Empirical Issues in Syntax and Semantics 6
O. Bonami & P. Cabredo Hofherr (eds.) 2006, pp. 405–424
http://www.cssp.cnrs.fr/eiss6

The Ban on True Negative Imperatives

Hedde Zeijlstra

Abstract

Languages cross-linguistically differ with respect to whether they accept or ban True Negative Imperatives (TNIs). In this paper I show that this ban follows from three generally accepted assumptions: (i) the fact that the operator that encodes the illocutionary force of an imperative universally takes scope from C^0; (ii) the fact that this operator may not be operated on by a negative operator and (iii) the Head Movement Constraint (an instance of Relativized Minimality). In my paper I argue that languages differ too with respect to both the syntactic status (head/phrasal) and the semantic value (negative/non-negative) of their negative markers. Given these differences across languages and the analysis of TNIs based on the three above mentioned assumptions, two typological generalisations can be predicted: (i) every language with an overt negative marker X^0 that is semantically negative bans TNIs; and (ii) every language that bans TNIs exhibits an overt negative marker X^0. I demonstrate in my paper that both typological predictions are borne out.

1 Introduction

This paper is about the fact that not every language accepts so-called TRUE NEGATIVE IMPERATIVES (TNIs).[1] TNIs are exemplified in (1) and (2) for Dutch and Polish respectively. In Dutch, in main clauses the finite verb precedes the negative marker *niet*. In imperative clauses the negation can also follow the finite imperative verb without yielding ungrammaticality. Polish also accepts TNIs: both in regular negative indicative clauses and in imperative clauses, the negative marker *nie* immediately precedes the finite verb.[2,3]

(1) a. Jij slaapt niet. Dutch
you sleep NEG
'You don't sleep.'

b. Slaap!
sleep
'Sleep!'

[1] Terminology following Zanuttini (1994).

[2] Footnote with the abbreviations used in the glosses here please.

[3] NEG stands for 'negation'; SG for 'singular'; IMP for 'imperative'; SUBJ for 'subjunctive'; AUX for 'auxiliary'

c. Slaap niet! (TNI)
sleep NEG
'Don't sleep!'

(2) a. (Ty) nie pracujesz. Polish
you.2sg NEG work.2SG
'You don't work.'

b. Pracuj!
work.2SG.IMP
'Work!'

c. Nie pracuj! (TNI)
NEG work.2SG.IMP
'Don't work!'

Things are different however in a language like Spanish, as illustrated in (3). In Spanish the negative marker *no* always occurs in preverbal position. However, if the verb has an imperative form, it may not be combined with this negative marker. Spanish does not allow TNIs. In order to express the illocutionary force of an imperative,[4] the imperative verb must be replaced by a subjunctive. Such constructions are called SURROGATE NEGATIVE IMPERATIVES (SNIs).[5]

(3) a. Tu no lees. Spanish
you.sg NEG read.2SG
'You don't read.'

b. ¡Lee!
Read.2SG.IMP
'Read!'

c. *¡No lee! (*TNI)
NEG read.2SG.IMP
'Don't read'

d. ¡No leas! (SNI)
NEG read.2SG.SUBJ
'Don't read!'

In this paper I address two questions: (i) how can this ban on TNIs in languages such as Spanish be explained? And (ii) how does the observed cross-linguistic variation follow?

The outline of the paper is as follows: in section 2 I discuss three previous analyses of the ban on TNIs. In section 3 I discuss some relevant semantic and syntactic properties of negative markers and in section 4 I demonstrate by means of a survey of different languages that the properties described in section 3 are related to the acceptance of TNIs. In section 5, I present my analysis for all language groups that have been discussed. In section 6, I show that the analysis presented in section 5 makes some correct predictions regarding the development of Negative Concord and the grammaticality of TNIs in Romance languages. Finally, Section 7 concludes.

[4] Negative sentences with the illocutionary force of an imperative are often referred to as prohibitives.

[5] See van der Auwera (2006) (and references therein) for many more examples of languages that ban TNIs and the way those languages express SNIs.

2 Previous analyses

2.1 Rivero (1994), Rivero & Terzi (1995)

Rivero (1994) and Rivero and Terzi (1995) assume that the clausal structure always has the structural relations in (4).

(4) CP > NegP > IP > VP

They propose then that the difference between Slavic languages (which generally allow TNIs) and Romance languages (that generally disallow them) concerns the position where imperative force is induced in the sentence. This is either IP (expressed by movement of V_{imp} to I^0) or CP (expressed by verbal movement to C^0). Now the difference between Slavic and Romance languages falls out immediately: if the Neg^0 position is filled by an overt element, i.e. by a negative marker, then verbal movement from I^0 to C^0 is no longer allowed, given the Head Movement Constraint (Travis (1984)). Hence Slavic languages, such as Polish allow TNIs, whereas Romance languages, such as Italian,[6] where the verb moves to C^0, do not (see (5)).

(5) a. $[_{CP}\ [_{NegP}\ [_{Neg^0}$ Nie $]\ [_{IP}\ [_{I^0}$ pracuj $_{[IMP]\,i}]\ [_{VP}\ t_i]]]]$ Polish
NEG work.2SG.IMP
'Don't work!'

b. $*[_{CP}\ [_{C^0}$ Parla $_{[IMP]\,i}]\quad [_{NegP}\ [_{Neg^0}$ no$]\quad [_{IP}\ [_{I^0}\ t_i]\ [_{VP}\ t_i]]]]$ Italian
talk.2SG.IMP NEG
'Don't talk!'

Rivero's and Rivero & Terzi's analysis faces two serious problems. The first problem is that it is unclear why in Romance languages the negative marker is not allowed to cliticize onto V_{imp} so that they move together to C^0 as a unit, a point already addressed by Han (2001). Rizzi 1982 argues that in constructions such as (6), consisting of a participle or an infinitive, the subject occupies a Spec,IP position and the auxiliary moves to C^0. In case of negation, the negation then joins the verb to move to C^0. Rizzi refers to these structures as AUX-TO-COMP constructions (examples taken from Rizzi 1982).

(6) a. $[[_{C^0}$ avendo] Gianni fatto questo] Italian
having Gianni done this
'Gianni having done this, ...'

b. $[[_{C^0}$ non avendo] Gianni fatto questo]
NEG having Gianni done this
'Gianni having not done this, ...'

