

Speculations on negative imperatives

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This paper addresses the issue of the incompatibility of certain imperative forms with pre-verbal negative markers in Romance, focussing in particular on data from Italian. The proposal we will put forward builds on insights from Zanuttini (1991) and Rivero (1988, this volume) but departs from both in providing an analysis which need not stipulate either a particular relation between NegP and TP or an imperative operator in C.*

1. Constraints on negative imperatives.

Within the Romance languages, it is useful to distinguish between two types of verbs that can be employed in imperative clauses:

- verbal forms which are unique to the paradigm of the imperative, in the sense that they are different from any other verbal form used, for the same person, in any tense of the indicative, subjunctive, etc. For example, Italian *Parla!* 'Talk!' (2nd sg. imperative) is not identical to the verbal form for the second person singular of any other tense or mood;
- verbal forms which are used in the imperative but are morphologically identical to a form used in another paradigm for that same person. For example, Italian *Parlate!* 'Talk!' (2nd pl., imperative) is identical to the form used in the present indicative for the 2nd person plural.

Following Joseph & Philippaki-Warbuton (1987) and Rivero (1988), we will refer to the former as 'true imperatives' and to the latter as 'surrogate' or 'suppletive' imperatives. This distinction is particularly useful in describing the behavior of negative imperatives, which present the following puzzling distribution:

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- True imperatives, i.e. verbal forms which are unique to the paradigm of the imperative, are incompatible with pre-verbal negative markers:

- (1) a. telefonat! (true imperative) (Italian)
'call!' (2nd sg.)
b. *non telefona!
'don't call!' (2nd sg.)
- (2) a. parla! (true imperative) (Catalan)
'talk!' (2nd sg.)
b. *non parla!
'don't talk!' (2nd sg.)
- (3) a. habla! (true imperative) (Spanish)
'talk!' (2nd sg.)
b. *no habla!
'don't talk!' (2nd sg.)
- (4) a. hablad! (true imperative) (Spanish)
'talk!' (2nd pl.)
b. *no hablad!
'don't talk!' (2nd pl.)

- Surrogate or suppletive imperatives, i.e. verbal forms which coincide with those of another paradigm, are compatible with both a post-verbal and a pre-verbal negative marker:

- (5) a. telefonate! (same as indicative) (Italian)
'call!' (2nd pl.)
b. non telefonate!
'don't call!' (2nd pl.)
- (6) a. parleu! (same as indicative) (Catalan)
'talk!' (2nd pl.)
b. no parleu!
'don't talk!' (2nd pl.)

- True imperatives, while incompatible with pre-verbal negative markers, can typically co-occur with post-verbal negative markers:¹

¹ One apparent exception is provided by certain varieties of Modern Central Occitan, where true imperatives are incompatible with the post-verbal negative marker *pas*.

- (7) a. parla nen! (true imperative) (Piemontese)
talk neg (2nd sg.)
'don't talk!'
b. geina-te pa (true imperative) (Valdotain)
bother-you neg (2ndsg.)
'don't worry'
c. fee-me pa rre (true imperative) (Valdotain)
make-me neg laugh (2nd sg.)
'don't make me laugh'
d. guarda minga i tosann! (true imperative) (Milanese)
look neg the girls (2nd sg.)
'don't look at the girls!'
e. ven minga senza dance! (true imperative) (Milanese)
come neg without money (2nd sg.)
'don't come without money!'

Why is it that true imperatives cannot be negated by pre-verbal negative markers in Romance? The incompatibility is certainly not semantic in nature, given that true imperatives can be negated in languages where the negative marker is not pre-verbal and that the meaning of a negated true imperative can be expressed by using a 'suppletive' verbal form. We will take the approach that the restriction is syntactic in nature; it will be viewed as a consequence of the impoverished morphological make-up of true imperatives.

2. Previous analyses.

In this section, we will briefly examine three recent proposals which offer an account of the incompatibility of true imperatives with pre-verbal negative markers.

Although we will not be able to discuss them in detail and provide a critical evaluation of their strengths and weaknesses, we believe it is important to outline them here since they constitute the background for the analysis which will be proposed in this paper.

In section 3, we will discuss some facts which suggest a modification of the proposal presented in Rivero (1988, this volume) and summarized in 2.1. In section 4 we will show which aspects of the three proposals here outlined are preserved in our new analysis.

2.1. Verb movement to C.

Rivero (1988) discusses the behavior of imperatives observed in Balkan languages such as Bulgarian, Modern Greek and Romanian. Rivero (this volume), on the other hand, presents an extensive discussion

of the contrast between imperatives in Castilian Spanish, on the one hand, and in Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian on the other.

The main claim of the more recent paper is that in the Romance languages and in Modern Greek the C^0 of a root clause is a force indicator to which a true imperative must move to get imperative force. Verb-movement to C, therefore, is obligatory with true imperatives in these languages.²

In Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian, on the other hand, C^0 is not a position reserved for the expression of imperative force, as indicated by the fact that verbs can move to that position not only in imperatives, but also in statements and questions.

