Don't Negate Imperatives!:
Interpretability of Clause Type Features[*]

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Abstract
This paper investigates Zanuttini's (1997) generalization about the incompatibility between sentential negation and true imperatives and proposes issues that her generalization raises can be resolved by taking into account the scope relation between the imperative mood and negation. On the basis of Han's (1998) observation that the imperative mood necessarily takes scope over negation and that the reverse scope relation is impossible, it is argued that true imperative verbs carry a clause type feature encoding the imperative mood and that this feature must not be c-commanded by the sentential negation; otherwise, the sentence fails to receive an appropriate interpretation.

Keywords: imperatives, mood, negation, scope, clause type, interpretability

1. Introduction

Imperatives can be classified into two types based on the verbal forms employed: true imperatives and suppletive imperatives. In true imperatives, the verbal forms are unique to the paradigm of imperatives, whereas in suppletive imperatives, the verbal forms are identical to a form used for the same person in another paradigm. It is commonly noted in the literature (Rivero and Terzi (1995), Zanuttini (1997), Han (1998), to name but a few) that true imperatives are generally incompatible with sentential negation, while suppletive imperatives do not exhibit such a restriction. It has also been noted that this generalization does have some exceptions. In the present paper, I examine this (in)compatibility between the two types of imperatives and sentential negation and give an analysis of the generalization and its exceptions. On the basis of this analysis, I will propose that clause type features in C^0 may be –Interpretable, contrary to Chomsky (1995), but in favor of Chomsky (1998). This paper is organized as follows: in section 2, I provide a series of data and summarize the issues to be discussed; in section 3, I review two previous studies, Zanuttini (1997) and Han (1998), and

demonstrate that neither of them successfully deals with all of the issues; in section 4, I provide my own analysis, which owes its basic idea to Han (1998), that the incompatibility can be explained in interpretive terms; section 5 is a brief summary.

2. Data and Issues

In this section, I introduce a generalization made by Zanuttini (1997) concerning compatibility between verbal forms employed in imperative sentences and sentential negation, and summarize the issues to be discussed in the following sections.

As shown in (1), 2nd person singular imperatives in Italian employ morphologically unique verbal forms (hence they are true imperatives), whereas the verbal forms employed for 2nd person plural imperatives are morphologically identical to those of the indicative (hence they are suppletive imperatives):

(1) a. Telefona!　　　　　[true imperative]
　　　　call-2sg-imp
　　　　'Call!'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Zanuttini 1997: 106)

　　　b. Telefonate!　　　　[suppletive imperative]
　　　　call-2pl-ind
　　　　'Call!'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(ibid.: 106)

The primary pattern to be discussed in this paper is that it is impossible to negate true imperatives (as in (2a)), while suppletive imperatives can be negated without problem (as in (2b)):

(2) a. *Non telefona!　　[true imperative]
　　　　neg call-2sg-imp
　　　　'Don't call!'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Zanuttini 1997: 108)

　　　b. Non telefonate!　[suppletive imperative]
　　　　neg call-2pl-ind
　　　　'Don't call!'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(ibid.: 108)

The negative counterpart of 2nd person singular imperatives in Italian is (3), in which the verb appears in an infinitive form and is therefore a suppletive imperative:

(3)　Non telefonarle!　　　[suppletive imperative]
　　　neg call-inf-her
　　　'Don't call her!'　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Zanuttini 1997: 108)

The same pattern is also observed in many other languages. For example, see (4)-(6), which illustrate Spanish imperatives:[1]

(4) a.   ¡Habla!   [true imperative]
          talk-2sg-imp
          'Talk!'   (Zanuttini 1997: 109)

    b.   ¡Hablad!   [true imperative]
          talk-2pl-imp
          'Talk!'   (ibid.: 109)

(5) a.   *¡No habla!   [true imperative]
          neg talk-2sg-imp
          'Don't talk!'   (ibid.: 109)

    b.   *¡No hablad!   [true imperative]
          neg talk-2pl-imp
          'Don't talk!'   (ibid.: 109)

(6) a.   ¡No hables!   [suppletive imperative]
          neg talk-2sg-subj
          'Don't talk!'   (ibid.: 109)

    b.   ¡No habléis!   [suppletive imperative]
          neg talk-2pl-subj
          'Don't talk!'   (ibid.: 110)

In Spanish, both 2nd person singular and 2nd person plural imperatives are true imperatives (as in (4)), and neither of them can be negated (as in (5)). The verbal forms employed for negative imperatives in Spanish are subjunctive ones (as in (6)).

