

# Negation and imperatives

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## Abstract

While some languages have negative imperatives, others do not, and express prohibition through suppletive subjunctives or infinitives. The present paper argues that a language with negative imperatives projects a mood/modality phrase, ModP, which is c-commanded by Neg. In a language with no negative imperatives, however, ModP and NegP are fused.

Within the South European languages there is a distinction with respect to the distinct projection of ModP: while the majority of the Romance languages do not project it, all the South Slavic languages do. Within South Slavic there is a parametric difference with respect to the strength of Neg, however. This difference is reflected in two distinct positionings of the clitics relative to the imperative verb: in the South Slavic languages with strong Neg the clitics are wedged between the negation operator and the imperative verb, while in the South Slavic languages with weak Neg they occur to the left of the verb.

**Key words:** word order, negated imperatives, Wackernagel clitics, South-Slavic.

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## Resum

Hi ha llengües que tenen imperatius negats, i altres que no, i han d'expressar la prohibició per mitjà de subjuntius or infinitius supletius. Aquest article defensa que una llengua amb imperatius negatius projecta un sintagma mode/modalitat, SMod, que és c-comandat per Neg. En una llengua sense imperatius negatius, en canvi, SMod i SNeg estan fosos.

Dins les llengües del sud d'Europa hi ha una distinció pel que fa la projecció de SMod: la majoria de les llengües romàniques no el projecten, però totes les llengües eslaves meridionals el projecten. Dins de les eslaves meridionals, però, hi ha una diferència paramètrica pel que fa a la força de Neg. Aquesta diferència es reflecteix en dues posicions diferents dels clítics respecte al verb en imperatiu. En les llengües eslaves meridionals amb una Neg forta, els clítics queden atrapats entre l'operador negació i el verb en imperatiu, mentre que en les que tenen una Neg feble els clítics apareixen a l'esquerra del verb.

**Paraules clau:** ordre de mots, imperatius negats, clítics Wackernagel, eslav meridional.

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### 1. Previous Analyses

It is a well-known and often discussed fact that in Spanish and Catalan negation is incompatible with imperative morphology and prohibition is expressed through the use of subjunctives or infinitives. This is illustrated in (1):

- |        |   |  |   |
|--------|---|--|---|
| (1) Sp | a. * <i>No lee!</i><br>not read-2Sg-Imp | b. <i>No leas!</i><br>not read-2Sg-Subj<br>'Don't read.' | c. <i>No leer!</i><br>not read-Inf<br>'Don't read.' |
|--------|---|--|---|

Thus, Spanish and Catalan (and Italian, but only in the singular) contrast with French where imperatives **can** be negated.

- |       |                                    |                                     |
|-------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (2) F | <i>Ne lise</i><br>not read-2Sg-Imp | <i>pas!</i><br>pas<br>'Don't read.' |
|-------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|

Zanuttini (1991, 1997) accounts for the contrast between the Spanish sentence in (1) and the French sentence in (2) through the different requirements of preverbal and postverbal negation:<sup>1</sup> whereas preverbal negation requires TP, postverbal negation does not. Since imperatives are tenseless, she concludes that they are incompatible with preverbal negation.

Laka (1994), discussing sentential negation in Spanish, claims that the incompatibility of negation and imperatives in this language is due to the fact that they are elements of the same syntactic category, which she labels  $\Sigma$ . Since, in the presence of negation, imperatives cannot be projected, sentences such as (1) are ungrammatical.

Zanuttini's and Laka's analyses work well for Romance, but encounter problems when applied to the languages of the Balkans, which have preverbal negation, but differ as to whether they allow negative imperatives: Romanian and Modern Greek do not, whereas Bulgarian, Macedonian and Serbo-Croatian do:<sup>2</sup>

1. Whereas in Spanish negation is preverbal, in French it is postverbal, material evidence for this being the fact that in colloquial French negation is marked only by the postverbal negative particle *pas*.
2. Another Balkan language, Albanian, lacks distinct imperative morphology altogether.

- (3) R \**Nu cîteste!*  
 not read-2Sg-Imp+it-Acc-Cl
- MG \**Den/mi diavase to!*  
 Not read-2Sg-Imp it-Acc-Cl
- B *Ne go četi!*  
 not it-Acc-Cl read-2Sg-Imp
- M *Ne čitaj go!*  
 not read-2Sg-Imp it-Acc-Cl
- SC *Ne čitaj ga!*  
 not read-2Sg-Imp it-Acc-Cl  
 'Don't read it!'

