Not in the first place:
or when and why negative markers may not occur in CP

Abstract
In this paper I discuss two phenomena concerning the syntax and semantic of sentence-initial negation: the ban on True Negative Imperatives (TNIs) that is attested in many languages and the ban on single negative markers in sentence-initial position in V-to-C languages.

I argue, following Han (2001), that both phenomena can be explained on the basis of the following three well-motivated assumptions (i) the assumption that features that encode the illocutionary force of a speech act are hosted on V_{fin} in C° and that therefore speech act operators take scope from C°; (ii) the assumption that operators that encode illocutionary force may not be operated on by a (semantic) negation; and (iii) the Head Movement Constraint (cf. Travis (1984)), an instance of relativized minimality (cf. Rizzi (1989)).

Furthermore, I argue that on the basis of these assumptions it is correctly predicted that all languages where such a negative marker is both semantically negative and a syntactic head ban TNIs and that every language that bans TNIs exhibits an overt negative marker X°. More specifically, this entails that all Non-strict Negative Concord languages must ban TNIs.

Finally, I also show that on the basis of these assumptions it follows as well that no negative material may dominate the illocutionary features in C° and that therefore negative material may only appear in Spec,CP provided that it can be reconstructed at LF. This is only the case whenever this negative material is of form of [NEG XP] or a negative quantifier, or when the sentence-initial negative marker is solely fronted as part of a process of partial topicalisation.

1 Introduction: two phenomena

As negation is an operator that applies to complete propositions, one might perhaps expect negative markers to appear in sentence-initial position. However, negative markers cross-linguistically rather tend to occur in the so-called middle field of the clause (cf. Payne (1985) and Horn (1989)). In fact, in several cases negation is even banned from sentence-initial position. In this paper I discuss two such cases: (i) the ban on True Negative Imperatives that is attested in many languages and (ii) the ban on single negative markers in sentence-initial position in V2 languages.

In this paper I argue that both phenomena can be explained in a unified way as a result of the interplay between the syntactic and semantic status of negative markers and the fact that operators that encode the illocutionary force of a speech act take scope from C°.

In this section I first introduce these two phenomena. In subsection 1.1, I discuss what is meant by the ban on True Negative Imperatives and in subsection 1.2, I introduce some data concerning the ban on single negative markers in sentence-initial

position in V2 languages. After that, in subsection 1.3, I present an outline of the structure of the rest of the paper and the explanation I provide.

1.1 The ban on True Negative Imperatives

The first phenomenon addressed in this paper is that not every language accepts so-called True Negative Imperatives (TNIs).[1] What is meant by TNIs is exemplified in (1) and (2) for Dutch and Polish respectively. In Dutch main clauses the finite verb precedes the negative marker *niet* ((1)a). In imperative clauses, where the finite verb is in V1 position ((1)b), the negation also follows the finite imperative verb without yielding ungrammaticality ((1)c). Therefore, Dutch is said to allow TNIs: the sentence with the imperative verb can be negated in the same way indicative sentences are negated. The same holds for Polish. In Polish, the negative marker always precedes the finite verb. This does not only holds for indicative verbs, but also for imperative verbs. As (2) shows, sentences with indicative and imperative verbs are negated in the same way. Polish is thus a language that allows TNIs too.

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

b. Slaap!
Sleep!
'Sleep'

b. Slaap *niet*! — (TNI)
Sleep NEG!
'Don't sleep!'

(2) a. (Ty) *nie* pracujesz — Polish
You 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 ((3)a). However, if the verb has an imperative form as in (3)b, it may not be combined with this negative marker ((3)c). Spanish does not allow TNIs. In order to express the illocutionary force of an

[1] Terminology after Zanuttini (1994)

imperative[2], the imperative verb must be replaced by a subjunctive ((3)d). Such constructions are called Surrogate Negative Imperatives (SNIs).[3]

(3)	a.	Tu *no* lees	Spanish
		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'	

This immediately leads to two questions: (i) how can this ban on TNIs in languages such as Spanish be explained? And (ii) how does the attested cross-linguistic variation follow?

1.2 The ban on single negative markers in sentence-initial position in V2 languages

In V2 languages (such as Dutch, German or Swedish), negative expressions, including those containing negative markers, are in principle allowed to occur in sentence-initial position (i.e. in Spec,CP), as shown in (4)-(5).

(4)	a.	*Niemand* komt	Dutch
		Nobody comes	
		'Nobody comes'	
	b.	*Niet* iedereen komt	
		NEG everybody comes	
		'Not everybody comes'	
	c.	*Nooit* neem ik een hond	
		Never take I a dog	
		'I'll never have a dog'	

(5)	a.	*Niet* Marie heb ik gebeld, maar Jan	Dutch
		Neg Marie have I called, but Jan	
		'I didn't call Marie (but Jan)'	

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

[3] See Van den Auwera 2005 (and references therein) for many more examples of languages that ban TNIs and the way those languages express SNIs.

b. *Niet* kippen hebben vier poten, maar koeien
NEG chickens have four legs, but cows
'Chickens don't have four legs, cows do'

However, the occurrence of single *niet* ('NEG') is banned in this position. Sentence (6) is ruled out:

(6) **Niet* komt Jan — Dutch
NEG comes Jan
'John doesn't come'

All V2-languages in principle ban single negative markers in Spec,CP, although, as I will discuss in section 3, some particular contexts allow for exceptions. This means that in those languages that exhibit V-to-C movement in main clauses, single negative markers are not allowed to occupy this position, but complex expressions including negation ('not XP') are, as is illustrated for German and Swedish below.

(7) a. **Nicht* hat er Hans gesehen — German
NEG has he Hans seen
'He didn't see Hans'
b. *Keiner* hat das gemacht
Nobody has that done
'Nobody did that'
c. *Nicht* Hans hat er gesehen, sondern Peter
NEG Hans has he seen, but Peter
'He didn't see Hans, but peter'

(8) a. **Inte* var det Selma — Swedish
NEG was it Selma
'It wasn't Selma'
b. *Inte* all kom till festen
NEG all came to party.the
'Not everybody came to the party'
c. *Inte* Selma utan Sven var det — (Brandtler 2006)
NEG Selma but Sven was it
'It wasn't Selma but Sven'

The fact that constructions like (4) and (5) are plainly grammatical, whereas constructions like (6) are not, indicates that the following generalisations be correct: a negative marker (NM) may only appear in Spec,CP if it selects an additional XP complement; negative quantifiers (NQs) can always appear in Spec,CP

(9) *[$_{CP}$ NM [$_{C°}$ V_{fin}]]

(10) [$_{CP}$ [NM XP] / [NQ] [$_{C°}$ V_{fin}]]

This leads to the following questions: why is (9) ruled out whereas (10) is permitted?