Next, let us consider (7) and (8), which are from Piedmontese and German respectively:

(7)   Parla nen!   [true imperative]
      talk-2sg-imp neg
      'Don't talk!'   (Zanuttini 1997: 111)

(8) a.   Schreib nicht!   [true imperative]
          write-2sg-imp neg
          'Don't write!'   (Han 1998: 15)

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[1] Other languages exhibiting this pattern include Catalan, Sardinian, Modern Greek, Arabic, and Japanese.

   b.   Schreibt nicht!   [true imperative]

      write-2pl-imp neg

      'Don't write!'   (ibid.: 15)

In these languages, the sentential negative markers co-occur with true imperative verbs.[2] Note here that the difference between Italian and Spanish on the one hand, and Piedmontese and German on the other hand, is the positioning of negative markers: in the former class of languages, negative markers appear pre-verbally, whereas they appear post-verbally in the latter class of languages. Thus, this observation leads us to the provisional generalization that pre-verbal negative markers do not co-occur with true imperative forms of verbs, while post-verbal negative markers do. Through examination of data from other languages, however, Zanuttini (1997) further refines this generalization.

     First, there are some languages where a pre-verbal negative marker co-occurs with a true imperative verb. See the French and Wallon imperatives in (9) and (10) below:

(9)   Ne mange pas!   [true imperative]

      neg eat-2sg-imp neg

      'Don't eat!'   (Zanuttini 1997: 112)

(10) Nu l'houke nin!   [true imperative]

      neg him-call-2sg-imp neg

      'Don't call him!'   (ibid.: 112)

In these languages the pre-verbal negative markers are necessarily accompanied by a post-verbal one. These pre-verbal negative markers cannot function as sentential negation by themselves.

     Second, in some languages auxiliary verbs in a true imperative form appear in negative imperatives and do co-occur with a pre-verbal negative marker. This point is illustrated in the following examples from Paduan:[3]

(11) a. No stá parlare!   [true imperative]

       neg aux-2sg-imp talk-inf

       'Don't talk!'   (Zanuttini 1997: 119)

     b. No sté parlare! [true imperative]

        neg aux-2pl-imp talk-inf

        'Don't talk!'   (ibid.: 119)

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[2] Other languages which behave in the same way as Piedmontese and German include Valdotain, Milanese, and Quebec French.

This auxiliary verb can also be used as a main verb meaning "stay," but when used as a main verb it cannot appear in negative imperatives.[4]

The data surveyed so far led Zanuttini to the following generalization:

(12)   Generalization (Zanuttini 1997: 121)

(In Romance) pre-verbal negative markers that can negate a clause by themselves do not co-occur with true imperative forms of main verbs, but do co-occur with true imperative forms of auxiliaries. Post-verbal negative markers do not exhibit any such restriction.[5]

On the basis of her examination of Romance languages, Zanuttini states her generalization as one limited to these languages, but I believe that it has a wider coverage (see (8) and fn's. 1 and 2). If so, it would be intriguing to consider on the one hand why we have such a generalization, and on the other why there are languages that appear to be exceptions to it. Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian belong to the class of languages that represents such exceptions as shown in the following examples. Here true imperative main verbs co-occur with a pre-verbal negative marker that stands as a sentential negation by itself:

(13) a.   Ne četi!   [true imperative]
           neg read-2sg-imp
           'Don't read!'   (Han 1998: 16)

      b.   Ne četete!   [true imperative]
           neg read-2pl-imp
           'Don't read!'   (ibid.: 16)

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[3] True imperative auxiliary verbs are also found in Friulian, Trentino, Emiliano, among others.

[4] Kayne (1992) claims that a covert counterpart of true imperative auxiliary verbs appears in suppletive imperatives employing infinitival forms as in (3). Similarly, Zanuttini (1997) claims that in Pugliese, in which the suppletive forms employed in negative imperatives are gerundive, a covert auxiliary takes the gerundive verb as its complement.