Rivero and Terzi (1995) account for the contrast between Spanish and Modern Greek, on the one hand, and Serbo-Croatian and Ancient Greek, on the other, through the blocking potential of Neg. They argue that in Spanish and Modern Greek, negative imperatives are unavailable, since Neg blocks the raising of the verb to C, where the strong mood feature is located, and its mood feature remains unchecked. In Serbo-Croatian and Ancient Greek, however, the strong mood feature is located in I, and the verb can raise to it without crossing Neg.

Rivero and Terzi's assumption that the illocutionary force can be checked at two different places is shaky.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the raising of the Serbo-Croatian negated imperative from I, where it checks its imperative feature, to C, is in need of motivation. Recent research has undermined not only the assumption that constituents can be moved in order to support clitics,<sup>4</sup> but also the assumption that the Wackernagel clitic cluster is always formed in C.<sup>5</sup>

In her analysis of the relation between negation and mood, Han (1998) posits C as the only locus of the imperative operator. She argues that negative imperatives are unavailable in some languages, because they have syntactic configurations in which negation takes syntactic scope over the imperative operator in C. Her explanation for the compatibility of negation and imperatives in languages such as Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian can be summarized as follows: In Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian the imperative verb is not in C on the surface, but rather low in the clause. In these languages, the imperative verb moves and adjoins to C at LF. Since

3. They argue that in Serbo-Croatian and Ancient Greek, C cannot be the position associated with imperative force, since in these languages C is reserved as the last-resort landing site for verb movement, in order to rescue the Wackernagel (or second-position) clitics from occurring in clause-initial positions.
4. Among other things, this movement presupposes that syntax looks into phonology.
5. Bošković (1995, 1997) argues that the Wackernagel clitic cluster is formed in different positions in the structure, the host being provided by the phonology. Franks (1998) contends that the Wackernagel clitics move to the highest available site in the extended projection of the verb, head to head, leaving copies at all intermediate sites; in PF the highest clitic copy is pronounced that satisfies the clitic's phonological requirement for encliticization.

morphological/phonological constraints do not apply in LF, the imperative verb can move along, stranding the clitic-like preverbal negation. Consequently, Neg does not take scope over the imperative operator in C, and negative imperatives are not ruled out.

Nevertheless, the South Slavic languages offer numerous counter-examples to Han's «evidence» for the location of the strong semantic imperative mood feature. In particular:

(a) As illustrated by the Macedonian examples in (4), the subject can precede the imperative verb, just as often as it can follow it:

(4) M a. *Ti           daj                   mi           go!*  
           you-Sg   give-2Sg-Imp   me-Dat-Cl   it-Acc-Cl

      b. *Daj                   mi           go           ti!*  
           give-2Sg-Imp   me-Dat-Cl   it-Acc-Cl   you-Sg  
           ‘You give it to me!’

(b) As evident from the Bulgarian examples in (5), the clitics can be placed, not only to the right, but also to the left of the imperative verb:

(5) B a. *Daj                   mi           go           ti!*  
           give-2Sg-Imp   me-Dat-Cl   it-Acc-Cl   you-Sg

      b. *Ti           mi           go           daj!*  
           You-Sg   me-Dat-Cl   it-Acc-Cl   give-2sg-Imp  
           ‘You give it to me!’

(c) As shown by the Slovenian example in (6), embedded imperatives are not always ruled out:

(6) Sl *Vztraja da   pridi                   jutri.*  
       insists that come-2Sg-Imp tomorrow  
       ‘He insists that you come tomorrow.’

In this paper I argue that the verb checks its imperative mood feature in an operator node to the immediate left of Agr<sub>s</sub>P. The incompatibility of imperatives and negation in Spanish, Catalan (or Modern Greek, for that matter) follows from the fact that in these languages the same node is projected by negation markers, as well. In the South Slavic languages, in which preverbal negation coincides with imperatives, however, the node where the imperative mood is checked is distinct from the node where negation is checked (Neg).