1.3 Outline

The general aim of this paper is to show that both phenomena are to be explained as a result of the interaction between features that encode the illocutionary force of a speech act and features that are responsible for the expression of negation.

In section 2, I return to the ban on TNIs. After discussing some previous analyses, I argue, following Han's (2001) account, that this ban follows from the fact that no semantically active negative marker may stand in such a syntactic relation (dominance/c-command) that it semantically outscopes the feature in C° that encodes the illocutionary force of a speech act and that it correctly predicts that all languages where such a semantically negative marker is a syntactic head ban TNIs. Furthermore, I show that a current problem for Han's analysis is resolved, once it is assumed that negative markers vary cross-linguistically with respect to their semantic status (semantically negative vs. semantically non-negative), as has been proposed by Zeijlstra (2004).

In section 3 I will extend the analysis presented in section 2 to the ban on single negative markers in sentence-initial position in V-to-C languages. I argue that this ban also results from the fact that no negative material is allowed to dominate the illocutionary features in C° and that therefore negative material may only appear in Spec,CP provided that it can be reconstructed at LF.

Section 4, finally, concludes the paper.

2 The ban on True Negative Imperatives

This section presents a full explanation of the ban on TNIs and is set up as follows. First, in subsection 2.1, I discuss three previous accounts for the ban on TNIs: first Rivero's (1994) and Rivero and Terzi's (1995) account, second Zanuttini's (1997) account and then Han's (2001) account. I argue that whereas the first two accounts face serious difficulties, Han's account is correct for the analysis of Romance languages, but fails to be extended to e.g. Slavic languages, where TNIs are accepted despite their negative markers being syntactic heads. I demonstrate that this problem, however, disappears once Zeijlstra's (2004) claim that negative markers are not always semantically negative, is adopted.

For that reason I take a short detour in subsection 2.2 to discuss different semantic and syntactic types of negative markers. Crucial in this respect is that negative markers do not necessarily have to be the carrier of semantic negation, an assumption for which I present some novel arguments.

In subsection 2.3, I argue that adopting Han's (2001) analysis in combination with a proper treatment of the semantics and syntax of negative markers explains both the ban on TNIs as well as its cross-linguistic distribution. In this subsection, I show two typological generalisations can be predicted: (i) every language with an overt negative marker X° that is semantically negative bans TNIs; and (ii) every language that bans TNIs exhibits an overt negative marker X°. I demonstrate that both typological predictions are borne out.

2.1 Previous analyses

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

Rivero (1994) and Rivero & Terzi (1995) assume that the clausal spine (of negative sentences) always has structural relations as in (11).

(11) CP > NegP > IP > VP

They further propose that the difference between Slavic languages (which generally allow TNIs) and Romance languages (that generally disallow them) concerns the position where imperative force takes scope in the sentence. This is either IP (expressed by movement of V_{imp} to I°) or CP (expressed by verbal movement to C°). Now the difference between Slavic and Romance languages falls out immediately: if the Neg° position is filled by an overt element, i.e. by a negative marker, then verbal movement from I° to C° is no longer allowed, due to the Head Movement Constraint (Travis (1984)). Hence Slavic languages, such as Polish where the verb is assumed to raise to I°, allow TNIs, whereas Romance languages, such as Italian, where the verb moves to C°, do not (see (12)).

(12) a. $[_{CP}\ [_{NegP}\ [_{Neg°}\ \textit{Nie}]\ [_{IP}\ [_{I°}\ \text{pracuj}_{[IMP]i}]\ [_{VP}\ t_i]]]]$ Polish
NEG work.2SG.IMP
'Don't work!'

b. $*[_{CP}\ [_{C°}\ \text{Parla}_{[IMP]i}]\ [_{NegP}\ [_{Neg°}\ \textit{no}]\ [_{IP}\ [_{I°}\ t_i]\ [_{VP}\ t_i]]]]$ Italian[4]
NEG talk.2SG.IMP
'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 clitisize onto V_{imp} so that they move together to C° as a unit, a point already addressed by Han (2001). Han follows Rizzi (1982) by arguing that in constructions such as (13), which consist of a participle or an infinitive, the subject occupies a Spec,IP position and the auxiliary moves to C°. In case of negation, the negative marker *non* then joins the verb to move to C°. Rizzi refers to these structures as Aux-to-Comp constructions.

(13) a. $[[_{C°}$ avendo] Gianni fatto questo] Italian[5]
having Gianni done this
'Gianni having done this, …'

[4] 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 be 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.

[5] Examples taken from Rizzi (1982). These examples are also discussed in Han (2001)

b. [[$_{C°}$ *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}.[6]

The second problem, also put forward by Han, is that in the structure in (12)a 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 high a position, or the imperative operator takes scope from too low a position.

2.1.2 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°) 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 (14): Italian *non* can negate a clause by itself, French *ne* cannot do so.

(14) 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: Italian *non* hosts a different functional projection in the clausal spine than French *ne* does. As she observes that in all Italian varieties she has studied it seems to holds that every variety that has a negative marker of the *non*-type (i.e. a negative marker that can negate a clause by itself) bans TNIs, she relates the ban on TNIs to particular properties of this functional head.

Moreover, Zanuttini also observes that in several of the varieties where the negative markers that can negate a clause by themselves, these negative markers are sensitive to mood as well. In those varieties quite often negative subjunctives require different negative markers than indicatives, an observation that goes back to Sadock &

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

Zwicky (1985) who studied a larger set of languages. In order to account for the ban on TNIs Zanuttini radicalizes Sadock & Zwicky's observation and assumes that all languages/varieties where negative markers that can negate a clause by themselves always come about in two kinds: negative markers for indicatives and negative markers for non-indicatives (i.e. subjunctives and in principle also imperatives). In those varieties where there seems to be only one negative marker (that can negate a clause by itself), she presumes as well two lexically different negative markers to be present, which happen to be phonologically identical.

Thus, 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 subjunctive or imperative, and *non*-2, which may only appear in indicative clauses. Furthermore, Zanuttini proposes that *non*-1 subcategorizes a MoodP, whereas *non*-2 does not:

(15) a. $[_{NegP}$ *non*-1 $[_{MoodP} \ldots [_{VP}\ ]]]$ subjunctive/imperative clauses
b. $[_{NegP}$ *non*-2 $\ldots [_{VP}\ ]]$ indicative clauses

Now, Zanuttini has to demonstrate why the construction in (15)a is doomed to be ungrammatical when the finite verb has imperative mood. In order to do so, she takes the fact that imperative verbs are often morphologically defective to indicate that they lack any [MOOD] feature. Consequently, the [MOOD] feature on Mood° 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 (16). In subjunctives, the verb is strong enough to check the [MOOD] feature on Mood°.