Rivero interprets the incompatibility of true imperatives with pre-verbal negative markers in terms of a blocking effect of the negative marker on movement of the verb to C^0 : true imperatives are incompatible with the presence of a pre-verbal negative marker because the negative marker, the head of NegP, intervenes in the raising path of the verb. The phrase structure is assumed to be such that CP is structurally higher than NegP which, in turn, is higher than the tense and agreement projections, here represented as IP for conciseness:

$$[CP [C^0 [NegP Neg^0 [IP I^0 [VP V^0]]]]]$$

In true imperatives, the verb moves to I^0 and is then prevented from moving to C^0 by the presence of the intervening negative marker in the head of NegP. This is because (a) if the verb skipped the intervening head Neg^0 , an ECP violation would arise (the negative marker in Neg^0 would count as the closest governor for the trace left by the verb); (b) by assumption, the verb cannot incorporate into Neg^0 .

As for the contrast between true and suppletive imperatives in the presence of negation in Romance, Rivero argues that it is a result of the different extent to which the verb moves.

Whereas in true imperatives the verb moves to C^0 , in suppletive forms of the imperatives it has the option of remaining in a lower position, e.g. the head of AgrP/TP. For example, Spanish *den*, a form of the present subjunctive which is used as a surrogate form for the second person plural, raises to C^0 when such movement is possible, as in (8a).

But when the C^0 position is filled, as in (8b), the verb fails to raise. Similarly, in (8c) and (8d) the verb fails to raise when another head intervenes in its path to C, thus creating a minimality effect: in (8c) the intervening head is the overt head of NegP, *no*, while in (8d) it is the phonetically empty head of NegP:

- (8) a. den-me el libro! (Spanish)
give(pres/sub/2p)-me the book
'you (pl.) give me the book!
- b. que me den el libro!
that me give the book
'just give me the book!'
- c. no me den el libro!
neg me give the book
'don't give me the book!
- d. nunca me den el libro!
never me give the book
'never give me the book!'

The incompatibility of true imperatives and negation then is taken to be a consequence of the extent of verb movement, as follows. In true imperatives, where the verb must move to C^0 , the negative head intervenes on the movement path of the verb and creates a minimality effect; if the verb moved to C^0 past the negative head, this would intervene between the verb and its trace creating a minimality effect and hence an ECP violation. Because verb movement to C^0 is obligatory for true imperatives, the conflict cannot be resolved and the result is simply that true imperatives are incompatible with pre-verbal negative markers. In suppletive imperatives, on the other hand, verb movement to C is optional, i.e. the verb has the option of either moving to C^0 or else to a lower position, as illustrated above. Because verb movement is optional rather than obligatory, suppletive imperatives can thus co-occur with a pre-verbal negative marker: the verb simply chooses not to raise to C^0 when a negative marker intervenes on its path and creates a minimality effect.

Although Rivero does not discuss Romance languages with a post-verbal negative marker, such as Piedmontese or Valdostain, it is clear how her analysis would account for the fact that true imperatives in these languages are compatible with the presence of a negative marker. The word order *V neg* in a simple (non-imperative) finite clause already shows that the verb can raise past the negative marker without violating grammatical principles. Hence, in true imperatives, nothing blocks the verb from raising even further, from I^0 to C^0 : the presence of the post-verbal negative marker will not interfere.

Why must true imperatives move to C^0 in the Romance languages and in Greek? In this approach, it is because a root C^0 is a force indicator in these languages, i.e. it has features which convey the illocutionary force of an imperative. Such features are activated by the verb moving into the C^0 position; the verb in turn is licensed by these features. If a true imperative fails to move to C^0 (e.g. because its movement is blocked by an intervening negative marker), it is not

² Rivero's analysis leads to the conclusion that interrogative clauses and so-called AUX-to-Comp constructions do not involve verb movement to C.

licensed and thus yields ungrammaticality.³ This property of C⁰ does not hold in all languages; crucially, it does not hold in languages which show Tobler-Mussafia or Wackemagel effects (e.g. Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian, respectively), where C⁰ is not a force indicator. In these languages, true imperatives can fail to move without yielding ungrammaticality.

2.2. Complementary distribution.

Laka (1990:245-252) addresses the issue of the incompatibility of the negative marker *no* with true imperatives in Spanish. In her work, the pre-verbal negative marker of Spanish is taken to be the head of a projection SigmaP, which is structurally higher than the functional projections which make up Infl (AgrP, TP). SigmaP is a projection whose value depends on the element which occurs in it: it can be negation, when it contains a negative element (e.g. Spanish *no*), emphatic affirmation, when it contains an appropriate type of element (e.g. Spanish *si*) or imperative force, when it contains an imperative verb. In her proposal, therefore, true imperatives and negative markers in Spanish are in complementary distribution, since they occur in the same position, i.e. in the head of ΣP . Their incompatibility, it is argued, stems precisely from this, i.e. from the fact that they are competing for the same position. While Laka argues that true imperatives are base-generated in Σ^0 , no claim is made concerning surrogate or suppletive imperatives. Presumably, in this view they are not incompatible with pre-verbal negative markers because they do not occur in the head of SigmaP but rather in a different structural position.⁴

2.3. Morphological defectiveness.

Zanutini (1991) proposes to capture the difference between pre-verbal and post-verbal negative markers in Romance by postulating two distinct functional projections for negation. One functional projection, NegP-1, is taken to be higher than (at least some of the components of) Infl in the structure; that is the projection in which the pre-verbal negative markers of Italian, Spanish and Catalan (among others) are base generated. The other functional projection, NegP-2, is said to be in

³ The question remains whether there are morphological features in C⁰ which require checking, or whether C⁰ must be filled to instantiate a specifier-head relation with an imperative operator in [Spec, CP]. Movement of the true imperative verb to C⁰ is said to be required in order to license the verb itself. Presumably, suppletive imperatives do not need to be licensed, since movement to C⁰ is not required of them.