[5] In this generalization, the (in)compatibility between negative markers and imperative verbs is stated in terms of their linear ordering. The more precise statement, however, must be made in terms of their relative height in the phrase structure. As shown below, in Japanese a post-verbal negative marker cannot co-occur with a true imperative verb:
(i)   *Anata-no pen-o   mottekoi   nai!
        your   pen-Acc bring-imp   neg
        'Don't bring me your pen!'
Since Japanese is a head-final language, assuming the negative marker *nai* occupies the head position of NegP, which is located above VP, (i) shows that true imperative verbs are incompatible with c-commanding negative markers, rather than preceding ones.

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(14) a. Ne čitaj!   [true imperative]
         neg read-2sg-imp
         'Don't read!'   (ibid.: 16)

     b. Ne čitajte!   [true imperative]
         neg read-2pl-imp
         'Don't read!'   (ibid.: 16)

To summarize, at least five issues arise concerning the (in)compatibility between imperatives and sentential negation:

(15) Issues
      a. Why are true imperatives incompatible with a pre-verbal negative marker in some languages (e.g. Italian and Spanish)?
      b. Why are suppletive imperatives compatible with a pre-verbal negative marker?
      c. Why are true imperative auxiliary verbs compatible with a pre-verbal negative marker?
      d. Why are true imperatives compatible with a post-verbal negative marker?
      e. Why are true imperatives compatible with a pre-verbal negative marker in some languages (e.g. Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian)?

In the next section I will review two previous studies, Zanuttini (1997) and Han (1998), and show that neither of them succeeds in dealing with all of the issues in (15).

3. Previous Studies

3. 1. Zanuttini (1997)

In order to account for the generalization (12), Zanuttini (1997) adopts the following basic assumptions:

(16) Assumptions
      a. Phrase structure with MoodP (cf. Cinque 1999)
      b. The features of $Mood^0$ must be checked when Neg^0 takes MoodP as its complement.
      c. i.   True imperative main verbs cannot check the mood features.
          ii. True imperative auxiliary verbs can check the mood features.
          iii. Suppletive imperative verbs can check the mood features.

The empirical basis on which Zanuttini assumes (16ci) and (16ciii) is the fact that, comparing the morphology of true imperative verbs and that of suppletive ones in Romance languages, the former, unlike the latter, lacks specifications for mood.

On the assumption (16a), we have partial structures (17a) and (17b) for positive imperatives and negative imperatives respectively:

(17) a. $[_{CP}$ C^0 ... $[_{MoodP}$ $Mood^0$ ... $[_{VP}$ V^0 ... $]]]$
     b. $[_{CP}$ C^0 ... $[_{NegP}$ Neg^0 $[_{MoodP}$ $Mood^0$ ... $[_{VP}$ V^0 ... $]]]]$

In positive imperatives, there is no NegP, and mood features need not be checked. Hence true imperative main verbs, which cannot check the features, can appear. In contrast, in negative imperatives, because of the presence of NegP, the mood features must be checked and therefore true imperative main verbs cannot appear. True imperative auxiliary verbs and suppletive imperative verbs can appear in negative imperatives without problem since they check the mood features on the assumptions (16cii) and (16ciii).

This analysis gives rise to some problems. The first problem arises with the assumption (16ci). It is supposed that the reason true imperative main verbs cannot check the mood features is that they carry no matching features. If we naturally take "imperative" to be a type of "mood," however, that assumption seems intuitively quite unnatural, because it amounts to saying that true imperative verbs do not carry imperative features, while suppletive imperatives do.

Second, the empirical basis on which the assumptions (16ci) and (16ciii) are made is dubious in cross-linguistic terms. The difference between true and suppletive imperatives cannot always be characterized in terms of mood specifications. As pointed out by Benmamoun (2000), in Arabic, true imperative verbs are not different from suppletive ones with respect to mood, yet the former cannot co-occur with a negative marker nevertheless.[6]

The third problem is that, as recognized by Zanuttini herself, her analysis cannot deal with the issue (15e). In other words, it does not predict the existence of the languages such as Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian in which true imperatives are compatible with sentential negation.