(16) a. *$[_{NegP}$ *Non*-1 $[_{MoodP}$ $[_{Mood°[Mood]}$ telefona$_{[IMP]i}$] a Gianni $[_{VP}$ $t_i]]]$ Italian
└— x—┘
NEG call.2SG.IMP to Gianni
'Don't call Gianni!'
b. [Io $[_{NegP}$ *non*-2 telefono$_i$ a Gianni $[_{VP}$ $t_i]]]$
I NEG call.1SG to Gianni
'I don't call Gianni'

However, this analysis suffers from three problems. First, the lexical distinction between *non-1* and *non-2* seems not well motivated. The piece of evidence that *non* is lexically ambiguous comes from the observation that in languages that have two distinct negative markers these markers are often sensitive to mood distinctions in the verbal paradigm (cf. Sadock & Zwicky (1985)), resulting in a negative marker that is used in indicatives and one that is used in subjunctives. However, no language-internal evidence is presented for the homophony of two different markers *non*.

Moreover, it is unclear that the negative marker that must appear in imperatives is the same as the one that appears in subjunctives. Take, for instance, Greek, which is a language that exhibits such a mood distinction with respect to negative markers. In Greek the negative marker *dhen* is only used in indicative and the negative marker *mi* only in subjunctive clauses; 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, as the following data from Rivero & Terzi (1995: 304):

(17) a. **Dhen* to diavase! Greek
NEG read.IMP it
'Don't read it!'
b. **Mi* to grapse!
NEG write.IMP it
'Don't write it!'
c. *Mi* to grapsis![7]
NEG it read.SUBJ
'Don't read it!'

Therefore, a priori it cannot be stated that a language like Greek exhibits a negative marker for imperatives/subjunctives on the one hand side and for indicatives on the other hand side; it rather has a negative marker for indicatives and a negative marker for subjunctives and no negative marker for imperatives. Consequently, the fact that several languages have different negative markers for different moods does not hold as an argument for the lexical ambiguity of e.g. Italian *non*, along lines of mood.

Second, as one of the reviewers has remarked, it is doubtful whether imperative verbs actually lack mood features. Morphologically, Greek verbs, for instance do exhibit mood inflection, but rather lack temporal features. Hence, Greek would then be expected to rule in TNIs, contrary to fact. The question thus rises whether the apparent morphological defectiveness of imperatives verb can be taken to indicate that imperative verbs lack [MOOD] features in the first place.

Finally, this analysis is too strong. It predicts that all languages with a negative marker that can negate a clause by itself are languages that ban TNIs. This is, however not correct. Many Slavic languages, such as Polish, have a negative head marker *nie* that negates a clause by itself and allow TNIs. Note that in most Slavic languages the imperative seems to be morphologically defective as well. Zanuttini is aware of these facts and takes her analysis to apply to Romance languages only. However, as acknowledged by Zanuttini, even within Romance one may find varieties, which allow TNIs. Old Italian (18) is an example.

(18) *Ni* ti tormenta di questo! Old Italian[8]
NEG yourself torment.2SG.IMP of this
'Don't torment yourself with this!'

2.1.3 Han (2001)

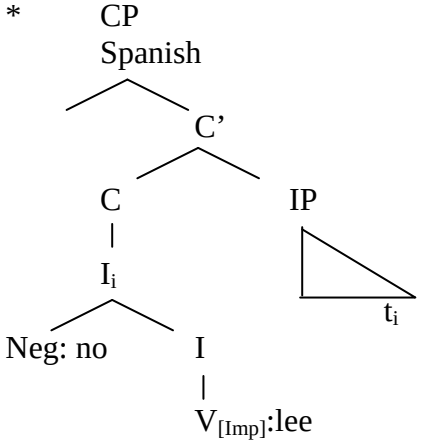
Han (2001), finally, argues that the ban on TNIs does not follow from syntactic requirements that have been violated, but from a semantic violation: the imperative operator (i.e. the operator that encodes the illocutionary force of an imperative, Op_{IMP} hereafter) may not appear in the scope of negation. Op_{IMP} is realised by moving V_{imp},

[7] The position of the pronominal clitic *to* ('it') is related to the imperative/subjunctive distinction. Imperatives require the clitic to appear left-adjoined to the verb; subjunctives require enclitisation.

[8] Example taken from Zanuttini (1997).

carrying a feature [IMP], onto C°. 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°. 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 (19) is thus semantically ill-formed.

(19) *



Under this analysis, it becomes immediately clear why in languages like Dutch TNIs are allowed. In those languages negative markers are phrasal and thus do not block movement of V_{imp} to C°, as illustrated in (20).

(20) $[_{CP}$ slaap$_{[Imp]i}$ $[_{vP}$ *niet* $t_i]]$[9] Dutch

For Slavic languages, Han assumes that V_{imp} does not move to C°. 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°. Thus, Op_{IMP} outscopes negation, as demonstrated in (21) for Polish.

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

Han's analysis however, suffers from one major problem: the fact that Han allows feature movement for the Slavic languages seems to contradict the analysis for Romance languages, since it remains unclear why such feature movement would not be possible in Romance languages. If featural movement can apply in a Slavic languages, nothing bans it from applying in Romance languages as well

It must be noted, though, that this is only problematic for Han as she (tacitly) assumes that negative markers always have the semantics of a negative operator. As I will show in the next subsection, this assumption is, however, too naïve. Instead, I will

[9] In Zeijlstra (2004) it is argued for Dutch that there is no NegP and that the negative marker *niet* occupies a VP-adjunct position (instead of Spec,NegP). Hence, the occurrence of *niet* in vP. Positing *niet* to occupy a Spec,NegP position would not pose any consequences for this analysis, though.

argue further on that once it is adopted that negative markers may be semantically non-negative themselves, this major problem to Han's analysis disappears.

2.1.4 Concluding remarks

To conclude, where the first two analyses that I discussed so far face serious problems, it may be the case that the third analysis is not wrong in the sense that the explanation for the Slavic cases runs against the analysis if the Romance cases, but rather incomplete, as the effects of semantic variation that negative markers cross-linguistically exhibit have not been taken into consideration. Therefore, I first discuss the major semantic and syntactic differences that negative markers exhibit.

2.2 Semantic and syntactic properties of negative markers

In this subsection I focus on the semantic and syntactic differences between negative markers. In the first subsection, I argue, following Zeijlstra (2004), that negative markers cross-linguistically differ with respect to their semantic status. Some negative markers are inherently (i.e. semantically) negative, whereas in other languages negative markers merely indicate the presence of a negative operator, but are themselves semantically vacuous.

In the second subsection I discuss the different syntactic status that negative markers may exhibit. In particular I zoom in on the head-phrasal distinction between negative markers, which has been subject to intensive study over the past decade.