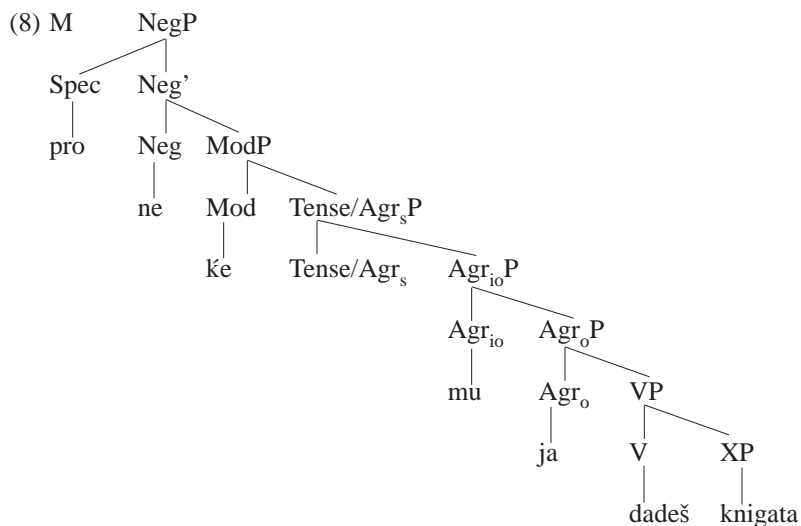
## 2. The Relationship of Neg and Mod in Macedonian

In Macedonian, the node where the imperative mood is checked coincides with the node projected by the modal clitics. Material evidence for this is the fact that, like

the Macedonian imperative verb, the Macedonian modal clitics can be wedged between the negation operator and pronominal clitics. Compare (7a) to (7b):

- (7) M a. *Ne davaj mu ja knjiga*  
 not-Cl give-2Sg-Imp him-Dat-Cl her-Acc-Cl book+the-Cl  
 'Don't give him the book.'
- b. *Ne ke mu ja dadeš knjiga.*  
 Not-Cl will-Mod-Cl him-Dat-Cl her-Acc-Cl give-2Sg-Subj  
 book+the-Cl  
 'You won't give him the book.'

As argued in Tomić (1996), the Macedonian clausal clitics are derived as heads of a range of functional projections. The structure of (7b), with a clausal clitic cluster consisting of the negative clitic *ne* 'not', the modal clitic *ke* 'will/shall' the dative pronominal clitic *mu* 'him' and the accusative pronominal clitic *ja* 'her', is presented in (8):

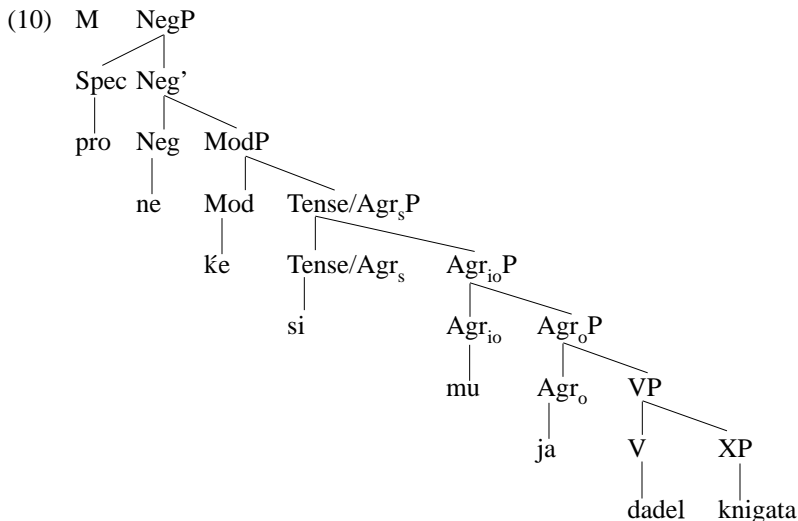


In (8)  $\text{Tense/Agr}_s^6$  does not dominate any morphological material. Nevertheless, in the derivation of (9), where the clausal clitic cluster includes an auxiliary clitic,  $\text{Tense/Agr}_s^6$  is projected by this clitic.

6. A joint Tense and Subject Agreement Phrase is argued for by the portmanteau morph which in all Balkan Slavic languages represents tense, person and number.

- (9) M *Ne ke si mu ja*  
 not-Cl will-Mod are-2Sg-Aux-Cl him-Dat-Cl her-Acc-Cl  
*dadel knigata.*  
 given-*l*-Part-M-Sg-Subj book+the-Cl  
 ‘Rumor has it,<sup>7</sup> you would be unwilling to give him the book.’