If in the cases above *non* is allowed to attach to V_{part}/V_{inf}, it is unclear why this movement would not be allowed in the case of V_{imp}.[7]

[6] At first sight the ban on TNIs seems only to apply to the singular imperative forms in Italian. However, the Italian plural imperative form and the corresponding 2nd person indicative are phonological identical. I follow Zanuttini (1997) who takes plural imperatives to banned as well and takes the (phonologically identical) indicative forms as the corresponding SNI. This adoption is in line with the observation that no other language banning TNIs makes a distinction between singular and plural imperatives.

[7] Rivero and Terzi argue that in these cases the $V_{part/inf}$ does not raise to C^0, but to a position lower than Neg^0 and that the subject is in a position even below. This analysis seems to be contradicted by

The second problem is that in the structure in (5a) the operator that encodes the illocutionary force of an imperative is c-commanded by the negation. It has already been noted by Frege (1892) and Lee (1988) that negation cannot operate on the illocutionary force of the sentence, but only on its propositional content (a negative assertion remains an assertion, a negative question remains a question, and a negative command has to remain a command). Hence, in Rivero and Terzi's analyses for Slavic languages either negation takes scope from too a high position, or the imperative operator takes scope from too a low position.

2.2 Zanuttini (1997)

Zanuttini (1997) discusses different kinds of negative markers basing herself on a number of Romance dialects (mostly from Northern Italy). She distinguishes for instance between negative head markers (X^0) that can negate a clause by themselves and those that require an additional negative marker in order to express sentential negation. The differences are given in (7): Italian *non* can negate a clause by itself, French *ne* cannot.

(7) a. Gianni non telefona. Italian
Gianni NEG calls
'Gianni doesn't call.'

b. Jean ne téléphone *(pas). French
Jean NEG calls NEG
'Jean doesn't call.'

Zanuttini argues that the difference between Italian *non* and French *ne* reduces to the functional projection they host. She observes that with respect to the Italian varieties she studied the following generalisation holds: every variety that has a negative marker that can negate a clause by itself bans TNIs. Moreover Zanuttini observes that in some varieties the negative markers that can negate a clause by themselves are sensitive to mood. Subjunctives may require a different negative marker than indicatives, an observation that goes back to Sadock and Zwicky (1985) who studied a larger set of languages. Zanuttini accounts for the ban on TNIs in Romance varieties by assuming that all negative markers that can negate a clause by themselves are always lexically ambiguous between two different lexical items, which are often phonologically identical. She claims that in Italian the negative marker *non* is lexically ambiguous between *non*-1, which may occur in clauses with the illocutionary force of an imperative, and *non*-2, which may appear in indicative clauses. Furthermore, Zanuttini proposes that *non*-1 subcategorizes a MoodP, whereas *non*-2 does not:

(8) a. $[_{\text{NegP}}$ *non*-1 $[_{\text{MoodP}} \ldots [_{\text{VP}}]]]$ imperative clauses

b. $[_{\text{NegP}}$ *non*-2 $\ldots [_{\text{VP}}]]$ indicative clauses

The ban on TNIs can now be accounted for as follows. Imperative verbs are often morphologically defective, indicating that they lack a particular [MOOD] feature. As a result, the [MOOD] feature on Mood^0 cannot be checked and the sentence becomes ungrammatical. In other clauses, e.g. indicatives, there is no MoodP selected, and thus the sentence is grammatical, as shown in (9).

the fact that *(non) avendo* may even precede speaker oriented adverbs such as *evidamente* ('evidently'), which occupy a position higher than NegP (as pointed out by Cinque (1999) and repeated in Han (2001)).

(9) a. *[$_{\text{NegP}}$ *Non*-1 [$_{\text{MoodP}}$ [$_{\text{Mood}^0\text{[MOOD]}}$ telefona $_{\text{[IMP]}\,i}$]a Gianni t_i]] Italian

NEG call.2SG.IMP toGianni

'Don't call Gianni!'

b. [Io [$_{\text{NegP}}$ *non*-2 telefono$_i$ a Gianni t_i]]

I NEG call.1SG to Gianni

'I don't call Gianni.'

Still, this analysis suffers from two problems. First, the lexical distinction between *non*-1 and *non*-2 seems not well motivated. The piece of evidence that *non* is lexically ambiguous is motivated by the observation that in languages, which have two distinct negative markers, these markers are often sensitive to mood distinctions in the verbal paradigm (cf. Sadock & Zwicky 1985). However, in most of these languages this second negative marker is not only used in imperatives, but also in subjunctives. In Greek, for example, the negative marker *dhen* is used in indicatives and the negative marker *mi* in subjunctives and imperatives. However, TNIs are ruled out not only if *dhen* is the negative marker, but also if the negation is expressed by *mi*. The SNI can only be formed using the negative marker *mi* in combination with a subjunctive verb:[8]

(10) a. * *Dhen* to diavase! Greek

NEG it read.IMP

'Don't read it!'

b. * *Mi* to grapse!

NEG it write.IMP

'Don't write it!'

c. *Mi* to grapsis!

NEG it write.SUBJ

'Don't read it!'

The fact that Greek exhibits two negative markers is not related to the fact that TNIs are excluded with the first negative marker as the second negative marker excludes them as well. Consequently, the fact that several languages have different negative markers for different moods does not hold as an argument for the lexical ambiguity of Italian *non*.

Second, the prediction that this analysis makes is too strong. It is unclear why the analysis does not hold for Slavic languages, such as Polish, which has a negative head marker *nie* that negates a clause by itself and allows TNIs. Note that in most Slavic languages the imperative seems to be morphologically defective as well. Moreover, one may even find Romance varieties, which allow TNIs. Old Italian (11) is an example.

(11) Ni ti tormenta di questo! Old Italian

NEG yourself torment.2SG.IMP of this

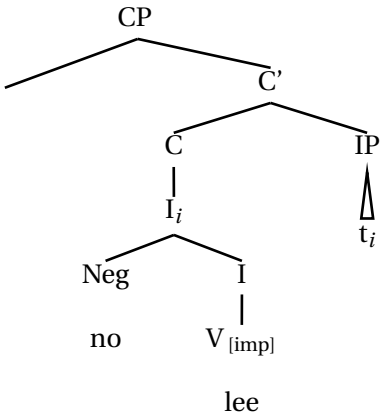
'Don't torment yourself with this!'