On the basis of the problems pointed out above, I conclude that the analysis reviewed in this section is not plausible.[7]

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[6] In Arabic, two types of imperatives differ in terms of person agreement (Benmamoun 2000).
[7] In addition to the problems pointed out in the text, Zanuttini's analysis depends on several

3. 2. Han (1998)

Han (1998) makes one important observation concerning the interpretation of negative imperatives. Consider the following sentences:

(18) a. Don't call!
    b. It is required that you not call.
    c. It is not required that you call.   (Han 1998: 40)

As a paraphrase of the imperative sentence (18a), (18b), but not (18c), is appropriate. This shows that in the interpretation of negative imperatives the imperative mood necessarily takes scope over negation and the reverse scope relation is impossible. On the basis of this observation, Han claims that the (in)compatibility between imperatives and negation can be explained in interpretive terms, that is, when negative markers cannot co-occur with imperative verbs, they are located in a structural position from where they take scope over the imperative mood.

Han's basic assumptions are the following:

(19) a. The imperative operator encoding the imperative mood is located in C^0, attracting the imperative verb.
    b. When the imperative verb adjoins to C^0, it inherits all the features of the imperative operator in C^0.
    c. Kayne's (1994: 16) definition of c-command: X c-commands Y iff X and Y are categories and X excludes Y (i.e., no segment of X dominates Y) and every category that dominates X dominates Y.

In what follows, let us see in turn how the issues in (15) are dealt with on these assumptions.

Let us begin with the issues (15a), (15b) and (15d). In Italian and Spanish, verbs precede clitics in imperative sentences, as shown in (20) and (21) respectively:

(20) a. Telefona le!
      call-sg-imp her
      'Call her!'   (Han 1998: 36)
    b. *Le telefona!
      her call-sg-imp
      'Call her!'   (ibid.: 36)

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ill-motivated stipulations. For example, the assumptions (16b) and (16cii) are merely stipulated.

(21) a.   ¡Lée lo!
　　　　read-2sg-imp it
　　　　'Read it!'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(ibid.: 36)

　　　b.   *¡Lo lée!
　　　　it read-2sg-imp
　　　　'Read it!'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(ibid.: 36)

Since in these languages verbs follow clitics in non-imperative sentences, the verb-clitic order in imperative sentences is assumed to be a consequence of verb movement to C^0, driven by a strong feature of the imperative operator in C^0.   In negative imperatives, on the way to C^0, a verb adjoins to a pre-verbal negative marker and the V^0-Neg^0 complex raises to C^0 as a unit, so that the resulting configuration is like (22) below:

(22)

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            CP
           /  \
         C⁰    IP
        /  \
      I⁰    C⁰
     /  \
  Neg⁰   I⁰
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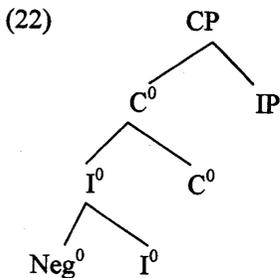
Han (1998) stipulates that the verb occupies the I^0 position in (22).[8]   On the assumption (19b), the verb in I^0 inherits the features of the imperative operator in C^0, and, according to Kayne's definition of c-command (19c), Neg^0 c-commands I^0, but not vice versa.   This means that negation takes scope over imperative mood in Italian or Spanish negative imperatives.   However, such a scope relation is impossible in interpretive terms, as mentioned above.   Therefore true imperative (main) verbs cannot co-occur with pre-verbal negative markers in those languages.   In contrast, since no imperative operator is generated in C^0 in suppletive imperatives, the impossible scope relation does not occur and suppletive imperatives can be negated.   Moreover, in languages with post-verbal negative markers, verbs do not adjoin to the negative markers on the way to C^0, so that the imperative mood always takes scope over sentential negation.   This is why true imperative verbs can co-occur with post-verbal negative markers.