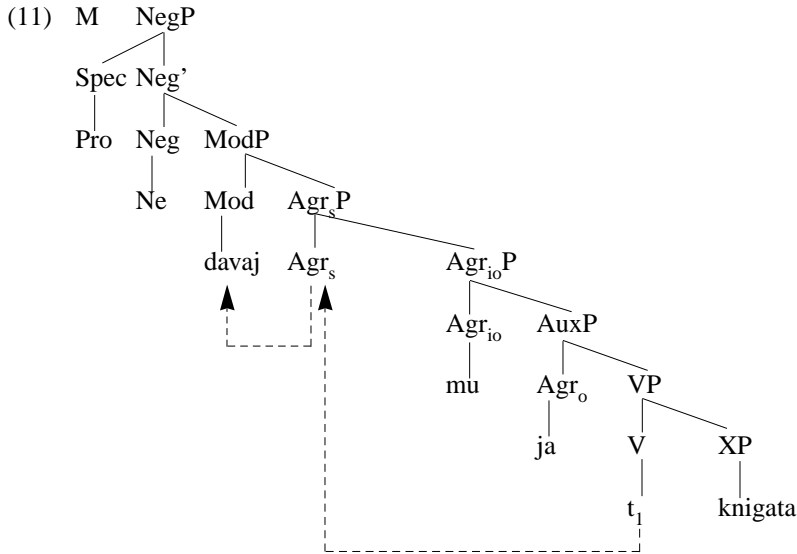
The structure of (9) is given in (10):



The cooccurrence and ordering of the modal and auxiliary clitics justifies the projection of ModP and its position relative to Tense/Agr<sub>s</sub>P.

While occurring in clauses in which the verb is in the subjunctive mood, the Macedonian modal clitic *ke* is excluded from clauses in which the verb is in the imperative mood. In such clauses Mod is an imperative mood operator and the imperative verb raises to it overtly to check its strong imperative feature. The structure of (7a), where this is illustrated, is given in (11):

7. In Macedonian, the cooccurrence of forms of *be* with forms of the *l*-participle, signals reporting modality.



The raising of the verb to Mod (via  $Agr_s$ ) accounts for the post-verbal ordering of the pronominal clitics. The position of the negation clitic is invariable, however. As argued in Tomić (to appear) this is due to the difference in the nature of the modal, auxiliary and pronominal clitics, on the one hand, and the negative clitic, on the other: While the modal, auxiliary and pronominal clitics originate as clitics, the negative clitic originates as a stress-bearing negation operator and acquires cliticness when merging with V and any modal, auxiliary and/or pronominal clitics that had cliticized to it. The difference in the nature of the clitics is reflected in the stress patterns of the clitics + V or V + clitics complex.

### 3. Interdependence between Types of Clitics and the Morphological Features of the Head of the Clause

At this point, a discussion of the cliticization strategy of the Macedonian clitics is in order. The clausal clitics of a language can in most cases be qualified as proclitic or enclitic. In Macedonian that is not the case. Consider the Macedonian clauses in (12):

- (12) M  $a_1$  *Si* *mu* *go* *dal* *včera*.  
 are-2Sg-Aux-Cl him-Dat-Cl it-Acc-Cl given-M-Sg yesterday.  
 ‘You gave it to him yesterday, I understand.’
- $a_2$  \**Si* *mu* *go* *včera* *dal*  
 are-2Sg-Aux-Cl him-Dat-Cl it-Acc-Cl yesterday given-M-Sg
- $b_1$  \**Si* *mu* *tatko*.  
 are-2Sg-Aux-Cl him-Dat-Cl father