⁴ Laka does not discuss those Romance languages where the negative marker is post-verbal and a true imperative verb can co-occur with it (as in the examples in (7) above). If negation and imperative force were both possible values of SigmaP in these languages as well, their co-occurrence would be unexpected.

a lower structural position and to be the position where the post-verbal negative markers of languages like Piedmontese, Valdostan, and standard French (among others) are base-generated. In this view, then, the incompatibility of negation with true imperatives, which is limited to pre-verbal negative markers, can be viewed as an incompatibility between true imperatives and the functional projection NegP-1. The question then becomes: what distinguishes true imperatives from other verbal forms (e.g. forms of the indicative, subjunctive, infinitive, etc.) which are compatible with the functional projection NegP-1?

Zanutini's (1991) proposal is built on two notions. The first one is that true imperatives lack tense, an idea which is found in different guises in the literature on imperatives.⁵ The second is the idea that the occurrence of certain functional elements is parasitic on that of other functional projections. In particular, the proposal rests on the assumption that the negative markers generated in NegP-1 are parasitic on the presence of the functional projection TP.⁶

Zanutini (1991) proposes that the crucial difference between true imperatives and other verbal forms (even those which might happen to be superficially identical to the true imperatives) is that imperatives lack certain functional projections which are associated with verbal forms expressing other tenses and moods. In particular, following the assumption that the expression of tense has as its syntactic counterpart a functional projection, TP, the proposal is that the projection TP is missing from the syntactic representation of true imperatives in Romance. The absence of the functional category TP is what determines the impossibility of the pre-verbal negative markers with true imperatives: Italian *non*, for example, cannot occur with a true imperative form because the syntactic representation of a true imperative lacks the projection TP. On the other hand, *non* can occur with the suppletive form borrowed from the paradigm of the indicative, or of the infinitive, because these have a TP projection.⁷ It is argued that

⁵ For example, in the context of a discussion of the manifestation of finiteness in natural languages, Joseph (1985) argues that positive imperatives in Greek and Macedonian-two languages which lack the category of infinitive-are non-finite forms (negative imperatives, on the other hand, are analyzed as finite forms). Beukema & Coopmans (1989) argue that INFL in English must be specified as [-Tense] in imperatives, based on the lack of tense oppositions and on the ungrammaticality of imperative forms which carry tense specifications.

⁶ The idea that a certain negative marker might be sensitive to the presence of tense specifications is not new. For example, Kayne (1975) and Pollock (1989) suggest interpreting the impossibility of the occurrence of *ne* on a past participle in modern French as due to the lack of tense on these verbal forms. Pearce (1990, 1991) relates the impossibility of negating infinitives in Old French to their lack of a TP projection. Ouhalla (1990, 1991) characterizes certain NegP projections as selecting TP as their complement (e.g. the NegP of French and Berber).

⁷ The question then is why there should be a special relation (or any relation at all) between negation and tense. One answer that comes to mind is that both sentential negation and tense are operators which take scope over the same domain; thus their association in the syntax could be seen as a reflection of their similar semantic properties. Although intuitively appealing, this line of reasoning is weakened by the fact that other negative markers, which also take scope over the same domain as tense, do not show any syntactic dependence on it (e.g. the negative marker of Piedmontese discussed in this paper). Another possible answer is to relate the dependence on tense to another property of this class of negative markers, namely their being 'weak' phonologically (although

verbal forms from the indicative, the subjunctive and the infinitive have a projection TP, which may or may not have an overt morphological realization; whereas true imperatives do not have a projection TP, neither lexically realized nor abstract.⁸ Thus, this proposal argues that true imperatives in Romance lack the functional projection TP not only in the sense that they do not have any morphology corresponding to tense, but also in the sense that they do not have an abstract tense projection in their structural make-up. The incompatibility between a pre-verbal negative marker and true imperatives is taken to stem from the fact that the projection NegP-1 is contingent on the presence of the projection TP. In contrast, it is argued that the projection NegP-2 is not dependent on the syntactic representation of tense in the clause; hence, a negative marker generated in this projection will be able to occur regardless of the presence or absence of tense. Such a distinction between the two types of negative markers is supported by the behavior of negation in the presence of a past participle, which will not be discussed here.

Let us illustrate with an example how this proposal interprets the contrast between true and suppletive imperatives in the presence of a pre-verbal negative marker, as in (9):

- (9) *non parla! (true imperative) (Italian)
'don't talk!'

The head of NegP-1, here exemplified by Italian *non*, is said to select a complement. Such a complement is the maximal projection TP; in particular, expressing selectional properties as relationships from one head to another, the preverbal negative marker which is the head of the projection NegP-1 selects the head of the projection TP. When TP is absent, the head of NegP-1 is missing its complement and thus cannot occur. Therefore, in the case of true imperatives, where TP is missing, the pre-verbal negative marker *non* cannot occur. In contrast, the head of NegP-1 will be able to co-occur with suppletive imperatives, whether they employ a form of the indicative (10a), the subjunctive (10b) or the infinitive (10c). This is because all these forms have a TP projection in their syntactic representation (which, in some cases, corresponds to a non-finite tense):

- (10) a. *non parlare!* (Italian)
'don't talk' (2nd pl.)

they cannot be assimilated to pronominal clitics, they do typically show a reduced vowel.) Then this class of negative markers could be described as depending on tense at all levels, i.e. phonological, syntactic and semantic (in the sense that their scopal properties can never be distinguished from those of tense).