　　　Next, let us turn to the issue (15c).   Han claims that true imperative auxiliary verbs behave in the same way as an Italian deontic modal verb *devere* with respect to scope

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[8] It is mysterious that the verb is not supposed to be adjoined to Neg^0.   We see later that Han's analysis bears several problems, even if we turn a blind eye to this point.

interaction with negation.　See (23) below:

(23) a.　Non devo parlare con te.

　　　　neg must speak-inf to you

　　b.　'I must not speak to you.'　(Mod > Neg)

　　c.　'I don't have to speak to you.' (Neg > Mod)　　　(Han 1998: 61)

(23a) has two interpretations.　In one interpretation, modality encoded by *devo* takes scope over negation, and in the other interpretation, we have the reverse scope relation.　The point here is that *devo* may take wide scope although it is c-commanded by the negative marker *non*, as seen from the surface order.　Supposing that true imperative auxiliary verbs also may somehow take scope over the negation that c-commands it, their co-occurrence with pre-verbal negative markers is unproblematic.　Although they move to C^0 and are c-commanded by the negation in a configuration like (22), they can take wider scope than the c-commanding negation like *devere*, so that the sentence is assigned a licit interpretation as a negative imperative.

　　　　Finally let us see Han's solution to the issue (15e).　She supposes that in the languages in which true imperative verbs are compatible with pre-verbal negative markers, the verbs do not move to C^0.　See (24) and (25) below, which are from Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian respectively:

(24) a.　Četi ja!

　　　　read-2sg-imp it

　　　　'Read it!'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Han 1998: 46)

　　b.　Ela i mi kaži!

　　　　come-2sg-imp and me tell-2sg-imp

　　　　'Come and tell me!'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(ibid.: 46)

(25) a.　Čitaj je!

　　　　read-2sg-imp it

　　　　'Read it!'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(ibid.: 46)

　　b.　Knjige im čitajte!

　　　　books to-them read-2pl-imp

　　　　'Read books to them!'　　　　　　　　　　　　　(ibid.: 46)

Although the verbs precede the clitics in the *a* examples, as in Italian and Spanish, in the *b* examples their orders are the other way round.　The difference between the *a* and *b* examples is that in the latter some phrases other than the verbs precede the clitics.　Han's claim, which is based on Embick and Izvorski (1997), is that the positions occupied by the verbs are the

same, or I^0, and the verb-clitic order in the *a* example is a result of post-syntactic clitic-lowering, which is driven by the morphological requirement that clitics in those languages not appear in the first position. The verbs do not move to C^0 because the feature of the imperative operator in C^0 is weak in those languages. Remember that negation takes scope over imperative mood in languages such as Italian and Spanish because the verbs adjoin to C^0 and inherit the features of the imperative operator. If the verbs do not move to C^0 as in Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian, the negation cannot take scope over the imperative mood. Therefore true imperative verbs can co-occur with pre-verbal negative markers in those languages.

Han's analysis reviewed so far is not problem-free. First, although this analysis predicts that if true imperative verbs move to C^0 in a certain language, they cannot co-occur with pre-verbal negative markers, this is not the case. There are languages in which true imperative verbs are compatible with pre-verbal negative markers although they move to C^0. The following Old English example illustrates this point:

(26) Ne murn ðu for ði mece
       neg sorrow-2sg-imp you for the sword
       'Don't sorrow for the sword!' (*Waldere i* 24)   [Mitchell 1985]

Since the verb in the true imperative form precedes the subject, it must be located in C^0. Contrary to the prediction, however, it co-occurs with the pre-verbal negative marker *ne*.[9]

The second problem arises with the argument that suppletive imperatives are compatible with sentential negation because imperative operators are not generated in those sentences. There are cases in which we must suppose that imperative operators are generated under C^0 in suppletive imperatives. Consider the following Italian suppletive imperative sentence:

(27) Telefonatele tutti i giorni!
       call-2pl-ind her all the days
       'Call her every day!'   (Zanuttini 1997: 106)

Here the suppletive imperative verb precedes the clitic. Since verbs follow clitics in Italian non-imperative sentences, as mentioned above, the verb-clitic order shows that the verb undergoes V-to-C movement. If so, the only reasonable trigger of this movement is the

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[9] Han's analysis makes another prediction: if true imperative verbs do not move to C^0 in a certain language, they can co-occur with pre-verbal negative markers. If Japanese lacks verb raising, as suggested in, for example, Fukui and Takano (1998), it makes a further counterexample, because in Japanese true imperatives are incompatible with sentential negation, as seen in fn.5.

strong feature of the imperative operator, which is assumed to be generated in C^0. In order to rescue sentences like (27), some stipulation must be made (see Han (1998: 60)).