[8]The position of the clitic is related to the imperative/subjunctive distinction. Imperatives require the clitic to appear left adjoined to the verb, subjunctives require enclitisation.

2.3 Han (2001)

Han (2001) argues that the ban on TNIs does not follow from syntactic requirements that have been violated, but from a semantic violation: the imperative operator (i.e. the operator that encodes the illocutionary force of an imperative, Op_{IMP} hereafter) may not be in the scope of negation. Op_{IMP} is realised by moving V_{imp}, carrying a feature [IMP], onto C^0. Han takes negation in Romance languages to head a projection somewhere high in the IP domain. Hence, negation head-adjoins first to V_{imp}, and then as a unit they move further to C^0. As a result Op_{IMP} remains in the c-command domain of negation, which violates the constraint that negation may only operate on the propositional content of the clause. The structure (12) is thus ill-formed.

(12) *



Under this analysis, it becomes immediately clear why in languages like Dutch TNIs are allowed. In those languages negation does not form a unit with V_{imp} and V_{imp} raises across negation to C^0, as shown in (13).[9]

(13) [$_{CP}$ slaap$_{[imp]\,i}$ [$_{VP}$ *niet* t_i]] Dutch

For Slavic languages Han assumes that V_{imp} does not move to C^0. Consequently, this would mean that V_{imp} remains under the scope of negation (as the negative marker is a syntactic head in those languages, V_{imp} cannot move across it). However, Han argues that in those cases the feature [IMP] moves out of V_{imp} and moves to C^0. Thus, Op_{IMP} outscopes negation, as demonstrated in (14) for Polish.

(14) [$_{CP}$ [IMP]$_i$ [$_{NegP}$ *nie* [$_{IP}$ pracuj$_i$]]] Polish

The fact that Han allows feature movement for the Slavic languages seems to contradict the analysis for Romance languages, since it remains unclear why this feature movement would not be possible in Romance languages. Apart from this problem, Han's analysis crucially depends on the assumption that the negative marker (in the languages discussed) is always the carrier of semantic negation. In the following section I demonstrate that this is not always the case.

[9] In Zeijlstra (2004) it is suggested that there is no NegP and that the negative marker *niet* occupies a VP-adjunct position (instead of Spec,NegP). However, the current analysis of TNIs in Dutch does not depend on this assumption.

3 Semantic and syntactic properties of negative markers

In this section I discuss some semantic properties of negative markers. I present arguments that show that negative markers differ cross-linguistically with respect to their semantic contents. In some languages, such as Spanish and Italian, I argue that the negative marker is the phonological realisation of a negative operator. In other languages, such as Polish and Czech, I argue that the negative marker is semantically vacuous, but has a syntactic requirement that it needs to stand in an Agree relation with a negative operator, which may be left phonologically abstract. The section concludes with a few remarks about the syntactic status of negative markers.

3.1 Strict vs. Non-strict NC languages

The term Negative Concord (NC) refers to the phenomenon in which two negative elements yield only one semantic negation. The set of NC languages falls apart in two classes: Strict NC languages and Non-strict NC languages. In Strict NC languages the n-words[10] must be accompanied by the negative marker, regardless whether they follow or precede the negative marker as is demonstrated for Czech in (15). In Non-strict NC languages the negative marker must accompany postverbal n-words, but may not accompany preverbal n-words. An example of a Non-strict NC language is Italian (16).

(15) Strict NC

a. Milan *(*ne*)vidi *nikoho*. Czech
Milan NEG.saw n-body
'Milan didn't see anybody.'

b. Dnes *(*ne*)volá *nikdo*.
today NEG.calls n-body
'Today nobody calls.'

c. Dnes *nikdo* *(*ne*)volá.
today n-body NEG.calls
'Today nobody calls.'

(16) Non-strict NC

a. Gianni *(*non*) ha telefonato a *nessuno*. Italian
Gianni NEG has called to n-body
'Gianni didn't call anybody.'

b. Ieri *(*non*) ha telefonato *nessuno*.
yesterday NEG has called n-body
'Yesterday nobody called.'

c. Ieri *nessuno* (**non*) ha telefonato (a *nessuno*).
yesterday n-body NEG has called to n-body
'Yesterday nobody called anybody.'

In Zeijlstra (2004) it is argued that NC is a form of multiple Agree (cf. Ura (1996), Hiraiwa (2001, 2005)) between a negative operator that carries an interpretable negative feature [iNEG] and elements that carry an uninterpretable negative feature [uNEG].

[10] Terminology after Laka (1990), Giannakidou (2002).

Sentence (16a) can thus be analysed as (17), where *nessuno*'s [uNEG] feature is checked against *non*'s [iNEG] feature.[11]

(17) [$_{\text{TP}}$ Gianni [$_{\text{NegP}}$ *non* $_{\text{[iNEG]}}$ ha telefonato a *nessuno* $_{\text{[}\sout{\text{uNEG}}\text{]}}$]]

Given the assumption that n-words are analysed as semantically non-negative indefinites that carry a feature [uNEG] (cf. Ladusaw 1992, Brown 1999, Zeijlstra 2004), it follows that the negative operator must c-command them in order to yield the correct readings. Consequently, it means that if the negative marker carries a feature [iNEG] no n-word is allowed to precede it (and still yield an NC reading). However, in Strict NC languages such as Czech, the negative marker may be preceded by an n-word. Consequently, this negative marker cannot be the phonological realisation of the negative operator. It then follows that the negative marker itself carries [uNEG] and that it has its [uNEG] feature checked by an abstract negative operator Op$_{\neg}$, as shown in (18).[12]

(18) Dnes Op $_{\neg\text{[iNEG]}}$ *nikdo* $_{\text{[uNEG]}}$ *ne*volá $_{\text{[uNEG]}}$ Czech
today n-body NEG.calls
'Today nobody calls.'

The [uNEG]/[iNEG] distinction directly explains the Strict NC vs. Non-strict NC pattern that one finds amongst NC languages. Thus I argue that negative markers in Non-strict NC languages, like Italian *non* and Spanish *no*, carry a feature [iNEG], whereas negative markers in Strict NC languages, such as Czech *ne* and Polish *nie*, carry a feature [uNEG].