- (12)  $b_2$  *Tatko si mu.*  
 father are-2Sg-Aux-Cl him-Dat-Cl  
 ‘You are his father (so you have to take care of him).’
- $b_3$  *Ti si mu tatko.*  
 you are-2Sg-Aux-Cl him-Dat-Cl father  
 ‘YOU are his father (and not anybody else)!’
- $c_1$  *??Si mu mil.*  
 are-2Sg-Aux-Cl him-Dat-Cl dear  
 ‘He likes you.’
- $c_2$  *Mil si mu.*  
 dear are-2Sg-Aux-Cl him-Dat-Cl  
 ‘He likes you.’
- $c_3$  *Ti si mu mil.*  
 you are-2Sg-Aux-Cl him-Dat-Cl dear  
 ‘It is you he likes!’
- $d_1$  *?Mu e skinato paltoto.*  
 him-Dat-Cl is-3Sg-Cl torn-Pass.Part coat+the-Cl  
 ‘His coat is torn out.’
- $d_2$  *Skinato mu e paltoto.*  
 torn-Pass.Part him-Dat-Cl is-3Sg-Cl coat+the-Cl  
 ‘His coat is torn out.’
- $d_3$  *Na Petreta mu e skinato paltoto.*  
 to Peter-Dat him-Dat-Cl is-3Sg-Cl torn-Pass.Part coat+the-Cl  
 ‘Peter’s coat is torn out.’
- $f_1$  *?Mu e rečeno da bide točen.*  
 him-Dat-Cl is-3Sg-Cl told-Past.Part to be-3Sg-Subj punctual  
*povek!e pati.*  
 more times  
 ‘He was told to be punctual more than once.’
- $f_2$  *Rečeno mu e da bide točen*  
 told-Past.Part him-Dat-Cl is-3Sg-Cl to be-3Sg-Subj punctual  
*poveke pati.*  
 more times  
 ‘He was told to be punctual to be punctual more than once.’
- $f_3$  *Na Petreta mu e poveke pati*  
 to Peter-Dat him-Dat-Cl is-3Sg-Cl more times  
*rečeno da bide točen.*  
 told-Past.Part to be-3Sg-Subj punctual.  
 ‘Peter was told to be punctual more than once.’

The grammaticality of (12a<sub>1</sub>), where the clitics are clause-initial and left-adjacent to the *l*-participle, in contrast with the ungrammaticality of (12a<sub>2</sub>), where the



clitics are clause-initial but separated from the *l*-participle by an adverb, tells us that we are here dealing with prototypical verbal clitics, i.e. clitics that are left-adjacent to the verb and procliticize to it. The well-formedness of (12b<sub>1</sub>) and (12b<sub>2</sub>), where the clitics are preceded and followed by a nominal, in contrast with the ill-formedness of (12b<sub>3</sub>), where they are placed clause-initially to the left of a nominal, suggests that the clitics can be hosted by a nominal to their left but not by one to their right. The relativized acceptability of (12c<sub>1</sub>), (12d<sub>1</sub>) and (12f<sub>1</sub>), compared to the unconditional acceptability of the other clauses in (12c), (12d) and (12e), indicates that, in environments such as the ones illustrated in these clauses, the clitics can with some (but not all) speakers of the language occur in initial position and be hosted to their right, though non-initial clitic positioning, with hosts to their left is preferred.

The choice of anchor and the orientation of the Macedonian clausal clitics actually correlates with the morphological properties of the head of the clause. In Tomić (1997a, 1997b), I argued that tensed lexical verbs, *l*-participles, past participles, passive participles and adjectival and nominal predicates have distinct values for the features [ $\pm V$ ] and [ $\pm N$ ]. These are represented in (13):

(13) M	V	N
tensed verbs	+	-
<i>l</i> -participles	+	-
past participles	+	+
passive participles	+	+
adjectives	+	+
nouns	-	+

Note that *l*-participles have positive values for V, negative for N, as do tensed verbs. As argued in Tomić (1996, 1997b) the behavior of *l*-participles in the environment to clitics is analogous to that of tensed verbs. Like the tensed verbs, the *l*-participles form enlarged local domains with the clitics to their left, to the extent that, when they move, the clitics get a free ride with them. This is exemplified in (14a) and (14b), where an *l*-participle and a tensed verb, respectively, have moved to the left of the interrogative clitic *li*, which in all the Slavic languages is uncontroversially located in C:

- (14) M a. *Bi* (si) mu go dala  
 would-Mod-Cl are-2Sg-Aux-Cl him-Dat-Cl it-Acc-Cl given-F-Sg  
*li* peroto?  
 Inter-Cl pen+the-Cl  
 ‘Would you be willing to give him the pen?’
- b. *Ke* mu go dadea li  
 will-Mod-Cl him-Dat-Cl it-Acc-Cl give-Pres-2Sg Inter-Cl  
*peroto?*  
 pen+the-Cl  
 ‘Will you give him the pen?’

The nouns have positive values for N, negative for V; and, when acting as heads of clauses, they do not form enlarged local domains with clitics. Accordingly, clauses such as (15a), where the clitics in initial position occur to the left of a nominal predicate, contrast with clauses such as (15b), in which the clitics in initial position occur to the left of an *l*-participle; while the former are ill-formed, the latter are well-formed:

- (15) M a. \**Si*                    *mi*                    *tatko*.  
           are-2Sg-Aux-Cl me-Dat-Cl father
- b. *Si*                    *mi*                    *go*                    *dal*.  
           are-2Sg-Aux-Cl me-Dat-Cl it-Acc-Cl given-M-Sg  
           ‘You have allegedly given it to me.’