⁸ The position that a clause in the present tense indicative has a TP projection associated with its syntactic structure is the object of some controversy. For a different view, see Campbell (1991).

- b. *no habláis!* (Spanish)
'don't talk' (2nd pl.)
c. *non parlare!* (Italian)
'don't talk!' (2nd sg.)

As we will see in section 4, in this paper we will maintain the idea that the difference between true imperatives and suppletive imperatives in the presence of a pre-verbal negative marker is a consequence of their different morphological make-up. Instead of viewing the incompatibility of true imperatives and pre-verbal negative markers as a consequence of the dependency of NegP-1 on TP, though, we will suggest that it stems from the fact that the clausal structure of true imperatives lacks a sufficient number of functional heads for both the pre-verbal negative marker and the verb to occur.

3. Verb movement in non-finite clauses.

Before we outline our new proposal (section 4), we need to discuss certain similarities between imperatives and other non-finite verbal forms in languages like Italian and Spanish. Our new analysis is built on the observation that infinitives, gerunds and certain suppletive imperatives exhibit the same word order as true imperatives in the presence of pronominal clitics, but contrast with true imperatives in their behavior in the presence of a pre-verbal negative marker.

As we saw above, Rivero (1988, this volume) characterizes the difference between true imperatives and suppletive imperatives as a difference in the extent of verb movement: the verb is argued to move to C⁰ only in the former. In the data she describes, such a difference is supported by the fact that, when pronominal clitics are present, true imperatives precede them (yielding the word order: *verb clitic*) while suppletive imperatives follow them (yielding the word order: *clitic verb*). Although such a proposal can accommodate the data from Spanish, it does not address the case of those suppletive imperatives in Italian which employ a form of the indicative. In such suppletive imperatives, the verb precedes pronominal clitics (*verb clitic*), like in true imperatives. Yet, contrary to true imperatives, suppletive imperatives in the indicative are not incompatible with the pre-verbal negative marker.

Let us illustrate this situation with some examples. In Italian, the first and the second person plural of the imperative are expressed by means of the verbal forms of the first and second person plural of the present indicative:

- (11) a. *telefoniamole subito!*
'let's call her right away!'
b. *facciamolo quanto prima!*
'let's do it as soon as possible!'

- (12) a. telefonate subito!
'call (pl) her right away!'
b. fate/lo quanto prima!
'do (pl) it as soon as possible!'

Even though the verbal forms are identical to the ones of the indicative, the word order is not the same as that found with the same verbal form in non-imperative contexts: here the verb precedes the pronominal clitics, while in non-imperative contexts it would follow them. For example, in (13), the verb follows the clitic and the sentences can be interpreted as a promise, or an intention of doing something, but not as a command. The sentences in (14), with the second person plural, are ungrammatical, presumably due to a conflict of interpretation between the habitual reading of the present tense and the meaning of the adverbs:

- (13) a. *le* telefoniamo subito!
'we're going to call her right away'
b. *lo* facciamo quanto prima!
'we're going to do it as soon as possible'
- (14) a. **le* telefonate subito!
'call (pl) her right away!'
b. **lo* fate quanto prima!
'do (pl) it as soon as possible!'

These sentences become grammatical when used in a context devoid of the meaning of a command and at the same time compatible with a verbal form in the indicative, e.g. an exclamation (15a) or a question (15b):

- (15) a. *le* telefonate sempre all'ora peggiore!
'you always call (pl) her at the worst time!'
b. *lo* fate sempre insieme?
'do you always do it together?'

These examples show that word order can convey imperative force not only with true imperatives but also with suppletive imperatives. Moreover, if we take the word order *verb clitic* in suppletive imperatives to be the result of verb movement, then they also show that movement of the verb to a position higher than the one occupied in finite declarative clauses and to the left of pronominal clitics can indeed be compatible with the presence of a pre-verbal negative marker. As the following examples show and as mentioned earlier in the paper, these sentences can be negated:

- (16) *non* telefoniamole subito!
'let's not call her right away!'
(17) *non* telefonate/le subito!
'don't call (pl) her right away!'

These facts do not necessarily prove that an account of the different behavior of true and suppletive imperatives in terms of verb movement is on the wrong track. It is in fact possible that both true imperatives and suppletive imperatives move to a position higher than the one occupied by the verb in finite clauses without moving to the same position.

Notice that the suppletive imperatives exemplified in the above examples pattern like infinitives and gerunds in Romance languages like Italian, Spanish and Catalan.⁹ While finite verbs typically follow pronominal clitics - e.g. Italian *lo vedo* 'I see it' - non-finite verbs exhibit the reverse word order - e.g. Italian *vederlo*, *vedendolo* 'to see it, seeing it'. These constructions have been analyzed in Kayne (1991) as resulting from movement of the verb to a position higher than the functional head to which the clitics are adjoined.¹⁰ As in the cases of suppletive imperatives just mentioned, in the case of infinitives as well the verb preceding the clitic is compatible with a pre-verbal negative marker:

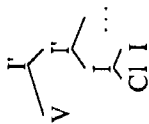
- (18) *non* telefonarle sarebbe un peccato
'not to call her would be a shame!'