2.2.1 On the semantic status of negative markers

As indicated before, Han's analysis for Slavic languages is problematic on the assumption that negative markers are always semantically negative. In this section, I argue, following Zeijlstra (2004), that this is actually not the case and that, instead, negative markers in Slavic languages, but not in languages like Italian or Spanish, are semantically non-negative. If that claim is correct indeed, then Han's analysis is no longer problematic for Slavic languages, as I will show in section 2.3.

In order to evaluate Zeijlstra's claim that negative markers cary cross-linguistically with respect to their semantic status, I first discuss the original motivation for this claim, and second I provide a number of additional, partly novel, arguments that further support it.

Zeijlstra's (2004) original argument is based in his analysis of Negative Concord (NC), the phenomenon where two negative elements together 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 negative indefinites (or n-words[10] as they are generally called) are always accompanied by the negative marker, regardless whether they follow or precede the negative marker, as is demonstrated for Czech in (22). Note that the semantics of all these examples contains a single semantic negation. In Non-strict NC languages, by contrast, the negative marker accompanies postverbal n-words, but must not accompany preverbal n-words. An example of a Non-strict NC language is Italian (23).

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

(22) 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'

(23) 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 proposed 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]. Sentence (23)a can thus be analysed as (24), where *nessuno*'s [uNEG] feature is checked against *non*'s [iNEG] feature.[11]

[11] Note that the feature checking mechanism implemented here is one where checking takes place between a higher interpretable and a lower uninterpretable feature. At first sight this seems at odds with more standard versions of feature checking under Agree (Chomsky 195, 2001, 2002). However, even under these canonical versions of Agree we find similar checking relations. Case features are for instance checked in this reverse way (albeit it simultaneously with phi-feature checking in the traditional direction), as are focus features and *Wh* features under Rizzi's Criterion approach (where on syntactic grounds the operator must occupy the (highest) specifier position). Also, in Pesetsky & Torrego's (2006) recent approach to Agree, where feature value and feature interpretability are disentangled, interpretable features are also able to check uninterpretable features. Also, Adger (2003) also proposes a series of examples where he argues that different features are checked in different directions. Finally Wurmbrandt (2010) and Zeijlstra (2010) have argued that Agree should always take place in a top-down fashion only.

Given that most versions of Agree, either implicitly or explicitly, allow differences with respect to the direction of feature checking, I take it to be a legitimate step to assume that negative features may only be checked in a top-down fashion, i.e. interpretable negative features must c-command uninterpretable negative features. I

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

Under this analysis that n-words are analysed as semantically non-negative indefinites that carry a feature [uNEG], and that feature checking of negative features can only take place in configurations where [iNEG] features c-command [uNEG] features.[12] It follows that if the negative marker carries a feature [iNEG] no n-word is allowed to c-command/precede it and still yield an NC reading, as feature checking cannot take place in such a configuration.

However, in Strict NC languages, such as Czech, the negative marker may be preceded by an n-word. This then indicates that in these languages the negative marker cannot carry [iNEG] and thus be the phonological realisation of the negative operator. Instead, fully analogously to n-words, in these languages the negative marker itself is taken to carry [uNEG] and that it has its [uNEG] feature checked by an abstract negative operator *Op*$_{\neg}$, that c-commands all other n-words if present, as shown in (25).[13] Note that negative markers in isolation are not the carrier of semantic negation either, but rather force the presence of an abstract negative operator carrying [iNEG] as well.

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

---

prefer to remain agnostic in this article to the direction under which other features are checked, although it deserves mentioning that the only known instances of feature checking that actually seem to require the uninterpretable feature to c-command the interpretable one are instances of phi-feature checking.

[12] See also Ladusaw (1992), Brown (1999) for similar proposals along these lines.

[13] Note that this analysis requires that an abstract *Op*$_{\neg}$ is also available in Non-strict NC languages, for instance in constructions such as (23)c. 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, giving rise to sentences such as *'Gianni ha telefonato a nessuno', which is 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-internal 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. It must be noted, though, that the analysis that semantic anomalies may be responsible for ungrammaticality judgements is not uncontroversial. The reader is referred to Chierchia (2006) for the most recent defence of this line of reasoning and Giannakidou (2010) for a critical evaluation of it.

b. Dnes $Op_{\neg[iNEG]}$ *ne*volá$_{[uNEG]}$
Today NEG.calls
'Today he doesn't call'.

If the [uNEG]/[iNEG] distinction amongst negative markers is correct, this nicely explains the Strict NC vs. Non-strict NC pattern by reducing it to the semantic value of engative markers: 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].

Zeijlstra's claim that the difference between Strict and Non-strict NC languages reduces to the semantic value of their negative markers, can be further motivated by the following arguments.

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 (26). 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') is not in the scope of negation. This is a further indication that Italian *non*, contrary to Czech *ne*, is a phonological realisation of $Op_{\neg}$.

(26) a. Milan moc *ne*jedl Czech
Milan much NEG.eat.PERF
$\neg$ > much: 'Milan hasn't eaten much'
*much > $\neg$: 'There is much that Milan didn't eat'
b. Molto *non* ha mangiato Gianni Italian
Much NEG has eaten Gianni
*$\neg$ > much: 'Gianni hasn't eaten much'
much > $\neg$: '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 is not a full semantic negation. Under the analysis proposed here, if an n-word already signals the presence of an abstract negative operator, the negative marker is no longer needed as a scope marker. This, I take, for instance, to be the case in Greek (a Strict NC language) with *oute kan* ('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 (2007)), thus forming 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].[14]

[14] However, as one reviewer correctly remarks, the question arises as to why *dhen* may not left be out in other constructions, e.g. when argumental n-words precede it. In fact, the optionality of *dhen* in preverbal *oute kan* constructions is exceptional, as in most other Strict NC languages (except for some Catalan dialects) the negative marker must always be included. This point, however, does not form an argument against agreement-based analyses of NC, as the obligatoriness of agreement markers is not different from the obligatoriness of agreement morphemes on other constructions (e.g. in cases of poor subject-verb agreement) and is generally poorly understood. However, the question

(27) a. O Jannis *(*dhen*) dhiavase *oute kan* tis Sindaktikes Dhomes[15] Greek
The Jannis neg reads even the Syntactic Structures
'Jannis doesn't read even Syntactic Structures'
b. *Oute kan* ti Maria (*dhen*) proskalese o pritanis
Even Maria NEG invite the dean
'Not even Maria did the dean invite'

Finally, the semantic emptiness of negative markers may solve a problem put forward by Watanabe (2005) against Giannakidou's (2000) analysis of fragmentary answers or n-words in disjunction. In both types of NC languages n-words may occur without accompanying negative marker in these constructions, as shown in (28) and (29):

(28) a. Q: Ti ides? A: *TIPOTA* Greek
What saw.2SG? N-thing
'What did you see?' 'Nothing!'
b. Q: ¿A quién viste? A: A *nadie* Spanish
What saw.2SG? N-thing
'What did you see?' 'Nothing!'

