AspP] should be blocked, just as in '*do-not*-subject' order. To address this, Rupp clarifies her view on *n't*, and says that *n't* is an inflection on the auxiliary, not an independent Neg head, and forms like *don't* are unitary elements in the lexicon, which get inserted into INFL directly. This raises more questions though. If Rupp's analysis of *n't* is correct, then we would expect other verbs to be able to enter the derivation already inflected with *n't*. The restricted occurrence of *n't* on auxiliary verbs requires an explanation. Also, Rupp has been assuming that *do*-support is triggered when a head hosting negation or an emphatic element intervenes between INFL and V. If *n't* is not a head of its own, then the trigger for *do*-support in this case needs to be explained.

Chapter 7 examines subject properties of other Germanic languages, in comparison to English. Rupp notes the following differences between Dutch and English: (i) verbs are marked for [2nd] person in Dutch imperatives but not in English, (ii) [3rd] person DPs that can be understood as the addressee(s) may be used as the subject of English imperatives, but not in Dutch, and (iii) the position of the subject can vary in English imperatives, but it is fixed in [Spec,IP] in Dutch. Based on these differences, Rupp concludes that in Dutch imperatives, INFL is specified with [2nd] feature, but in English, INFL lacks phi-features altogether. So, in Dutch, *pro* is restricted to [2nd] person, using [3rd] person DPs as subjects results in a feature mismatch, causing the derivation to crash, and the subject must be placed in [Spec,IP] to check subject-verb agreement. In English, with INFL lacking phi-features, subject properties are determined by the semantics/pragmatics of the imperative: *pro* is always the addressee, 3rd person DPs are possible as subjects as long as they denote the addressee(s), and subjects need not occur in [Spec,IP] because there are no phi-features to check in INFL, and the variation in the subject position correlates with variation in discourse functions. Accordingly, Rupp then formulates the [Agr] hypothesis: "(a) where imperatives are [+Agr], we only find grammatically 2nd person subjects and subject position is fixed; (b) where imperatives are [-Agr], we find subject DPs other than 2nd person and subject position may vary" (p. 151). She then tests this hypothesis against a number of Germanic languages. She shows that while German showed somewhat mixed behavior, Belfast English pattern as a [-Agr] language, whereas West Flemish and Danish pattern as [+Agr] languages. A prediction emerges from Rupp's [Agr] hypothesis, which would be interesting to test. Given that Early Modern English imperatives had number agreement, it would be classified as a [+Agr] language. If so, the subject property of earlier English should pattern like Dutch, West Flemish and Danish.

Rupp concludes this book with her thought on optional movement and how it meshes with the notion of Economy and Last Resort within the Minimalist framework. The proposed sub-

ject placement for English imperatives raises several questions: What forces subject movement to [Spec,AspP]? Why is subject movement to [Spec,IP] not obligatory? What allows subject movement to [Spec,IP]? Economy and Last Resort dictate that if there is an EPP feature in INFL, subject movement to [Spec,IP] should be obligatory, and if there is no EPP feature, subject movement is unmotivated, so must not occur. Does this then mean that an EPP feature is optionally present in imperative INFL? Rupp does not think Asp can host an EPP feature, and leaves the question as to why the subject moves to [Spec,AspP] as an open problem. As for the question as to why subject movement to [Spec,IP] is not obligatory, she speculates, following an idea from Platzack and Rosengren (1997), that this may have something to do with the fact that imperatives do not have truth values, unlike declaratives. She says that the fact that imperatives do not have truth values means that they do not constitute a proposition, which in turn means that they need not instantiate predication through placing the subject in [Spec,IP]. But then this raises the issue of why subjects are standardly assumed to be in [Spec,IP] in questions, even though they don't have truth values either. Further, even though imperatives cannot be assigned a truth value in the current world, it still contains a propositional content, which is true or false in some possible world. So it seems to me that imperatives still call for an instantiation of predication. Perhaps, this can be connected to why the imperative subject needs to move to [Spec,AspP]. As for the optionality of subject movement to [Spec,IP], Rupp appeals to Reinhart's (1995) interface economy, which permits a formally less economical derivation to achieve a certain interpretative goal that would not arise had displacement not been applied, and argues that the two positions for the subject, [Spec,AspP] and [Spec,IP], correspond to two different interpretative effects. With this approach, optionality in the subject placement is only apparent, and is conditioned by semantic/discourse or prosodic considerations. The question of optionality in subject placement arises not only in Rupp's IP analysis but also in other competing analyses. While the syntactic characterization of this optionality may vary across these analyses, Rupp's suggestion that this optionality is really an issue of the interface between syntax and interpretive component is applicable to any analysis.

To conclude, this book has a commendable empirical coverage, comprising data from Early Modern English as well as other Germanic languages. The review and critique of previous work on imperatives is thorough and extensive, and the proposed analysis raises many interesting questions that any theoretical framework would have to address. It makes a valuable contribution not only to the area of imperatives but also to the area of clause structure in general.

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