Descriptively, we can summarize the situation as follows:

- if the verb is an infinitive, a gerund or a form of the indicative used as a suppletive imperative (as in Italian), it moves to a position higher than the one hosting the pronominal clitics and is compatible with a pre-verbal negative marker,
 - if the verb is a true imperative, it moves to a position higher than the one hosting the pronominal clitics and is not compatible with the presence of a pre-verbal negative marker.
- How can this difference be explained?
Kayne (1991:649) suggests that the order verb-clitic in infinitives in Italian derives from the verb having skipped the I position and adjoined to the I-bar:

⁹ In the context of a discussion of the word order *verb clitic* in Romance, Rooryck (1992) observes that it is found in all non-negative imperatives as well as in infinitives in languages like Italian and Spanish.

¹⁰ Kayne's paper does not address the issue of what motivates movement of the infinitival to that position.



This proposal, which finds some independent support in the fact that the verb and the clitic do not always form an inseparable unit, involves adjunction of a head to an X-bar element.¹¹ Let us take a more conventional approach and argue that a head can only adjoin to another head. Then two possibilities are given: either (a) the clitic and the verb both adjoin to the same functional head, or else (b) they adjoin to two different functional heads. The first possibility, if taken to involve multiple adjunction to the same head (e.g. [₀ V [₀ c I]]) can be ruled out in light of the requirements on phrase structure discussed in Kayne (to appear). In this work, it is argued that the hierarchical structure of a clause must be such that it unambiguously determines the linear order of the terminal nodes.

In order to do so, Kayne posits his Linear Correspondence Axiom (LCA) which states that the relation of asymmetric c-command, when projected onto the terminal symbols, must determine a linear ordering. That is, for every pair of terminal nodes, there must be a unique pair of non-terminals which dominates the terminals and which is in the relation of asymmetric c-command.

In the case of multiple adjunction, though, the relation among the non-terminal nodes which dominate the adjoined elements is one of symmetric c-command.¹² Since such a relation does not uniquely determine the order among terminal nodes, the structure is not admissible.¹³

Assuming this is correct, the second possibility must therefore be true, i.e. the verb and the clitic left-adjoin to two distinct functional heads. In general, we will assume that adjunction is restricted to one element, following Kayne's (to appear) LCA.¹⁴

¹¹ This adjunction is compatible with restrictions on head movement discussed in Chomsky (1986:73).

¹² We refer the reader to Kayne's article for details. An exhaustive exposition of that proposal is beyond the scope of this paper. Note that the constraints on phrase structure imposed by this work also rule out a structure like the one in (19), proposed in Kayne (1991).

¹³ Alternatively, the first possibility can be taken to involve adjunction of the verb to the clitic first, and then adjunction of this unit to a functional head (e.g. [₀ c] V c I]). This yields an acceptable phrase structure but implies that the verb and the clitic form a constituent, a conclusion to which we do not want to be forced. The reader is referred to Kayne (to appear: section 4.3) for further discussion.

¹⁴ Rooryck (1992) also analyzes the sequence *imperative clitic* as resulting from the verb and the clitic being adjoined to two different functional projections (C⁰ and AgrS⁰, respectively). In his system, though, this is the result of excorporation of the verb from the cluster verb clitic.

In view of this, the verb which moves to a position higher than the one occupied by the pronominal clitics must be taken to adjoin to a functional head other than the one to which the pronominal clitics are adjoined. Let us call such a head F1⁰, heading a projection FP-1. We know that, when an infinitival verb is in a position higher than the pronominal clitics, it is compatible with a pre-verbal negative marker. Let us therefore assume that such an infinitival is left-adjoined to F1⁰ and that F1⁰ is lower than the position occupied by the pre-verbal negative marker in the syntax. We assume that such a position is available as a landing site for infinitives, gerunds and indicative verbs used as suppletive imperatives. Given that true imperatives differ from the verbal forms just mentioned in their behavior in the presence of a pre-verbal negative marker, we must assume that this position is not available in the case of true imperatives.¹⁵

Maintaining one of the intuitions of Zanuttini (1991), we argue that the difference between infinitives, gerunds and suppletive imperatives on the one hand and true imperatives on the other resides in the fact that true imperatives are morphologically deficient. We take such a difference in their morphology to correspond to a difference in their structural make-up: true imperatives lack one (or more) functional projection(s) which other verbal forms have. We propose that the projection which is missing in true imperatives is FP-1.¹⁶

Instead of accounting for the incompatibility of negation and true imperatives in terms of selection between two functional categories (NegP-1 selecting TP), as in our previous work, in the rest of this paper we explore the possibility of accounting for it in terms of the landing sites available to the verb. We will see that it is indeed possible to account for such incompatibility by simply appealing to the different phrase structure of true imperatives and suppletive imperatives, coupled with obligatory verb movement of non-finite forms. Neither the notion of selection of a functional category by another nor that of an imperative operator will be invoked.

4. Negative imperatives.

Let us start with the observation and the assumption mentioned in the previous section. The observation is that, similarly to infinitives and

¹⁵ In this paper, we will not address the question of what motivates verb movement of non-finite verbal forms. For explicit proposals, see Rivero (1988, this volume) and Rooryck (1992). The former, as we have seen, argues that verb movement is obligatory in imperatives due to the presence of an imperative operator in CP. The latter suggests that, in imperatives, C⁰ hosts an imperative Agr morpheme, i.e. a morpheme which has both modal and agreement properties. Infinitives share with imperatives the temporal feature [-realized] (rather than [-tense]) and both are associated with anaphoric agreement feature (in C⁰ in the case of imperatives, in AgrS⁰ in the case of infinitives). Only imperatives, though, are taken to move to C⁰; infinitives are said to be left-adjoined to the highest inflectional projection, AgrS.