Finally, the account of true imperative auxiliary verbs also seems problematic. Han assumes that they can be negated because they can take wider scope than a c-commanding negative marker, like Italian modal verb *devere*. This assumption is, however, not tenable. See (28) below, which is from Italian:

(28)   Non ha force fatto una gaffe.
        Neg has perhaps made a blunder
        'He/she hasn't perhaps made a blunder.'   (Neg > Adv, Adv > Neg)

                                                    (Cinque 1999: 123)

The point here is that (28), like (23a), has two readings and in one of them the adverb takes scope over the negation. According to Cinque (1999), the Italian negative marker *non* is base-generated lower than the adverbs and the modal verbs, and it can be interpreted either in its surface position and in its base-position. If so, the scope ambiguity of sentences like (23a) may be due to the property of the negative marker, not the property of *devere*. There is a possibility that *devere* is interpreted just in its base-position, and the same is true of imperative auxiliaries if they are like *devere*. If the true imperative auxiliaries could co-occur with pre-verbal c-commanding negative markers because the latter could be interpreted lower than their surface position, not because the former could be interpreted higher than their surface position, true imperative main verbs could also co-occur with the negative markers. Therefore, it cannot be said that the difference between the two types of verbs is not explained.

4. A Proposal

In what follows, I present my own analysis, which owes its basic idea to Han (1998), that the incompatibility between true imperatives and sentential negation is explained in interpretive terms. The main claim is that imperative clause type feature [IMP], which corresponds to Han's imperative operator, resides not only in C^0 but also in true imperative verbs, and it is the [IMP] carried by the verbs that must take scope over negation. Let us see in turn how the issues (15a-e) are treated under this idea.

Issue (15a)   As mentioned above, I suppose that the clause type feature [IMP] is located in true imperative verbs as well as C^0. Therefore, the relevant representations of positive and negative forms of true imperatives are like (29a) and (29b) respectively (I tentatively adopt Zanuttini's (1997) phrase structure with MoodP, but this decision is not crucial to my analysis):

(29) a. $[_{CP}$ [IMP] ... $[_{MoodP}$ Mood^0 ... $[_{VP}$ V^0[IMP] ...]]]

b. $[_{CP}$ [IMP] ... $[_{NegP}$ Neg^0 $[_{MoodP}$ Mood^0 ... $[_{VP}$ V^0[IMP] ...]]]]

Departing from Chomsky (1995: ch.4), but following Chomsky (1998), I assume here that the clause type features in C^0 are –Interpretable.[10]   Thus, the [IMP] in C^0 is invisible to semantic interpretation including scope relation, so that if negation takes scope over the feature, it gives rise to no problem.   In contrast, the [IMP] in the verbs, which I assume to be +Interpretable, must take scope over negation so that the sentence can receive an appropriate interpretation.

As seen above, in languages such as Italian and Spanish, the [IMP] features in C^0 are strong and as such must be checked overtly.   Following Zanuttini (1997), but unlike Han (1998), I assume that this strong feature is checked by the relevant feature of V in positive imperatives and that of Neg in negative ones (Zanuttini 1997: 142).   This leads one to predict that the relative "height" of the verbs is different in positive and negative imperatives, and this is actually the case.   Compare (20) and (21), repeated here as (30) and (31), on the one hand and (32) and (33) on the other ((30) and (32) are from Italian and (31) and (33) are from Spanish):

(30) a.   Telefona le!
　　　　　call-sg-imp her
　　　　　'Call her!'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(Han 1998: 36)
　　　b.   *Le telefona!
　　　　　her call-sg-imp
　　　　　'Call her!'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(ibid.: 36)

(31) a.   ¡Lée lo!
　　　　　read-2sg-imp it
　　　　　'Read it!'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(ibid.: 36)
　　　b.   *¡Lo lée!
　　　　　it read-2sg-imp
　　　　　'Read it!'　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　(ibid.: 36)

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[10] Unlike Chomsky (1998), I tentatively maintain the notion of feature strength for the sake of expository convenience (see fn.13).