Predicate adjectives, past participles and passive participles, which are [+V, +N] categories, have dual behavior: when occurring in the position of clausal heads, they may form enlarged local domains with the clitics to their left, like the tensed verbs and *l*-participles, but more often they do not do that and we find them in a clause-initial position, to the left of the clausal clitic cluster. Thus, both (12f<sub>1</sub>), repeated as (16a), where the clitics are in clause-initial position, to the left of the past participle *rečeno*, and (12f<sub>2</sub>), repeated as (16b), where the past participle is in clause-initial position, to the left of the clitics, are well-formed Macedonian clauses, though (16b) is more «usual»:

- (16) M a. ?*Mu*                    *e*                    *rečeno*                    *da bide*                    *točen*  
           him-Dat-Cl is-3Sg-Cl told-Past.Part to be-3Sg-Subj punctual  
           *poveke pati*.  
           more times  
           ‘He was told to be punctual more than once.’
- b. *Rečeno*                    *mu*                    *e*                    *da bide*                    *točen*  
           told-Past.Part him-Dat-Cl is-3Sg-Cl to be-3Sg-Subj punctual  
           *poveke pati*.  
           more times  
           ‘He was told to be punctual more than once.’

A discussion of the qualification «more usual» is in order here. In the languages of the Balkans, the clausal clitic clusters have undergone a change from 2P to verbal. In some of these languages, including Macedonian, the clausal clitics have come to form enlarged local domains with the verb and are phonologically proclitic, rather than enclitic. The dual behavior of the clitics in Macedonian clauses in which V is instantiated by past or passive participles (and marginally by adjectives) indicates that in this language the change from 2P to verbal clitics is still under way. With those speakers with whom, or in those environments in which the Macedonian clausal clitics may procliticise to past or passive participles (and marginally to adjectives), the [+N] value of these participles (and adjectives) seems to be undergoing a change to [-N].

In Tomić (1997a, 1997b) I treated the clitics in clauses whose heads are instantiated by [+N] categories as a subtype of the verbal clitics. Note, however, that the clitics in such clauses do not satisfy the criterion for «verbal cliticness»: non-separability from the verb. As illustrated in (17), in clauses whose heads are past participles, the Macedonian clausal clitics **can** be separated from the clausal head:

- (17) M a. *Na Petreta mu e poveke pati rečeno*  
 to Peter-Dat him-Dat-Cl is-3Sg-Cl more times told-Past.Part  
*da bide točen.*  
 to be-3Sg-Subj punctual  
 ‘Peter was told more than to be punctual.’
- b. *Na Petreta mu e od strana na komisijata veteno deka...*  
 to Peter-Dat him-Dat-Cl is-3Sg-Cl from side of  
 commission+the-Cl promised-Past.Part that  
 ‘Peter was promised by the commission that...’

On the other hand, the clitics in clauses whose V heads are past or passive participles, can occur in clitic-third and clitic fourth positions, thus contrasting with the Wackernagel clitics. The clauses in (18) have past participles as V-heads:

- (18) M a. *Na Petreta poveke pati mu e rečeno*  
 to Peter-Dat more times him-Dat-Cl is-3Sg-Cl told-Past.Part  
*da bide točen.*  
 to be-3Sg-Subj punctual  
 ‘Peter was told more than once to be punctual.’
- b. *Na Petreta od strana na komisijata poveke*  
 to Peter-Dat from side of commission+the-Cl more  
*pati mu e rečeno da bide*  
 times him-Dat-Cl is-3Sg-Cl told-Past.Part to be-3Sg-Subj  
*točen.*  
 punctual  
 ‘Peter was told by the commission more than once to be punctual.’