¹⁶ The missing projection might be TP. Contrary to our previous proposal, though, the present one does not hinge on the fact that the missing projection be TP.

gerunds, certain suppletive imperatives move to a functional head higher than the one in which the clitics occur and yet are compatible with a pre-verbal negative marker. This means that moving to a position higher than the clitics does not necessarily result in incompatibility with the negative marker, even when a verb is used to express imperative force. The assumption is that the clausal structure of suppletive imperatives is the same as the structure associated with the verbal form of the paradigm from which they were borrowed. For example, the functional make-up of an imperative clause which uses a verbal form borrowed from the indicative paradigm is the same as that of an indicative clause where the same verbal form is used.

Now the difference between non-finite forms and true imperatives can be related to the different structural make-up associated with each verbal form. While clauses containing infinitives, gerunds and suppletive imperatives have a full range of functional projections, the clausal structure of true imperatives is morphologically deficient and lacks some of the functional heads which are present with other moods. In previous work, we have argued that the functional projection which true imperatives lack is TP. For the present discussion, we can leave the issue of the exact characterization of the missing projection open and simply discuss how a difference in the functional make-up of the clause can determine the compatibility or incompatibility of a verbal form with a pre-verbal negative marker.

We assume that a clause has a functional projection PolP whose head contains features that can be positive or negative. That is, PolP is a functional projection whose role is that of specifying whether what the nuclear scope is predicating of the restrictor applies or fails to apply.¹⁷

The features on PolP can be either positive or negative, depending on which lexical element matches them. If a negative marker is present in the sentence and moves to PolP, either at S-Structure or at LF, it will match the negative features and the sentence will be negative. If an element expressing emphatic affirmation moves to PolP, the sentence will express emphatic affirmation. If neither an overt negative element nor a marker of emphatic affirmation are present in the sentence, the verb will move to PolP (at LF) and the sentence will be affirmative (without special emphasis on affirmation).

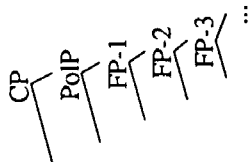
We will adopt the notion of 'strong' versus 'weak' features introduced in Chomsky (1992). Strong features must be checked by Spell-out, while weak features can be checked at LF. As we argue in Zanuttini (in prep), certain Romance languages (e.g. Italian, Catalan, Spanish) have a PolP projection whose features are strong. The features on this head must therefore be checked by Spell-out; the way they are checked is by having the overt negative marker (which might originate in a lower position in the clause) adjoin to the head of PolP by Spell-out. In other

¹⁷ Similar (though not identical) proposals are the projection SigmaP in Laka (1990), PolP in Culicover (1992) and Haegeman (in prep).

Romance languages (e.g. Piedmontese, Valdostan, Milanese), on the other hand, the features in PolP are weak. Thus, they need not be checked by Spell-out but will be checked by a negative element moving to PolP at LF.¹⁸

In this view, the functional projection PolP is always present, in negative as well as in non-negative clauses. In negative clauses, the pre-verbal negative marker moves to PolP; in non-negative clauses, we assume that the verb does so (at LF). Let us therefore postulate a phrase structure which contains a projection CP, the highest one in the clause, followed by a projection PolP, followed by other functional projections:

(20)



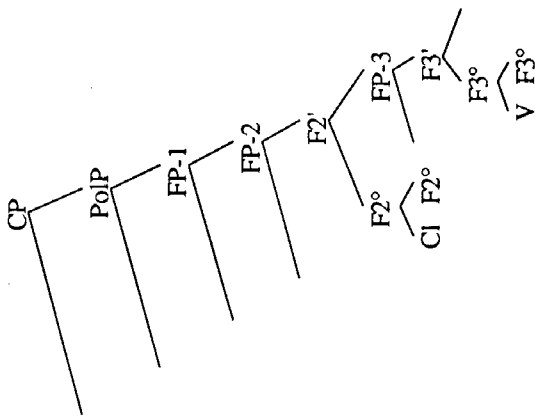
We will not specify the exact label of the functional projections which make up a clause, a task beyond the scope of this paper.¹⁹

We will assume that, in finite clauses with the indicative or the subjunctive, the verb is left-adjoined to the head of FP-3 and pronominal clitics are left-adjoined to the head of FP-2, as indicated in (21):

¹⁸ When the negative marker is an XP element, as in Piedmontese, it will move to the specifier of PolP.

¹⁹ Since Pollock's (1989) proposal concerning the projections TP and AgrP, separate functional projections for aspect and for mood have also been proposed (cf. Belletti 1990, Rivero 1988, among others).

(21)



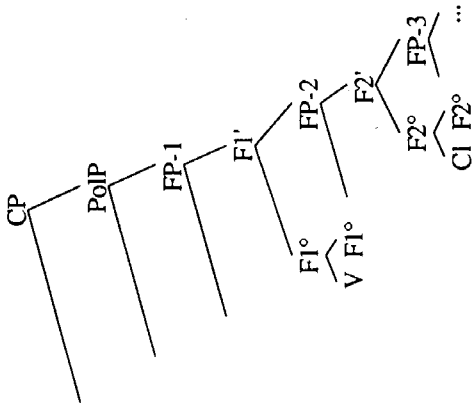
This gives us the observed linear order in finite clauses: *clitic - finite verb*. Since, in Spanish, subjunctives used as suppletive imperatives behave in exactly the same way as subjunctives used in other contexts, we will assume that they have the structure sketched above, where the verb left-adjoins to the head of FP-3 and the clitic left-adjoins to the head of FP-2.²⁰

In non-finite clauses with infinitives and gerunds, some languages exhibit the same word order as finite clauses, namely *clitic - infinitive*. Other languages, though, exhibit a different word order, namely *infinitive - clitic*. We will assume that, in this case, the infinitival verb (or the gerund) has moved one step further and left-adjoined to the head of FP-1, while the clitic is left-adjoined to the head of FP-2, as indicated in (22).²¹

²⁰ When FP-1 is present, the verb will adjoin to it at LF.