(29) a. Thelo na pandrefto ton Petro i KANENAN (alo) Greek[16]
Want SUBJ marry the Petro or n-body
'I want to marry either Peter or nobody else'
b. Me caso contigo o con nadie Spanish[17]
me marry with-you or with n-body
'I marry you or nobody.'

---

remains as to why, if preverbal n-words obligatorily need to be accompanied by *dhen*, *oute kan* does not. One possibility is that *oute kan* is subject to linguistic change (from a plain NPI to an n-word) and therefore currently lexically ambiguous between a plain NPI and an n-word. If that is correct, due to this lexical ambiguity it may in principle be inserted both with and without negative marker. Then the question arises, though, as to why (27a) is ruled out without the negative marker being present. However, fully analogous to the reason why postverbal n-words must always be preceded by a negative marker (see footnote 13), if the negative marker is absent, the negative operator immediately c-commanding *out kan* simply scopes from too low a position, namely a vP-internal position, in constructions like (27a) and would thus yield a semantic contradiction. Note that the fact that all n-words, which originated from NPIs, were also at some point lexically ambiguous between both plain NPIs and n-words is supportive for such an analysis (cf. Herburger 2001, Roberts & Roussou 2003, Jaeger 2010). For a more detailed discussion of the behavior Greek *oute kan* (and an alternative analysis) the reader is referred to Giannakidou 2007.

[15] Example taken from Giannakidou (2007).

[16] Example taken from Giannakidou (2006).

[17] Example taken from Herburger (2001).

Giannakidou (2000, 2006) also argues that n-words in Greek are semantically non-negative. For her, n-words are universal quantifiers that are Negative Polarity Items (NPIs), which have to c-command negation at least at the level of LF. Hence, the question arises as to why n-words in fragmentary answers like in (28)a yield a reading that includes a negation. She argues that this negation, expressed by *dhen*, is deleted under ellipsis. (28)a and (29)a thus come along with the following underlying structures shown in (30) and (31) respectively where strikethrough indicates deletion under ellipses. Hence the assumption that n-words are semantically non-negative can be maintained.

(30) [[*TIPOTA* [*~~(dhen) ida~~]]
N-thing NEG saw.1SG
'Nothing!'

(31) i [*~~(dhen) thelo na pandrefto~~ KANENAN (alo)]
… or want SUBJ marry n-body else
'… or I want to marry nobody else'

Watanabe (2004) 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*.

Giannakidou (2006) in response argues that the negative marker in the deleted part of the answer is licensed under semantic isomorphism with the question. Following Kartunnen (1977), she takes the denotation of a question to be the set of all possible answers, including the negative one. This negative answer (or more precisely: the negation that this answer contains) would then license the deletion under ellipsis of *denn*.

Apart from the theoretical question as to what mechanism is exactly responsible for licensing elided material in answers to questions, this analysis makes incorrect empirical predictions. First, if questions may license elided negation, why wouldn't the English counterpart of (30) with *anybody* meaning *nobody* be fine as well?

(32) Who did you see? Anybody!

One could argue, though, that (32) is ruled out because of the fact that English *anybody* is subject to a surface condition that requires it always to follow its licenser, but then it would be expected that NPIs that may or must independently precede negation should be felicitous as fragmentary. However, this prediction is not borne out either: Dutch *heel die man* (whole that man) is an NPI meaning something like 'that bloke' and must precede negation (cf. Den Dikken 2006).

(33) Ik heb heel die man *(niet) gezien Dutch
I have whole that man NEG seen
'I didn't see that bloke'

However, *heel die man* cannot be used as a fragmentary answer, let alone receive a negative interpretation:

(34) Wie heb je gezien? *Heel die man
Who have you seen? Whole that man
'Who didn't you see' 'No bloke'

So, if elided *dhen* in the fragmentary answer in could be licensed by the question ((29)a/(30)), then it should also be able to license *heel die man* in (34), contrary to fact.

The same applies to disjunction. N-words may appear in disjunction receiving a negative reading, but if a disjunction were able to license elided negation, other elements, especially NPIs, should be expected to be fine in such constructions as well. Again, this prediction is not borne out, as the plain NPI *kanenan* in (35)a as well as its English counter part in (35)b (let alone with a negative reading).

(35) a. *Thelo na pandrefto ton Petro I kanenan Greek
Want SUBJ marry the Petro or n-body
'I want to marry either Peter or nobody else'
b. *I want to marry you or anybody

For Watanabe, the acceptability of n-words in fragmentary answers is conclusive for the fact that n-words cannot be analyzed as being semantically non-negative, as Giannakidou (2001) proposes. However, that conclusion is too strong. It may at best infer that the exact analysis by Giannakidou is problematic, but it does not prove that n-words are semantically negative. Under the analysis that is proposed in Zeijlstra (2004) and discussed above, n-words can indeed be semantically non-negative, as long as negative markers in Strict NC languages are identical with respect to its negative features as n-words. Take (36):

(36) Q: Ti ides? A: [$Op_{\neg[iNEG]}$ [*TIPOTA*$_{[uNEG]}$ [~~*dhen*~~$_{[uNEG]}$ ~~ida~~]]] Greek
What saw.2SG? N-thing [NEG saw.1SG]
'What did you see?' 'Nothing!'

Also in (36), *dhen* is licensed under ellipsis. However *dhen* is semantically non-negative and the semantic identity condition is met again. The abstract negative operator is what is responsible for the introduction of the semantic negation in the answer and this abstract operator can only surface if its presence is enforced by an overt element carrying [uNEG], in casu *TIPOTA*. It does, thus, not have to be licensed under ellipsis by semantic identity.

This analysis naturally extends to Non-strict NC languages, such as Spanish or Italian. In these languages the negative marker is assumed to be semantically negative, but again, preverbal n-words are never accompanied by a negative marker in the first place, so the underlying structure does not require the presence of an elided negative marker either, as shown in (37).

(37) Q: ¿A quién viste? A: [$Op_{\neg[iNEG]}$ [A *nadie*$_{[uNEG]}$ [~~vió~~]]] Spanish
What saw.2SG? N-thing [saw.1SG]
'What did you see?' 'Nothing!'

On the basis of the arguments above, I take it legitimate to assume that negative markers vary cross-linguistically with respect to their semantic status and that negative markers in Strict NC languages are not the carrier of semantic negation themselves. This is of course of direct importance for any explanation of the ban on TNIs along the lines of Han (2001), as her analysis crucially relies on the semantic effects of negative markers c-commanding imperative verbs.

2.2.2 On the syntactic status of negative markers

All three analyses that have been discussed in section 2 (as well as the one I defend in section 2.3) also crucially rely on the distinction between negative markers that are syntactic heads (X°) and those that have phrasal status (XP). I follow the standard analysis (Haegeman (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° 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 clitic climbing (negative markers X° do, negative markers XP do not, cf. Zanuttini (1997, 2001)) or the possibility to adjoin to XP phrases such as 'why' (negative markers X° 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.