The Macedonian clausal clitics in clauses whose heads are past or passive participles actually behave sometimes as verbal, sometimes as Wackernagel clitics. With those speakers with whom, or in those environments in which the value of the Macedonian past and passive participles is undergoing a change from [+N] to [-N] they behave as verbal clitics; otherwise they behave as Wackernagel clitics.<sup>8</sup>

8. The clitics in clauses with nominal predicates always behave as Wackernagel clitics.

#### 4. Stress Patterns

The stress in Macedonian falls on the antepenultimate syllable of the word. A comparison of (19a) and (19b) shows that the presence of modal, auxiliary and/or pronominal clitics does not alter the stress pattern of the clitics + V complex; the clitics simply cliticize to the verb:

- (19) M a. *DAvaš SÉ što* → *Imaš*.<sup>9</sup>  
 give-2Sg everything what have-2Sg  
 ‘You give (away) whatever you have.’
- b. *ke* → *si* → *mu* → *ja* →  
 will-Mod-Cl are-2sg-Aux-Cl him-Dat-Cl her-Acc-Cl  
*DAdel KNIgata*.  
 given-*l*-Part-M-Sg-Subj book-the  
 ‘As reported, you would give him the book.’

When the clitic cluster includes a negative clitic, however, the clitics and the verb form a unique phonological word with the antepenultimate stress characteristic for the language. The stress pattern of (9), which differs from (19b) only in the presence of the negative clitic, is given in (20):

- (20) M *TI ne – ke – si – mu – JA –*  
 you not-Cl will-Mod-Cl are-2Sg-Aux-Cl him-Dat-Cl it-Acc-Cl  
*dadel KNIgata*.  
 given-*l*-Part-M-Sg -Subj book+the-Cl  
 ‘As reported, you won’t give him the book.’

In Tomić (to appear) I argued that the distinct behavior of the negative clitic is due to the fact that, unlike the modal, auxiliary and pronominal clitics, which, in the lexicon are phonologically deficient items, the negation clitic originates as a stress-bearing operator, which acquires clitic status upon merging with a [+V, –N] heads and modal, auxiliary and/or pronominal clitics that may have previously procliticized to them.

Note that the imperative verb behaves analogously to the negation operator. As illustrated in (21), the imperative verb does not host the clitics, but rather forms a unique phonological word with them:

- (21) M a. *PokaŽI – mu – go!*  
 show-Imper him-Dat-Cl it-Acc-Cl  
 ‘Show it to him!’
- b. *Na – MI – ti – go!*  
 take-Imper me-Eth.Dat-Cl you-2Sg-Dat-Cl it-Acc-Cl  
 ‘Take it (my dear little one)!’

9. The stressed syllable is capitalized.

In (21a) the stress falls on the last syllable of the verb, while in (21b) it falls on the clitic to the immediate right of the verb; in both cases it falls on the syllable which constitutes the antepenultimate syllable of the phonological word in which the verb and the clitics partake. The imperative verb and the clitics following it form a unique phonological word, as does the verb + modal, auxiliary and pronominal clitics complex when preceded by the negation operator. In both cases we are dealing with operators which extend their scope to lexical material to their right.

When the imperative verb is preceded by a negation operator, the imperative modality operator falls in the scope of the negation operator. As illustrated in (22), this is reflected in the uniquely formed phonological word:

- (22) M a. *NE* – *davaj*                    *NIšto!*  
           not give-2Sg-Imper nothing  
           ‘Don’t give (away) anything!’
- b. *Ne-DAvaj* –            *mu*            *NIšto!*  
           not give-2Sg-Imper him-Dat-Cl nothing  
           ‘Don’t give him anything!’
- c. *Ne-daVAJ* –            *mu* –            *go!*  
           not give-2Sg-Imper him-Dat-Cl it-Acc-Cl  
           ‘Don’t give it to him!’

In (22a) the verb is not followed by any clitics and the stress falls on the negative operator, which actually constitutes the antepenultimate syllable of the phonological word made up of the negation operator and the disyllabic verb. In (22b) the verb is followed by one pronominal clitic and the stress falls on the first syllable of the disyllabic verb, which now occupies the antepenultimate syllable of the phonological word. In (22c) the verb is followed by two pronominal clitics and the stress falls on the second syllable of the verb, which also represents the antepenultimate syllable of the phonological word.

## 5. Strong and Weak Negation Operators

Whereas in Standard Macedonian the pronominal clitics always occur to the right of the imperative verb, in Bulgarian (as well as in some non-standard dialects of Macedonian), when the imperative verb is preceded by a negation operator, they occur between the negation operator and the verb. The Bulgarian and the North-Western Macedonian counterparts of (22c) are given in (23) and (24), respectively:

- (23) B        *Ne* – *MU* –            *go*            *DAvaj!*  
           not    him-Dat-Cl it-Acc-Cl give-2sg-Imper  
           ‘Don’t give it to him!’
- (24) NWM *NE* ← *mu* ←            *go*            *DAvaj!*  
           not    him-Dat-Cl it-Acc-Cl give-2sg-Imper  
           ‘Don’t give it to him!’