(32) a. *Non fate lo![11]

      neg do-2pl-ind it

      'Don't do it!'   (ibid.: 59)

  b. Non lo fate!

      neg it do-2pl-ind

      'Don't do it!'   (ibid.: 59)

(33) a. *¡No deis me el libro!

      neg give-2pl-subj me the book

      'Don't give me the book!'   (ibid.: 54)

  b. ¡No me deis el libro!

      neg me give-2pl-subj the book

      'Don't give me the book!'   (ibid.: 54)

These examples show that the V-clitic order, which is required in positive imperatives, is not permitted in negative imperatives. This difference in the ordering of verbs and clitics can be naturally explained if we assume that the verbs are located higher in positive imperatives than in negative ones.

    Now consider the scope relation between the sentential negation and the [IMP] carried by the verb in (29b). It is clear that the former c-commands and takes scope over the latter. Because this scope relation fails to receive an appropriate semantic interpretation, the negative true imperatives are unacceptable. The positive true imperatives do not face the same difficulty, simply because they do not contain sentential negation. It should be noted that the analysis proposed here is compatible with Cinque's claim that sentential negation in Italian is interpreted in the base-position because it c-commands the imperative verb in the base-position as well, as shown in (29b).

    Issue (15b) It is possible to negate suppletive imperatives since suppletive imperative verbs carry no +Interpretable [IMP] feature.

    Issue (15c) The reason why true imperative auxiliary verbs can co-occur with negative markers are the same as the suppletive imperative verbs: they do not bear the +Interpretable [IMP]. I adopt Chomsky's (1993) view that auxiliary verbs are invisible at LF because they do not contribute to semantic interpretation, and suppose that the [IMP], which must be interpreted at LF, is incompatible with the auxiliary verbs.

    At this point, one might ask how the suppletive imperatives and true imperatives with auxiliary verbs, which do not contain any +Interpretable clause type feature, can be interpreted as imperative sentences. One possibility is pursued in Han (1998). Under her analysis, subjunctives and infinitives used in matrix contexts encode irrealis interpretation,

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[11] This sentence is acceptable in central and southern Italian varieties (see Zanuttini (1997: note 67)).

which enables the sentences to express the imperative illocutionary force. True imperatives with auxiliary verbs might be analyzed in a similar way.

Issue (15d) Post-verbal negative markers can co-occur with true imperative verbs because the former are located lower than, and do not c-command, the latter.

Issue (15e) It is well-known that in OE, in which true imperative verbs can co-occur with a pre-verbal negative marker as seen above, the negative marker *ne* cliticizes to the verbs. I assume that this cliticization results from adjunction of the verb to the negative marker, forming a structure like the following:

(34)

$$
\begin{array}{ccc}
 & Neg^0 & \\
 & \diagup\diagdown & \\
Neg^0 & & V^0[IMP]
\end{array}
$$
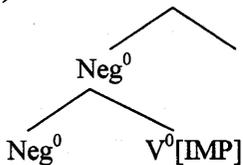
Here Neg^0 does not c-command [IMP] according to Kayne's definition of c-command, because the former does not exclude the latter (see (19c) above). This is why true imperatives are compatible with sentential negation in OE.

This line of analysis for the compatibility between true imperatives and sentential negation can be extended to other languages such as Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian. Consider the following negative imperatives from those languages (Serbo-Croatian in (35) and Bulgarian in (36)):

(35) Ne čitaj je!
   neg read-2sg-imp it
    'Don't read it!'   (Han 1998: 46)

(36) Ne ja četi!
    neg it read-2sg-imp
    'Don't read it!'   (ibid.: 46)

I adopt Han's (1998) assumption that the positioning of clitics in those languages is determined by the morphological requirement that they not appear in the sentence initial position.[12] Therefore, the derivation of the sentences in (35) and (36) proceeds as follows: in the narrow syntax, the imperative verbs raise and adjoin to Neg^0 (as shown in (37) below) and form the adjunction structure as in (34), where Neg^0 does not c-command the verb and hence

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[12] In Bulgarian, the clitics must be located in the second position, while such a restriction is not enforced in Serbo-Croatian.

the [IMP] feature (neither the verbs nor the negative markers raise up to C^0 since the [IMP] under C^0 is weak in the languages in question. Remember the discussion in Han (1998));[13] in the PF component, the relevant phonological rules locate the clitics in the post-verbal position in Serbo-Croatian and between the negative marker and the verb in Bulgarian.