²¹ The view that the verb and the enclitic pronominal element are adjoined to different functional heads is not immediately compatible with the conclusion reached in Benincà & Cinque (1993) that the two elements form a single word.

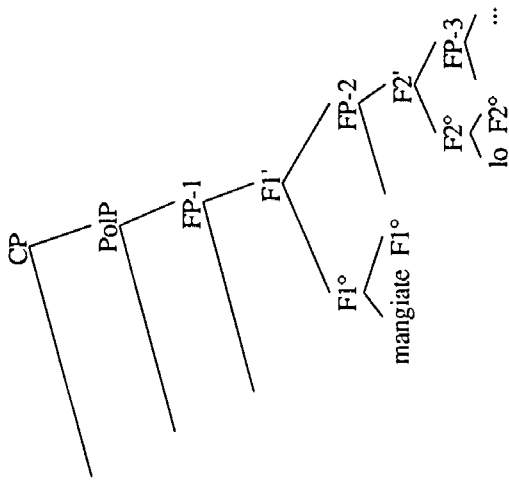
(22)



This gives us the observed linear order, in which the verb precedes the pronominal clitics. Since, in Italian, suppletive imperatives which employ a form of the indicative also exhibit the word order *verb clitic*, we assume that in this case as well the verb left-adjoins to the head of FP-1 and the clitic to the head of FP-2.²²

²² We are leaving aside any discussion of another word order which is possible with suppletive imperatives in Italian, but only in the presence of negation: *non clitic verb*. See Kayne (1992) for an analysis of this construction when the suppletive imperative employs an infinitival form.

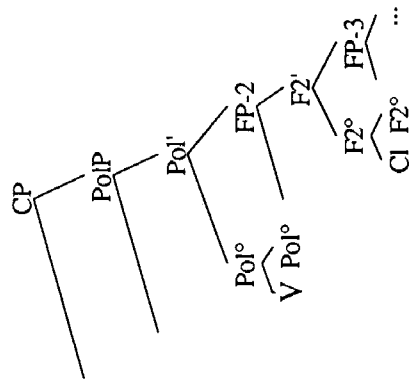
(23)



Notice that the form of the indicative moves further when used as a suppletive imperative than when used as an indicative (cf. (21) above).

True imperatives also exhibit the order *verb-clitic*. But, we have argued earlier, they lack the functional projection FP-1. Thus, the option for the verb to left-adjoin to F1° is not available. Our proposal is that true imperatives exhibit the word order *verb-clitic* because the verb has left-adjoined to the functional head above FP-1, namely Pol°, as indicated in (24). The clitic, once again, is left-adjoined to F2°:

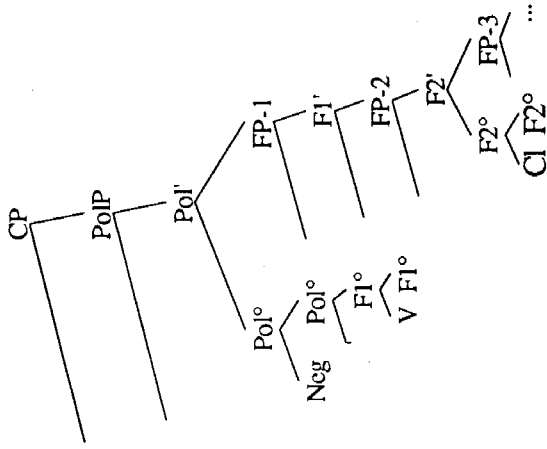
(24)



What happens in the case of imperatives negated by a pre-verbal negative marker? As discussed in Zanuttini (in prep), we assume that the

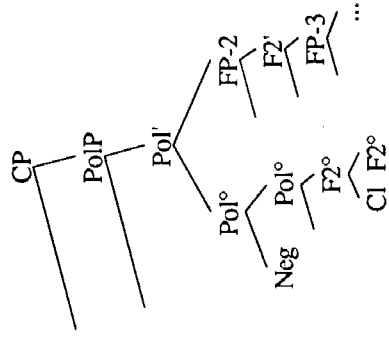
pre-verbal negative marker is left-adjoined to Pol°.²³ In the case of suppletive imperatives, the negative marker is adjoined to Pol° and the verb left-adjoined to F1°, as in (25):

(25)



In the case of true imperatives, though, the projection FP-1 is not available. Thus the verb, which must raise past FP-2, can only left-adjoin to Pol°. However, when this position is already occupied by the negative marker, the true imperative cannot adjoin to it:

(26)



²³ The negative marker might originate in a lower structural position (NegP) and then raise to PolP. See Zanuttini (in prep).