To conclude this subsection, negative markers must be distinguished in two respects, each with two possible values: they have either X° or XP status and they have either a value [iNEG] or [uNEG].[18]

2.3 Analysis

Given the discussion of the previous analyses of the ban on TNIs and the results of the previous subsection on the semantic and syntactic status of negative markers, the toolset is complete to explain the peculiar behaviour of TNIs.

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, following Han (2001), I assume that imperative force is hosted on V_{imp} in C° and that therefore the operator inducing the illocutionary force the imperative speech act must take scope from C°, a standard analysis in the syntax of imperatives. Second, I also follow Han in adopting the classical observation that operators that encode illocutionary

[18] 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.

force may not be operated on by a (semantic) negation. Third, I adopt the HMC (Travis' (1984)), an instance of relativized minimality (cf. Rizzi (1989)).

In a nutshell, I will show that from these assumptions it follows that if a negative marker is semantically active and a syntactic head, the verb is not allowed to move across this negative marker, and the semantic negative feature will therefore c-command the imperative feature on V_{imp}, ruling out this TNI.

As the availability of TNIs thus depends on two different properties of negative markers, I analyse the ban on TNIs by discussing different classes of languages. First, I discuss Class I languages: languages that have a negative marker that is both semantically active (carrying [iNEG]) and a syntactic head. Second, I discuss class II languages: languages that also have a negative head marker, but where this marker carries a feature [uNEG]; Finally, I discuss Class III languages: languages that lack a negative marker which is a syntactic head.

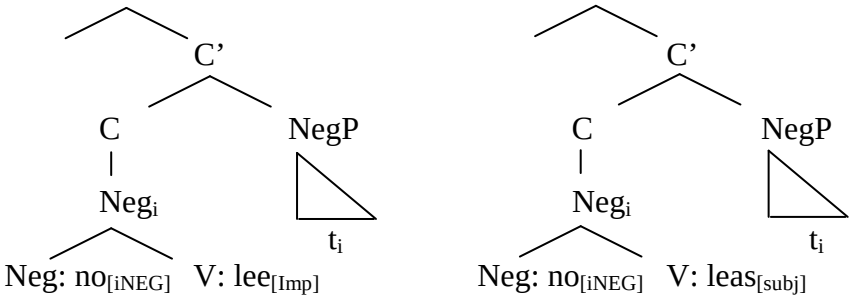
2.3.1 Class I languages

The first class of languages consists of languages that exhibit a negative marker X°, which carries an [iNEG] feature. To these languages Han's analysis applies straightforwardly. V_{imp} must raise to C° and as the negative marker Neg° must be attached to V°, this negative marker c-commands [IMP]. Since [IMP] has the illocutionary force of a speech act. It follows that the imperative operator takes scope from V_{fin} in C°. Given the syntactic head status of the negative marker (and the fact that it has already targeted the highest available head position in the clausal spine), V_{imp} cannot escape out of this unit.

This is illustrated for Spanish in (38)a. If, however, the imperative verb is replaced by a subjunctive, nothing leads to ungrammaticality (see (38)b). This suggests that subjunctives themselves do not encode any illocutionary feature of their own (otherwise these subjunctive SNIs they would be ruled out as well), i.e. they do not carry along a feature that encodes illocutionary force. Subjunctives do come along with particular illocutionary effects, though. However, this does not entail that these illocutionary effects must be due to their lexical semantics. Instead, I take subjunctives to be lexically-semantically underspecified for illocutionary force and their illocutionary effects (such as the prohibitive readings of SNIs) to be derived pragmatically. 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.[19]

[19] 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).

(38) a. * CP (*TNI) b. CP (SNI) Spanish



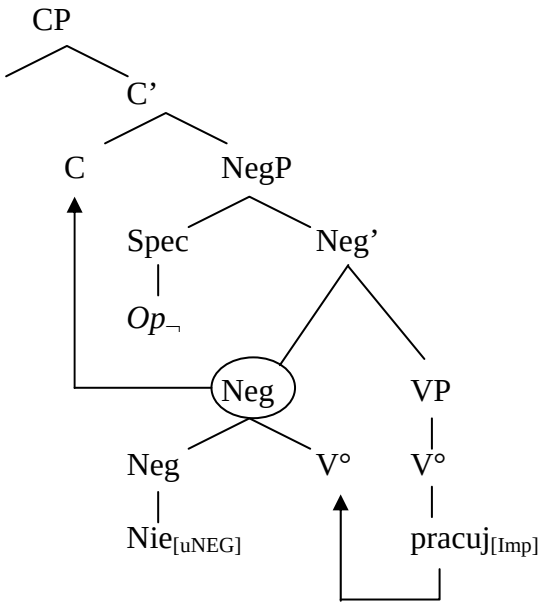
2.3.2 Class II languages

Languages that have negative markers X° carrying [uNEG] differ with respect to the ban on TNIs. Czech, Polish, Bulgarian, Serbian and Croatian on the one hand side accept TNIs, whereas Romanian, Hungarian and Greek on the other hand side disallow them. I begin with the first kind of languages.

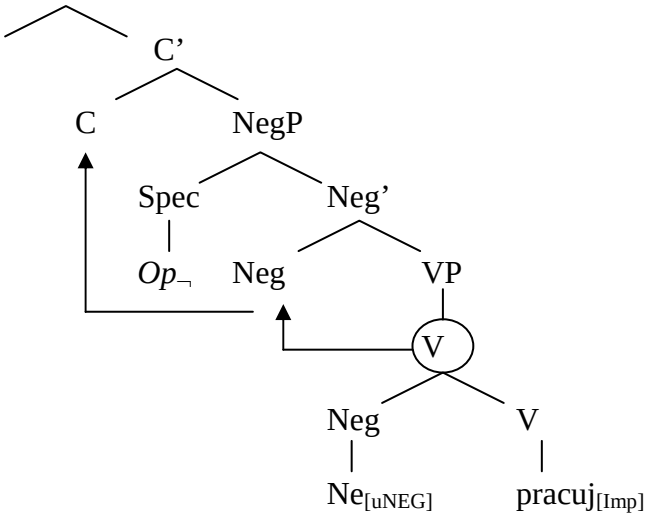
In Czech, Polish, Bulgarian, Serbian and Croatian the negative marker is always in preverbal position. All these Slavic languages are Strict NC languages and their (preverbal) negative markers thus carry a feature [uNEG]. Slavic languages, however, differ with respect to the phonological strength of the negative marker. Polish *nie* is phonologically strong and can be said to be base-generated in its own position Neg° that c-commands VP. Bulgarian, Serbian and Croatian negation is analysed in a similar fashion. Czech *ne* is weaker than Polish *nie* (and Bulgarian/Serbian/Croatian *ne*) and it is thus unclear whether *ne* originated in Neg° or has been base-generated as a head adjunction onto V. In both cases, these negative markers are semantically non-negative and semantic negation is thus introduced by $Op_{\neg}$.