3.2 Further evidence

I now present some further evidence for the assumption that the difference between Strict and Non-strict NC languages reduces to the semantic value of their negative markers. First, it can be shown that negation behaves differently in Strict and Non-strict NC languages with respect to the scope of quantifying DPs. This is shown in (19). Although Czech *moc* ('much') dominates the negative marker, it is outscoped by negation. This reading is however not obtained in a similar construction in Italian, where *molto* ('much') remains in the scope of negation. This is a further indication that Italian *non*, contrary to Czech *ne*, is a phonological realisation of Op$_{\neg}$.

[11] Note that here a feature checking mechanism is adopted in which checking may take place between a higher interpretable and a lower uninterpretable feature (cf. Adger (2003)).

[12] Note that this analysis requires that an abstract Op$_{\neg}$ is also available in Non-strict NC languages, for instance in constructions such as (16c). Here the abstract negative operator dominates the preverbal n-word. Adding the negative marker *non* would lead to a double negation reading (which is actually available if the preverbal n-word is stressed). Given that Italian has an abstract negative operator next to the overt negative operator *non*, the following question immediately arises: why can't the abstract operator license postverbal n-words as well, given rise to sentences such as *'*Gianni ha telefonato a nessuno*', which is in fact ruled out. The explanation is the following: the abstract negative operator is induced in the lowest position in the clause. In the case of a single postverbal n-word, it would occupy a VP in situ position. However, this does not give rise to a sentential negation: the reading that comes about in something like 'there is a calling event, but no individual that has been called.' This leads to a semantic contradiction. See Herburger (2001) and Zeijlstra (2004) for a more detailed description and explanation of these facts.

(19) a. Milan moc nejedl. Czech
Milan much NEG.eat.PERF
¬> much: 'Milan didn't eat much.'
much > ¬: 'There is much that Milan didn't eat.'

b. Molto non ha mangiato Gianni. Italian
much NEG has eaten Gianni
¬> much: 'Gianni didn't eat much.'
much > ¬: 'There is much that Gianni didn't eat.'

Second, in some Strict NC languages the negative marker may be left out if it is preceded by an n-word, something to be expected on functional grounds if the negative marker carries [uNEG] (if an n-word precedes it, the negative marker is no longer needed as a scope marker). This is for instance the case in Greek (a Strict NC language) with *oute kan* ('NPI-even'). If *oute kan* precedes the negative marker *dhen*, the latter may be left out. If it follows *dhen*, *dhen* may not be removed (cf. Giannakidou 2005). This forms an argument that Greek *dhen* is in fact not semantically negative. As Greek is a Strict NC language, this confirms the assumption that in Strict NC languages the negative marker carries [uNEG].

(20) a. O Jannis *(*dhen*) dhiavase *oute kan* tis Sindaktikes Dhomes Greek
the Jannis NEG reads even the Syntactic Structures
'Jannis doesn't read even Syntactic Structures.'
(example from Giannakidou 2005)

b. *Oute kan* ti Maria (*dhen*) proskalese o pritanis
even the Maria NEG invite the dean
'Not even Maria did the dean invite.'

Finally, the semantic emptiness of negative markers solves a problem put forward by Watanabe (2005) against Giannakidou's (2000) analysis of fragmentary answers. Giannakidou (2000, 2002) argues that n-words in Greek are semantically non-negative. Hence, she has to account for the fact that n-words in fragmentary answers like in (21a) yield a reading that includes a negation. She argues that this negation, expressed by *dhen*, is deleted under ellipsis. Hence the assumption that n-words are semantically non-negative can be maintained. Watanabe (2005) argues that this analysis violates the condition that ellipsis may only take place under semantic identity (cf. Merchant's (2001a) notion of e-GIVENness). However, as the question does not contain a negation, it may not license ellipsis of the negative marker *dhen*. If on the other hand, *dhen* is semantically non-negative, the identity condition is met again. The abstract negative operator then induces the negation in the answer. Note that in Non-strict NC languages, such as Spanish or Italian, the negative marker never follows an n-word, and therefore no negative marker can be deleted under ellipsis in the first place.

(21) a. Q: Ti ides? A: [Op¬ [*TIPOTA* [~~dhen ida~~]]] Greek
what saw.2SG? N-thing [NEG saw.1SG]
'What did you see?' 'Nothing!'

b. Q: ¿Qué viste? A: [Op¬ [*Nada* [~~vi~~]]] Spanish
what saw.2SG? N-thing [saw.1SG]
'What did you see?' 'Nothing!'

3.3 A few words on syntax

Finally, a few words on the syntactic status of negative markers need to be said. All three analyses that have been discussed in section 2, as well as my own analysis that I present in section 5, crucially rely on the distinction between negative markers that are syntactic heads (X^0) and those that have phrasal status (XP). I follow the standard analysis (Haegeman 1995 (1995), Zanuttini 1997, 2001, Merchant 2001b, Zeijlstra 2004 amongst many others) that negative adverbs (such as Dutch *niet*, German *nicht*, French *pas*) are XPs, whereas weak or strong preverbal negative markers as well as affixal negative markers have X^0 status (Italian *non*, Spanish *no*, Polish *nie*, Czech *ne*, Greek *dhen*, French *ne*). The tests on which these analyses are grounded are blocking of verbal movement or blocking of clitic climbing (negative markers X^0 do, negative markers XP do not, cf. Zanuttini 1997, 2001) or the possibility to adjoin to XP phrases such as 'why' (negative markers X^0 do not, negative markers XP do, cf. Merchant 2001b). The syntactic status of negative markers has been widely discussed in the literature and will therefore not be repeated here. The reader is referred to Zeijlstra (2004) for an evaluation of analyses concerning the syntactic status of negative markers.

Negative markers can thus be distinguished in two respects, each with two possible values: they have either X^0 or XP status and they have either a value [iNEG] or [uNEG].[13]

3.4 Typological generalisations

Based on the notions discussed above, a number of languages have been investigated for the syntactic status of their negative markers, and their semantic value. Moreover it has been investigated whether these languages allow TNIs or not. The results are shown in table 1 below.

Based on (1) the two following typological generalisations can be drawn:

(22) **G1**: Every language with an overt negative marker X^0 that carries [iNEG] bans TNIs.
G2: Every language that bans TNIs exhibits an overt negative marker X^0.