(37) $[_{CP}$ [IMP] ... $[_{NegP}$ Neg^0 $[_{MoodP}$ Mood^0 ... $[_{VP}$ V^0[IMP] ...]]]]
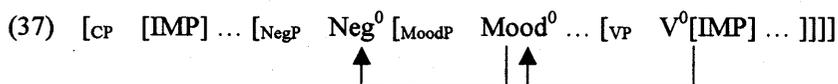
5. Conclusion

In this paper, I have examined Zanuttini's (1997) generalization (12) about the incompatibility between sentential negation and true imperatives and proposed that the five issues the generalization raises (15a-e) can be resolved by taking the scope relation between the imperative mood and negation into account. On the basis of Han's (1998) observation that in the interpretation of negative imperatives imperative mood necessarily takes scope over negation and that the reverse scope relation is impossible, it has been argued that true imperative verbs carry a clause type feature [IMP], which encodes the imperative mood, and that this feature must not be c-commanded by the sentential negation; otherwise, the sentence fails to receive an appropriate interpretation.

In the above discussion, we have seen that the incompatibility of true imperatives with sentential negation leads to the change in the forms of verbs (from true imperative forms to suppletive ones). In some languages such as Yokuts, however, that incompatibility leads to the change in the forms of negative markers (Sadock & Zwicky 1985).[14] In those languages, negative markers which are peculiar to imperative sentences and different in the forms from negative markers expressing sentential negation are used in negative imperatives. Those "prohibition markers" can co-occur with true imperative verbs without problem simply because it is sentential negation that must not take scope over the imperative mood and the "prohibition markers" do not encode the sentential negation.

Finally, one statement about possible theoretical implication of this research is in order. In Chomsky (1995: 289), the interrogative clause type feature Q that is generated in C^0 is

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[13] In fact, we should suppose in a minimalist spirit that the [IMP] in C^0 does not exist in the sentences as in (35) and (36) because this feature is uninterpretable and weak and does not have any effect on LF nor PF. If so, it may be possible to remove the notion of feature strength from the analysis being argued for: the uninterpretable [IMP] is generated in a clause if and only if it drives overt movement.

[14] According to Sadock and Zwicky (1985), in roughly half of the 23 languages that they investigate, verbal forms used in positive imperatives are different from ones used in negative imperatives; the number of the languages in which forms of negative markers used in imperatives and ones used in non-imperatives are different also amounts to about half; and the number of the languages that belong to one or both of the above two types amounts to three-quarters.

assumed to be +Interpretable, whereas in Chomsky (1998: 44) it is assumed to be −Interpretable. The reason for this shift is purely theory-internal and that it should be empirically supported. Remember that in this paper I have supposed essentially following Chomsky (1998) that the imperative clause type feature [IMP] that is generated in C^0 is, unlike the one carried by true imperative verbs, −Interpretable and invisible to semantic interpretation. Suppose it is +Interpretable and as such must not be c-commanded by sentential negation. As discussed in the previous section, in Italian and Spanish negative imperatives, the negative markers raise to C^0 to check the strong [IMP] feature, forming an adjunction structure like the following:

(38)

```
              CP
             /  \
          C⁰     \
         /  \
      Neg⁰   C⁰[IMP]
```
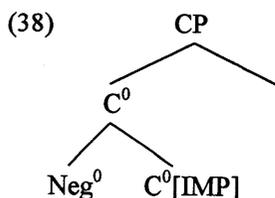
In (38) Neg^0 c-commands [IMP] according to Kayne's definition of c-command, which is adopted here, so that it is wrongly predicted that the Italian and Spanish negative imperatives are unacceptable whether the verbs take the true imperative form or suppletive imperative form. Thus it turns out that, for the analysis advanced here to work, the [IMP] in C^0 must be supposed to be −Interpretable. This means that, to the extent that this analysis succeeds, it supports the move from Chomsky (1995) to Chomsky (1998).[15]

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[15] Watanabe (2000) presents empirical evidence which favors Chomsky (1998) over Chomsky (1995) from a different angle.

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