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°, attaches to *nie* and as a unit [$_{Neg}$ *nie*-V_{imp}] moves along to C°. $Op_{\neg}$ remains in situ in Spec,NegP and Op_{IMP} takes scope from C° and outscopes negation. If Czech *ne* is base-generated in Neg° the analysis of Czech TNIs is similar to the one of Polish. If Czech *ne* is head adjoined to V°, the complex verbal unit [$_{V}$ *ne*-V_{imp}] moves through Neg° (and all other intermediate head positions) to C°, 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) the scopal condition $Op_{IMP} > Op_{\neg}$ is met. This is illustrated below for Polish in (39) and for the latter analysis of Czech in (40).

(39) Polish



(40) Czech

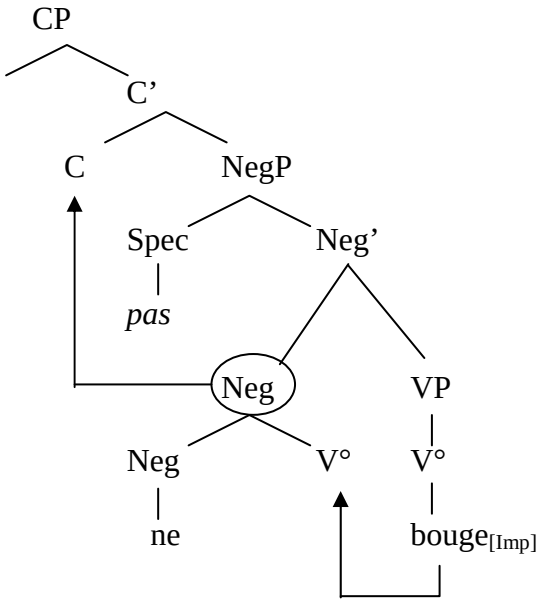


Another language that has a negative marker X° carrying [uNEG] and allows TNIs is Standard French. Standard French differs from the above-mentioned languages in that it has two negative markers: *ne* and *pas*. Following standard analyses about French (Rowlett (1998) amongst many others), *pas* is taken to be the realisation of the negative operator, whereas *ne* is semantically non-negative. This explains why French *ne* may move along with V_{imp} to C°.[20,21]

[20] However, it must be noted Standard French differs from Polish in the sense that *ne* by itself may never render a sentence negative, where as Polish *nie* can do so (cf. Breitbarth 2009, Haegeman & Lohndal 2010). Therefore, French *ne* cannot be taken to carry [uNEG]. In order to account for this difference, I follow Zeijlstra (2009), who argues that French *ne* is a plain NPI and not a concordal element in the first place.

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

(42) Standard French[22]



However, not every language that exhibits semantically non-negative head markers allows TNIs. Examples are (amongst others) Romanian, Hungarian and Greek. These languages also exhibit X° 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 three languages studied here, two languages have an additional negative marker for subjunctives. Hungarian *nem* is replaced by *ne* in subjunctives and Greek *dhen* is replaced by *mi*.

Let us first focus on Hungarian. Hungarian imperative verbs are fine with this second negative marker *ne*, as is shown in (43).

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[21] In French negative imperatives are different from non-negative imperatives in the sense that non-negative imperatives block proclitisation on V_{imp}, whereas this is allowed with negative imperatives: **Le Regarde*! (int: ‚watch it') vs. *Ne le regarde pas!* (‚don't watch it'). However, this is not due to the negation, but due to the fact that French generally blocks proclitisation in sentence-initial position. If, on the other hand, the negative marker precedes the verbal-clitic complex, nothing prevents clitics from keeping their positions.

[22] Strictly speaking, under Zeijlstra's (2009) analysis the head position that *ne* occupies cannot be a Neg° position as neither *ne*, nor *pas* carries a [NEG] feature. However, *ne*'s head status is uncontroversial and Rowlett (1996) also convincingly shows that French *pas* occupies the specifier position of the XP that *ne* heads, so under Zeijlstra's analysis the structure in (42) does not have to be changed, except for the name of the label of *ne*.

(43) 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 both carry [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 from participating in subjunctives/imperatives and likewise *ne* would carry [+IRR] (this is much in line with Zanuttini's (1997) analysis.). Crucial, though, is that the mood distinction of Hungarian negative markers is not related to the ban on TNIs. Strictly speaking Hungarian does allow TNIs and imperatives and subjunctives cannot be combined with *nem* for independent reasons. Hungarian is in this sense similar to the Slavic languages, and the structure in (39) *mutatis mutandis* applies to Hungarian as well.

The situation in Greek is different, as has been discussed by Rivero & Terzi (1995) (see section 2). Greek also exhibits 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 markers have identical semantics. Below it is shown that the Greek negative marker *mi* (contrary to *dhen*) only allows n-words in postverbal position:

(44) a. Thelo *KANENAS* na (**mi*) fiji Greek
Want.1SG n-body PRT NEG 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] (but see section 2.1.2 for a problem with this). Then, TNIs could only occur with the negative marker *mi*. But, since *mi* carries [iNEG], Greek TNIs are ruled out anyway for the same reason as their Class I counterparts.

Finally, Romanian needs to be discussed. Romanian is a strict NC language that lacks an additional negative marker for non-indicative mood. But still it disallows TNIs:

(45) **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 (46)b the verb moves to a higher position, leaving its clitic cluster in a stranded position.

(46) a. M-as mira se vina Ion — Romanian
Me-AUX.SUBJB be.surprised AUX.SUBJB come Ion
'I would be surprised if Ion came'
b. Mira m-as se vina Ion
Be.surprised me-AUX.SUBJB AUX.SUBJB 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° are forbidden in Romanian, as illustrated in (47).[23]

(47) a. *Nu* m-as mira se vina Ion — Romanian
NEG me-AUX.SUBJB be.surprised AUX.SUBJB come Ion
'I wouldn't be surprised if Ion came'
b. *Mira nu m-as se vina Ion
Be.surprised NEG me-AUX.SUBJB AUX.SUBJB come Ion
'I wouldn't be surprised if Ion came'
c. *Mira m-as *nu* se vina Ion
Be.surprised me-AUX.SUBJB NEG AUX.SUBJB come Ion
'I wouldn't be surprised if Ion came'

The data in (46) and (47) show that Romanian *nu* blocks verbal movement to a higher position than Neg° 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.[24]

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.