These typological generalisations indicate that both the semantic value of the negative marker and its syntactic status play a role in determining whether and why a language bans TNIs. **G2** has already been observed by Zanuttini (1997), **G1** is to my knowledge a novel observation. In the next section I present an analysis that is based on these generalisations. It turns out that the explanation (in line of Han (2001)) for the ban onTNIs lies in the fact that the requirements that negative X^0 markers block verbal movement across the marker and that Op_{IMP} may not be outscoped by a negative operator are in conflict. The ban on TNIs in class III languages cannot directly be explained along these lines. I demonstrate that other factors play a role here, and that their classification as Class III languages is sometimes only superficially correct.

[13] In Zeijlstra (2006), it is argued that in Non-strict NC languages negative markers do not have a formal feature [iNEG], but a semantic feature [NEG]. However, as the interpretation of an element carrying [iNEG] is identical to the interpretation of an element carrying [NEG], I disregard this distinction in this paper, as nothing crucial in this analysis hinges on it.

Class	Language	Neg. marker N^0	Neg. marker [iNEG]	TNIs allowed
I	Spanish	yes	yes	no
	Italian	yes	yes	no
	Portuguese	yes	yes	no
II	Czech	yes	no	yes
	Polish	yes	no	yes
	Bulgarian	yes	no	yes
	Serbo-Croatian	yes	no	yes
	Standard French	yes	no	yes
III	Greek	yes	no	no
	Romanian	yes	no	no
	Hebrew	yes	no	no
	Hungarian	yes	no	no
IV	Dutch	no	yes	yes
	German	no	yes	yes
	Norwegian	no	yes	yes
	Swedish	no	yes	yes
V	Bavarian	no	no	yes
	Yiddish	no	no	yes
	Quebecois	no	no	yes

Table 1: Status of negative markers in 19 languages

4 Analysis

I argue that both the ban on TNIs and its cross-linguistic distribution can be explained on the basis of the following three well-motivated assumptions. First, I assume that Op_{IMP} must take scope from C^0, a standard analysis in the syntax of imperatives (cf. Han (2001)).[14] Second, I adopt the classical observation that operators that encode illocutionary force may not be operated on by a (semantic) negation. In this respect, the analysis presented here reflects Han's analysis. Third, I adopt the HMC (Travis' (1984)), an instance of relativized minimality (cf. Rizzi 1990). Now I demonstrate how for each combination of $\pm X^0$, $\pm$[iNEG] the correct results are predicted.[15]

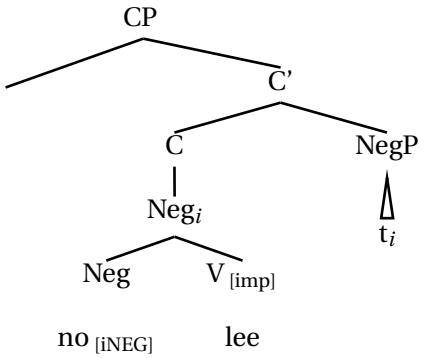
[14] Strictly speaking, it does not have to be C^0 from which the Op_{IMP} takes scope from. Crucially, the [IMP] feature on V_{imp} triggers the verb to move to a particular position which has many similarities to C^0 in non-imperative clauses. The fact that this position must be the highest in the clausal structure follows from its semantics. As Op_{IMP} encodes the illocutionary force rather than the propositional content of the sentence, it cannot be located below other functional projections. The presented analysis is blind to the distinction between C^0 or a particular imperative position (call it Imp^0). In the rest of this paper I conveniently talk about movement to C^0 without committing myself to it.

[15] An anonymous reviewer has pointed out that the ban on TNIs also applies to imperative conditionals, i.e. expressions of the form '*Don't move or I'll shoot!*' The present analysis requires that in these constructions an Op_{IMP} is present as well. This is however not uncontroversial. The question how the conditional reading of those constructions follows from the illocutionary force of an imperative remains

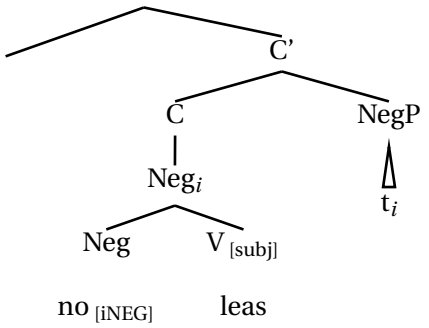
4.1 Class I languages

The first class of languages consists of languages that exhibit a negative marker X^0, which carries an [iNEG] feature. To these languages Han's analysis applies. V_{imp} mustraise to C^0 and as the negative marker Neg^0 must be attached to V^0, this negative marker c-commands [IMP]. Given the syntactic head status of the negative marker, V_{imp} cannot escape out of this unit. This is illustrated for Spanish in (23)a. If, however, the imperative verb is replaced by a subjunctive, nothing leads to ungrammaticality, since the subjunctive does not carry along a feature that encodes illocutionary force, and thus it may be c-commanded by the negation (see (23)b). Obviously, this does not yield the semantics of a prohibitive. However, I assume, following Han, that the prohibitive reading is enforced through pragmatic inference. The language speakers need to fill the functional gap and use the non-imperative construction with the subjunctive as a replacement. The SNI does not yield the reading of a prohibitive, but is then used as one.[16]

(23) a. * (*TNI)



b. (SNI)



Note that the first typological generalisation (G1) immediately follows: since the negative head adjoins to V_{imp} and V_{imp} must raise to C^0, Op_{IMP} cannot avoid being outscoped by negation. Thus every language with an overt negative marker X^0 that carries [iNEG] bans TNIs.

subject of study.

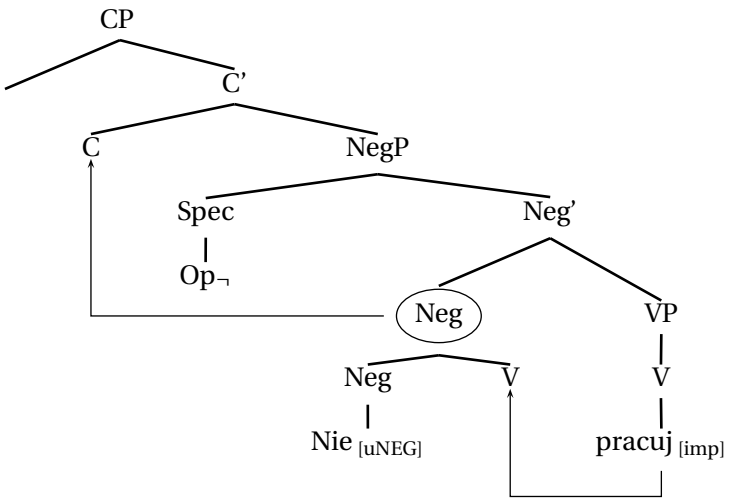
[16] Han (2001) suggests that the fact that the subjunctive encodes an irrealis, plays a role in the imperative interpretation. This is however contradicted by the fact that (for instance) an indicative can fulfil this function as well (Italian plural SNIs exhibit an indicative).