Since there is no other available head for the verb to left-adjoin to, the conflict yields ungrammaticality.²⁴

5. Concluding remarks.

In this paper we have argued that, in some Romance languages, non-finite verbs (including true imperatives) move to a functional head higher than the one to which the pronominal clitics are left-adjoined. In the case of infinitives, gerunds and suppletive imperatives (in Italian), such a position is the head of a functional projection present in the functional make-up of the clause. We called it FP-1. In the case of true imperatives, on the other hand, where the functional make-up of the clause is impoverished, FP-1 is missing. Since the verb still has to move to a position to the left of the pronominal clitics, it will left-adjoin to Pol⁰, a functional head which can host a marker of negation or of emphatic affirmation or the verb. When a negative marker is present in the clause, it will left-adjoin to Pol⁰ by Spell-out in languages where the features in PolP are 'strong'. It will therefore be incompatible with a true imperative, since both are competing for the same position, left-adjoined to the head of PolP.

The syntactic analysis of imperatives we have outlined combines some of the insights of the previous proposals and suggests a new way of looking at the issue of the incompatibility of true imperatives with pre-verbal negative markers. From Zanuttini's (1991) account, we have kept the insight that the relevant difference between true and surrogate imperatives (at least in Romance) has to do with their morphological make-up: true imperatives have an impoverished structure relative to surrogate imperatives. We have taken such morphological difference to correspond, from a syntactic point of view, to a difference in the structural make-up of sentences containing the different verbal forms. From Rivero's account, we have kept the insight that true imperatives and suppletive imperatives move to different positions. Our proposal also incorporates the intuition expressed in Laka (1990), namely that the incompatibility of true imperatives and pre-verbal negative markers in Romance stems from the fact that the verb and the negative marker are competing for the same structural position.

We departed from the proposal presented in Zanuttini (1991), where we suggested that the incompatibility between true imperatives and negation was due to the fact that the head hosting pre-verbal negative

²⁴ The question then arises of whether either the negative marker or the verb could move to C⁰ instead of left-adjoining to the head of PolP. The negative marker must adjoin to the head of PolP for the purposes of feature checking. The verb does not move to C⁰, past the negative marker, given that the order *verb negative marker* in negative imperatives is unattested in languages like Italian and Spanish. Such movement could be ruled out by invoking a violation of the head movement constraint, which would yield an ECP violation. Unfortunately, though, the role of such violations in this discussion is not clear.

markers (Neg⁰) selects the projection TP. In that work we accounted for the impossibility of the pre-verbal negative markers with true imperatives using that notion, together with the assumption that true imperatives differ from suppletive imperatives in lacking an (even abstract) projection TP. Here, we are still relating such incompatibility to the morphological deficiency of true imperatives. But instead of expressing it in terms of selection of TP on the part of NegP, we relate it to the lack of a functional projection to which the verb can move, when the negative marker occupies the head of PolP.

Verb movement in imperatives is taken to be similar in nature to verb movement in other non-finite forms in languages like Italian. The only difference between true and suppletive imperatives which is relevant for our analysis is the one reflected in their different morphology, which we take to correspond to a different set of functional projections in the clause. Rivero's proposal, on the other hand, needs to postulate that true imperatives have an operator in CP. Moreover, something else must be postulated for her analysis, namely that suppletive imperatives *lack* an imperative operator, even when verb movement is obligatory. Such a difference between true and suppletive imperatives does not correlate with other differences between the two types of verbs and thus must be stipulated.

As for languages which allow the co-occurrence of true imperatives and a pre-verbal negative marker, Rivero's proposal accounts for them by arguing that CP does not host an imperative operator in such cases and thus the verb need not raise to the highest structural position in the clause. Saying that in certain languages the imperative form need not raise as high as in Romance is compatible with our proposal as well. In the case of Bulgarian, the co-occurrence of an imperative verb with a pre-verbal negative marker is attributed by Rivero to the fact that the verb remains in an inflectional projection. In the case of Serbo-Croatian, the co-occurrence of imperatives and pre-verbal negative markers is attributed to the fact that "negation and verb count as a unit" in this language. In our analysis, that can be expressed by arguing that the negative marker and the verb can both left-adjoin to the head of PolP, exceptionally.²⁵ Our analysis also allows for another way to account for the case of a language where true imperatives can be negated by a pre-verbal negative marker: if imperatives in such a language had more morphological specifications than their Romance counterparts, we would argue that their functional make-up has a functional projection that their Romance counterpart lacks and that the verb can adjoin to the head of such a projection. Leaving this possibility open is an advantage of our proposal. Indeed, while in Romance imperatives consist of the

²⁵ As mentioned in note 5, in the system of Kayne (to appear) that we are adopting it is possible for two X⁰ elements to adjoin to the same head only if they already conglomerated to form a unit, i.e. [c [b a] c]. This option is available for elements which adjoin to form a unit which has a status comparable to that of a word.

verbal root plus the so-called thematic vowel (in some cases followed by an agreement marker), in other languages they might consist of the verbal root and an imperative morpheme (in some cases followed by an agreement marker). In that case, the imperative morpheme (similarly to the morpheme of the infinitive) could provide the functional projection where the thematic vowel in Romance does not provide. In languages where the imperative carries aspectual information, for example, an (overt or abstract) aspectual morpheme could correspond to an aspectual functional projection, thus providing the needed landing site for the imperative.

To conclude, in this paper we have proposed an analysis that accounts for the incompatibility of true imperatives with a pre-verbal negative marker in Romance without invoking the existence of an abstract operator but simply relying on the morphological differences between verbal types and assuming that they correspond to a difference in the structural make-up of their clauses.

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