Both in Bulgarian and in North Western Macedonian the verb is stressed distinctly from the clitics. In North Western Macedonian the pronominal clitics encliticize to the negation operator, which keeps its wordhood status. In Bulgarian, on the other hand, the negation operator and the first clitic to its right form a phonological word in which the stress always falls on the clitic.

The distinct strategies in the syntax and phonology of the negative imperatives actually follow from differences in the strength of Neg, and its interaction with Mod, which it c-commands. If Neg is weak the imperative verb raises overtly to Mod to check its strong mood feature, while Neg forms a unique phonological word with this verb and any pronominal clitics that may have encliticized to it. A strong Neg, however, neutralizes the strength of Mod which it c-commands and the verb does not raise overtly to check its mood feature. The clitics in this case gravitate towards Neg.

The South Slavic languages differ with respect to the strength of Neg: whereas in Bulgarian (as well as in some non-standard dialects of Macedonian) Neg is strong, in Standard Macedonian, Standard Serbo-Croatian and Standard Slovenian it is weak.

## 6. Fusion of Neg and Mod

While within South Slavic there is a parametric difference with respect to the strength of Neg, within the South European languages there is a distinction with respect to distinct projection of the Modality Phrase: In Macedonian, Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian the Modality Phrase is distinctly projected. In Spanish, Catalan, Romanian and Modern Greek, on the other hand, it fuses with Neg. As a consequence of this fusion, either negation or imperative morphology surfaces.

The fusion of Neg and Mod is strongly supported by the distinction between indicative and imperative negative clauses in Albanian. Albanian lacks distinct imperative morphology, i.e. tense and agreement morphology in imperative clauses is identical with tense and agreement morphology in indicative clauses. Kallulli (1995) argues that in positive imperatives the verb moves overtly to the joint Neg/Mod operator, which, following Laka, she labels  $\Sigma$ . This movement explains why the verb in an imperative context precedes the pronominal clitic, as in (25a), whereas in an indicative context it follows it, as in (25b):

- (25) Al a. *Hapnie derën!*  
 open-2pl+it-Acc-Cl door+the  
 ‘You (all) open the door!’
- b. *E hapni derën.*  
 it-Acc-Cl open-2pl door+the  
 ‘You (all) are opening the door.’

In negative contexts indicative and imperative clauses are marked distinctly by specific lexical items – *mos* and *nuc*, respectively. In (26) I quote Kallulli’s examples:

- (26) Al a. *Mos e hapni derën!*  
 not it-Acc-Cl open-2Pl door+the  
 'Don't open the door!'
- b. *Nuk e hapni derën.*  
 not it-Acc-Cl open-2Pl door+the  
 'You are not opening the door.'

As we see, the morphology of the verb in the Albanian imperative clause (26a) is the same as in its indicative counterpart (26b), and so is the relative ordering of the clitic and the verb. The raising of the verb in negative imperative clauses is impossible, since the head of the Neg/Mod phrase is occupied by the negative operator. Moreover, no such raising is necessary, since the imperative feature of the Albanian negative imperative is incorporated in the negative operator.

## 7. Summary

I have argued that the Southern European languages differ as to whether they project distinct Negation and Modality operators, or else the two operators are fused in a common Neg/Mod operator. This Neg/Mod operator is formally analogous to Laka's (1994)  $\Sigma$ , but differs from it in perspective. Rather than competing for a single node, I see negation and modality «cooperating».

The «cooperative» perspective makes it possible to analyze uniformly the languages which do not have negative imperatives with those that do. In both types of languages Neg and Mod or Neg/Mod are to the right of C, or rather to the immediate left of Agr, with the Negation operator c-commanding the Modality operator.

The fact that Neg c-commands Mod explains why in the languages in which negation and imperatives cooccur the differences in the relationship of Neg and Mod depend on the strength of Neg, rather than on the strength of Mod. If Neg is weak, the imperative verb raises overtly to Mod to check its strong mood feature, while Neg forms a unique phonological word with this verb and any pronominal clitics that may have encliticized to it. A strong Neg, however, neutralizes the strength of Mod and the verb does not raise overtly to check its mood feature.

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