4.2 Class II languages

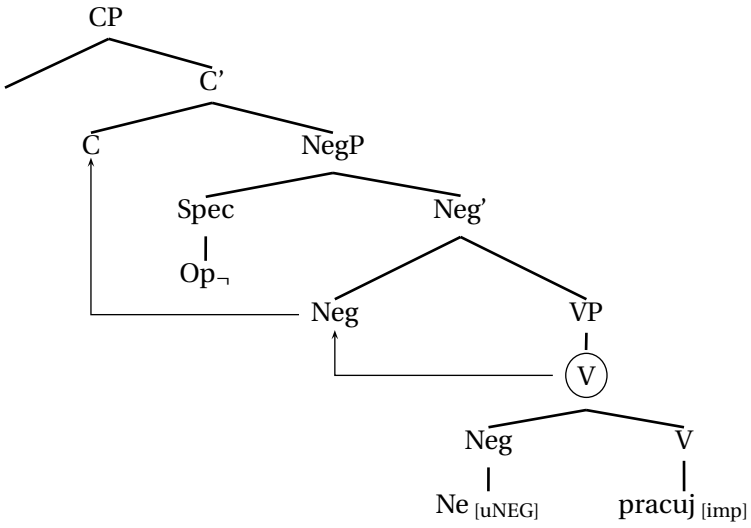
Languages that have negative markers X^0 which carry [uNEG], differ with respect to the ban on TNIs. Czech, Polish, Bulgarian and Serbo-Croation for instance accept TNIs, whereas Romanian, Hungarian, Greek and Hebrew disallow them. In this subsection I discuss the first kind of languages.

In Slavic languages, such as Czech, Polish, Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian, the negative marker is always in preverbal position. Slavic languages however differ with respect to the phonological strength of the negative marker. Polish *nie* is phonologically strong and can be said to be base-generated in its own position Neg^0 that c-commands VP. Czech *ne* is weaker than Polish *nie* and it is thus unclear whether *ne* originated in Neg^0 or has been base-generated as a head adjunction onto V. In both cases, these negative markers are semantically non-negative and negation is thus induced from $Op_{\neg}$. I assume as in Zeijlstra (2004) that this $Op_{\neg}$ occupies a Spec,NegP position. The clausal structure therefore does not block TNIs. In Polish V_{imp} moves to Neg^0, attaches to *nie* and as a unit $[_{Neg}$ *nie*-$V_{imp}]$ moves along to C^0. $Op_{\neg}$ remains in situ in Spec,NegP and Op_{IMP} takes scope from C^0. If Czech *ne* is base-generated in Neg^0 the analysis of Czech TNIs is similar to the one of Polish. If Czech *ne* is head-adjoined to V^0, the complex verbal unit $[_V$ *ne*-$V_{imp}]$ moves through Neg^0 (and all other intermediate head positions) to C^0, from where Op_{IMP} takes scope. $Op_{\neg}$ is located in Spec,NegP. Thus, both in Polish and Czech (regardless of the position *ne* has been base-generated in) the scopal condition $Op_{IMP} > Op_{\neg}$ is met. This is illustrated below in for Polish in (24) and for the latter analysis of Czech in (25).

(24) Polish



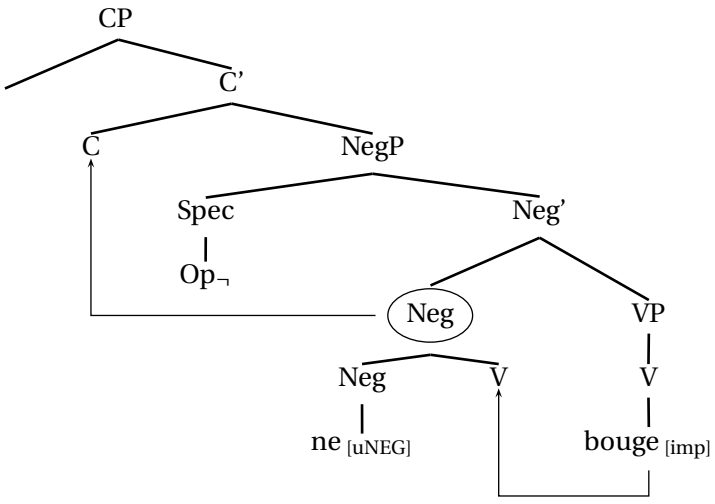
(25) Czech



Another language that has a negative marker X^0 that carries [uNEG] and allows TNIs is Standard French. Standard French differs from the above mentioned language in that it has two negative markers: *ne* and *pas*. Following standard analyses about French (Rowlett (1998) among many others), *pas* is taken to be the realisation of the negative operator, whereas *ne* is semantically non-negative. This explains why French negative imperatives may move along with V_{imp} to C^0. Standard French is analysed similarly to Polish, except for the fact that the negative operator is not realised covertly, but overtly.

(26) Ne bouge pas! Standard French 'Don't move!'
NEG move NEG

(27) Standard French



4.3 Class III languages

The third class of languages under discussion consists of (amongst others) Romanian, Hungarian, Greek and Hebrew. These languages also exhibit X^0 negative markers carrying [uNEG] features, but contrary to what would be expected they ban TNIs. Hence, additional explanations are required to account for the ban on TNIs in these languages. Of the four languages studied here, three languages have an additional negative marker

for subjunctives. Hungarian *nem* is replaced by *ne* in subjunctives,Greek *dhen* is replaced by *mi* and Hebrew *lo* alternates with *al*. Let us first focus on Hungarian. Hungarian imperative verbs are fine with this second negative marker *ne*, as is shown in (28).

(28) a. * *Nem* olvass! Hungarian
Neg read.IMP
'Don't read!'

b. *Ne* olvass!
Neg read.IMP
'Don't read!'

Ne and *nem* are both allowed to participate in Strict NC constructions and therefore carry both [uNEG]. They behave similar to the Slavic negative markers. The only difference is that *nem* and *ne* differ in their feature make-up with respect to mood. A suggestion would be that *nem* carrries a feature [-IRR] that disallows it to participate in subjunctives/imperatives and likewise *ne* would carry [+IRR] (this is much in line with Zanuttini's (1997) analysis). Crucial is that the mood distinction of Hungarian negative markers is not related to the ban on TNIs. Strictly speaking Hungarian does allow TNIs, since imperatives and subjunctives cannot be combined with *nem* for independent reasons. Hungarian is actually a Class II language.

The situation in Hebrew and Greek is different. Greek and Hebrew also exhibit different markers for different moods, but TNIs are banned for both negative markers. Note however that the classification of TNIs has been based on the semantic value of the negative marker in indicatives (using the Strict / Non-strict NC distinction as a diagnostic criterion). However, it is not required that these negative marker have identical semantics. Below it is shown that the Greek negative marker *mi* (contrary to *dhen*) only allows n-words in postverbal position:

(29) a. * Thelo KANENAS na *mi* Greek
want.1SG n-body PRT neg
fiji
leave.3SG.SUBJ
'I want nobody to leave.'

b. Thelo na *mi* fiji KANENAS
want.1SG PRT neg leave.3SG.SUBJ n-body
'I want nobody to leave.'

It is natural to assume that in Greek the mood distinction of negative markers is similar to that in Hungarian. *Dhen* is marked [-IRR], *mi* is marked [+IRR]. Hence, TNIs could only occur with the negative marker *mi*. But, since *mi* carries [iNEG], Greek TNIs are ruled out for the same reason as their Class I counterparts. This same analysis mutatis mutandis holds for Hebrew too.

Finally, Romanian needs to be discussed. Romanian lacks an additional negative markerfor non-indicative mood. But still it disallows TNIs:

(30) * Nu lucreaza! Romanian
NEG work.IMP
'Don't work!'

Apparently, TNIs in this language must be blocked for another reason. The explanation of the ban on TNIs lies within the fact that it is a particular property of the Romanian negative marker that it forbids further verbal movement after clitisation with the finite verb. This is motivated by the fact that Romanian verbs allow inversion with respect to their clitic cluster. This can be explained by arguing that in (31b) the verb moves to a higher position, leaving its clitic cluster in a stranded position.

(31) a. M-as mira se Romanian
me-AUX.SUBJ be.surprised AUX.SUBJ
vina Ion.
come Ion
'I would be surprised if Ion came.'

b. Mira m-as se vina Ion.
be.surprised me-AUX.SUBJ AUX.SUBJ come Ion
'I would be surprised if Ion came.'

This movement is however forbidden in the case of clitisation with negative markers. Both verbal movement out of the clitic cluster and clitic inversion below Neg^0 are forbidden in Romanian, as illustrated in (32).[17]

(32) a. Nu m-as mira Romanian
NEG me-AUX.SUBJ be.surprised
se vina Ion.
AUX.SUBJ come Ion
'I wouldn't be surprised if Ion came.'

b. * Mira nu m-as se vina Ion.
be.surprised NEG me-AUX.SUBJ AUX.SUBJ come Ion
'I wouldn't be surprised if Ion came.'

c. * Mira m-as nu se vina Ion.
be.surprised me-AUX.SUBJ NEG AUX.SUBJ come Ion
'I wouldn't be surprised if Ion came.'

The data in (31) and (32) show that Romanian *nu* blocks verbal movement to a higher position than Neg^0 and thus acts differently than other clitics in Romanian. If verbal movement to a higher position is ruled out in Romanian negative clauses, this immediately explains the ban on TNIs in this language.

The discussion of the languages in this paragraph shows that the languages that seem to be counterexamples to the analysis of the ban on TNIs presented above are actually not.

4.4 Class IV languages

It follows too that if a negative marker has phrasal rather than head status, TNIs are accepted. Regardless of the position of the negative marker, it cannot block movement of V_{imp} to C^0. Hence Op_{IMP} can always take scope from C^0 and all scopal requirements

[17] Thanks to Adrien Brasoveanu (p.c.) who gave me these examples. For a more detailed analysis of the (non-)clitic behaviour of Romanian negative markers, cf. Monachesi (2000) and Alboiu (2002).

are met. In Zeijlstra (2004) it has been argued that the position of the negative marker inDutch is a vP adjunct position. The structure of a TNI in Dutch then would be like (33).

(33) [$_{CP}$ slaap $_{[imp]\,i}$ [$_{vP}$ niet t_i]] Dutch

Note that typological generalisation G2 follows from this analysis. If in a particular language there is no negative marker X^0 available, movement of V_{imp} to C^0 can never be blocked. Consequently, all languages that ban TNIs exhibit an overt negative marker X^0.

4.5 Class V languages

The analysis of Class IV languages extends to Class V languages: NC languages without a negative head marker, such as Bavarian, Quebecois and Yiddish. Given the explanation for G2, it is not expected that TNIs are banned in these languages either. As shown in (34) verbal movement to C^0 cannot be blocked and therefore TNIs are allowed.

(34) a. Kuk nit! Yiddish
look.IMP NEG
'Don't look!'

b. [$_{CP}$ Kuk $_{[imp]\,i}$ [$_{VP}$ nit [$_{VP}$ t_i]]

4.6 Concluding remarks

It has been shown that the three assumptions that I presented in the beginning of this section (Op_{IMP} takes scope from C^0, Op_{IMP} may not be c-commanded by a negative operator and the HMC) predicts correctly in which TNIs are excluded, thus correctly predicting the typological generalisations **G1** and **G2**.

5 Further evidence: diachronic change

In Non-strict NC languages with a negative marker X^0 (carrying [iNEG]) TNIs must be banned. This holds for instance for Italian. However, it is known that Old Italian allowed TNIs (as pointed out by Zanuttini (1997) and shown in (35)). The analysis presented above predicts that is impossible that the negative marker *non* in Old Italian carries a feature [iNEG]. In other words, the analysis predicts that Old Italian *non* must have carried [uNEG]. Consequently, Old Italian cannot have been a Non-strict NC language. This prediction is indeed borne out. Old Italian was a Strict NC language, as shown in (36).

(35) a. Ni ti tormenta di questo! Old Italian
NEG yourself torment.2SG.IMP of this
'Don't torment yourself with this!' (example taken from Zanuttini 1997)

b. * Non telefona a Gianni! Contemporary Italian
NEG call.2SG.IMP to Gianni
'Don't call Gianni!'

(36) a. Mai nessuno oma non si più Old Italian
N-ever n-even-one man NEG himself can
guarare
protect
'Nobody can ever protect himself.' (examples taken from Martins 2000: 194)

b. Nessuno (*non) ha detto niente. Contemporary Italian
N-body neg has said n-thing
'Nobody said anything.'

Apparently Italian developed from a Strict NC language into a Non-strict NC language. Since in Old Italian TNIs were allowed, the change from Strict NC into Non-strict NC must have caused the ban on TNIs. Similar observations can be made for the development of Portuguese that used to be a Strict NC language that allowed TNIs and transformed into a Non-strict NC language that bans TNIs (see Zeijlstra (2006) for a more detailed analysis of the development of Romance languages with respect to NC).The analysis presented above predicts that the diachronic developments with respect to the acceptance of TNIs and the kind of NC that a language exhibits are related. This prediction further supports this analysis.

6 Conclusions

In this paper I analyse the ban on TNIs as a result of three principles: (i) the fact that Op_{IMP} universally takes scope from C^0; (ii) the fact that Op_{IMP} may not be c-commanded by a negative operator and (iii) the HMC (an instance of Relativized Minimality). It follows that if a negative marker is a syntactic head and carries an [iNEG] feature, V_{imp} may not move across Neg^0, but must attach to it. Hence, the [IMP] feature remains under the scope of negation and the TNI is ruled out.

From this analysis the typological generalisations G1 and G2 are also derived. G1 follows, since (as explained above) in every Non-strict NC language with a negative marker X^0 this negative marker must carry [iNEG] and thus TNIs are ruled out. G2 follows because of the HMC. If a language does not exhibit a negative marker Neg^0, this marker can never block verbal movement to C^0 and TNIs must be allowed.

Finally, it follows that diachronic developments with respect to the kind of NC (Strict/ Non-strict) that a language exhibits may influence a language's ban on TNIs. It is shown for Italian that this prediction is indeed correct.

References

Adger, David, 2003. *Core syntax: A minimalist approach.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Alboiu, Gabriela, 2002. *The features of movement in Romanian.* Bucharest: University of Bucharest Press.

Brown, Sue, 1999. *The syntax of negation in Russian.* Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.

Frege, Gottlob, 1892. Über Sinn und Bedeutung. *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und philosophische Kritik*, 100:25–50.

Giannakidou, Anastasia, 2000. Negative ... concord? *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory*, 18:457–523.

———, 2002. N-words and negative concord. ms, University of Chicago.

———, 2005. The landscape of *even* items. ms, University of Chicago.

Haegeman, Liliane, 1995. *The syntax of negation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Han, Chung-hye, 2001. Force, negation and imperatives. *The Linguistic Review*, 18:289–325.

Herburger, Elena, 2001. The negative concord puzzle revisited. *Natural Language Semantics*, 9:289–333.

Hiraiwa, Ken, 2001. Multiple agreement and the defective intevention effect. ms, MIT.

———, 2005. Dimensions in syntax. ms, University of Tokyo.

Ladusaw, William, 1992. Expressing negation. In Barker, Chris and David Dowty (eds.), *Proceedings of SALT 2*, pp. 237–259.

Laka, Itziar, 1990. *Negation in syntax: on the nature of functional categories and projections*. Ph.D. thesis, MIT.

Lee, Chung-min, 1988. Speech act terms and mood indicators (in Korean). *Acta Linguistica Hungarica*, 38:127–141.

Martins, Ana Maria, 2000. Polarity items in Romance: Underspecification and lexical change. In Pintzuk, S., G. Tsoulas, and A. Warner (eds.), *Diachronic Syntax: Models and Mechanisms*, p. XXX. Oxford University Press.

Merchant, Jason, 2001a. *The syntax of silence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

———, 2001b. Why no(t)? ms, University of Chicago.

Monachesi, Paola, 2000. Clitic placement in the romanian verbal complex. In Gerlach, B. and J. Grijzenhout (eds.), *Clitics in Phonology, Morphology and Syntax*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Rivero, María-Luisa, 1994. Negation, imperatives and wackenagel effects. *Rivista di Linguistica*, 6:39–66.

Rivero, María-Luisa and Arhonto Terzi, 1995. Imperatives, V-movement, and Logical Mood. *Journal of Linguistics*, 31:301–332.

Rizzi, Luigi, 1982. *Issues in Italian Syntax*. Dordrecht: Foris.

———, 1990. *Relativized Minimality*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Rowlett, Paul, 1998. *Sentential negation in French.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sadock, Jerrold M. and Arnold Zwicky, 1985. Speech act distinctions in syntax. In Shopen, Timothy (ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description*, pp. 155–196. Cambridge University Press.

Travis, Lisa, 1984. *Parameters and Effects of Word Order Variation.* Ph.D. thesis, MIT.

Ura, Hiroyuki, 1996. *Multiple feature checking: a theory of grammatical function splitting.* Ph.D. thesis, MIT.

van der Auwera, Johan, 2006. Why languages prefer prohibitives. *Journal of foreign languages*, 1:2–25.

Watanabe, Akira, 2005. The genesis of negative concord. *Linguistic Inquiry*, 35:559–612.

Zanuttini, Rafaella, 1994. Speculations on negative imperatives. *Rivista di Linguistica*, 6:119–142.

———, 1997. *Negation and clausal structure. A comparative study of Romance languages.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

———, 2001. Sentential negation. In Baltin, Mark and Chris Collins (eds.), *The Handbook of Contemporary Syntactic Theory*, pp. 511–535. Blackwell.

Zeijlstra, Hedde, 2004. *Sentential negation and Negative Concord.* Ph.D. thesis, University of Amsterdam.

———, 2006. How semantics dictates the syntactic vocabulary. In Ebert, C. and C. Endriss (eds.), *Proceedings of Sinn und Bedeutung 10*, p. XXX. ZAS, Berlin.

Hedde Zeijlstra
University of Amsterdam
zeijlstra@uva.nl