2.3.3 Class III languages

It follows too that if a negative marker has phrasal rather than head status, TNIs should, in principle, be accepted. Regardless of the position of the negative marker, it cannot block movement of V_{imp} to C°. Hence Op_{IMP} can always take scope from C° and all scopal requirements are met. In Zeijlstra (2004) it has been argued that the position of

[23] Thanks to Adrian Brasoveanu (p.c.) who gave me these examples. For a more detailed analysis of the (non-)clitical behaviour of Romanian negative markers, cf. Monachesi (2001) and Alboiu (2002).

[24] One may wonder whether the Romanian ban also extends to other languages, such as Greek. Indeed, such an explanation cannot be excluded for the ban on TNIs in this language and it could very well be the case that Greek clitical behaviour and the semantic value of Greek *mi* form the reason why TNIs are banned in this language.

the negative marker in Dutch is a vP-adjunct position. The structure of a TNI in Dutch then would be like (48).

(48) $[_{CP}$ slaap$_{[Imp]i}$ $[_{vP}$ niet $t_i]]$ Dutch

The analysis of Class III languages extends to NC languages without a negative head marker, such as Bavarian Quebecois and Yiddish. Given the above explanation**,** it is not expected that TNIs are banned in these languages either. As shown in (49) verbal movement to C° is not be blocked and therefore TNIs are allowed.

(49) Kuk nit! Yiddish
Look NEG
'Don't look!'
$[_{CP}$ Kuk$_{[Imp]i}$ $[_{VP}$ nit $[_{VP}$ $t_i]]]$

2.4 Additional evidence

The analysis presented above predicts that there is a uni-directional relation between the semantic value of negative markers and the ban on TNIs, as well as a uni-directional relation between the ban on TNIs and the syntactic status of the negative marker. This infers that the analysis can be evaluated typologically (to see whether these generalisations hold synchronically) and diachronically. Moreover, the analysis presented above now only applies to imperatives, where as in principle it should rule out all kinds of illocutionary features being outscoped by negation.

2.4.1 Typological evidence

On the basis of the assumptions above, two following typological generalisations **G1** and **G2** must hold:

(50) **G1**: Every language with an overt negative marker X° carrying [iNEG] bans TNIs.
G2: Every language that bans TNIs exhibits an overt negative marker X°.

G1 follows for reasons explained above: if a negative marker X° carrying [iNEG] attaches to V_{IMP}, it illegitimately c-commands the feature that encodes the illocutionary force. Being a syntactic head the verb can by no means move out of this c-command constellation. Hence, thus TNIs are ruled in languages out in languages with overt negative markers X° carrying [iNEG].

G2 also follows because of the HMC. If a language does not exhibit a negative marker Neg°, this marker can never block verbal movement to C° and TNIs must be allowed.

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 the best of my knowledge, a novel observation.

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 (51) below, indicating that the typological generalisations that follow from this analysis are indeed correct (at least for the studied languages), thus providing additional evidence for the proposed analysis.

(51) Language sample[25]

Class:	*Language:*	*Neg. marker: X°*	*Neg. marker: [iNEG]*	*TNIs allowed*
I	Spanish	+	+	-
	Italian	+	+	-
	Portuguese	+	+	-
II	Czech	+	-	+
	Polish	+	-	+
	Bulgarian	+	-	+
	Serbian	+	-	+
	Croatian	+	-	+
	Standard French	+	-	+
	Albanian	+	-	-
	Greek	+	-	-
	Hebrew	+	-	-
	Romanian	+	-	-
	Hungarian	+	-	-
III	Dutch	-	+	+
	Danish	-	+	+
	German	-	+	+
	Norwegian	-	+	+
	Swedish	-	+	+
	Bavarian	-	-	+
	Yiddish	-	-	+
	Quebecois	-	-	+

2.4.2 Diachronic evidence

The analysis is also confirmed by diachronic facts. In Non-strict NC languages with a negative marker X° (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 (52)). The analysis presented above predicts that it should impossible that the negative marker *ni* in Old Italian carries a feature [iNEG]. In other words, the analysis predicts that Old Italian *non* must have carried [uNEG].

[25] In order to make truly typological claims, the language sample should be made much broader and include languages from all kinds of language families. This is still a task for further research. For a typological overview of languages that (seem to) ban TNIs, the reader is referred to Van der Auwera (2005).

Consequently, Old Italian cannot have been a Non-strict NC language. This prediction is indeed borne out. Old Italian was indeed a Strict NC language, as confirmed by the data in (53).

(52)	a.	*Ni* ti tormenta di questo![26] NEG yourself torment.2SG.IMP of this 'Don't torment yourself with this'	Old Italian
	b.	**Non* telefona a Gianni! NEG call.2SG.IMP to Gianni 'Don't call Gianni'	Cont. Italian

(53)	a.	Mai *nessuno* oma *non* si pió guarare[27] N-ever n-even-one man NEG himself can protect 'Nobody can ever protect himself'	Old Italian
	b.	*Nessuno* (**non*) ha detto *niente* N-body NEG has said n-thing 'Nobody said anything'	Cont. Italian

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 Martins (2000) and Zeijlstra (2008) 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. That this prediction has been confirmed by the (Old) Italian data further supports the presented account for the ban on TNIs.

2.4.3 Domain extension

Finally, if the explanation presented above is correct, it follows that not only imperatives, but all sentences where a feature that encodes the illocutionary force of a speech act is outscoped by a semantically negation, should be banned. In the next section I demonstrate that this is exactly what blocks single negative markers in Spec,CP. The fact that the ban on single negative markers in Spec,CP follows from the analysis presented above, is a final and strong piece of evidence in favour of it.

[26] Example taken from Zanuttini (1997).

[27] Examples taken from Martins (2000): 194.

3 The ban on single negative markers in sentence-initial position in V2 languages.

In this section I re-address the problem of the ban on single negative markers in Spec,CP in V2 languages, formalised as in (54) (repeated from (9)).

(54) *[$_{CP}$ NM [$_{C°}$ V_{fin}]]

In the first subsection I discuss why the previous analysis on this problem proposed by Barbiers (2002) is incorrect. After that I argue that the same principles underlying the ban on TNIs are also responsible for the ban on topicalised negative markers in V2 languages along with the well-established Merge-over-Move-constraint (Chomksy (1995a)), thus providing additional evidence for the correctness of that explanation. In this section I take Dutch as a standard example for V-to-C languages, but the analysis extends to other Germanic languages as well.

3.1 Previous analysis: Barbiers (2002)

In order to account for the unacceptability of (54), Barbiers (2002) adopts Chomsky's (1995b) bare phrase structure theory and proposes that the phrasal status of Dutch *niet* is actually flexible: it may appear in head position (projection of a NegP) as well as in phrasal position. Apart from that Barbiers takes *niet* to have some similar syntactic properties that expletives have: (i) it carries a case feature ([uT(ense)] in Barbiers' analysis) and (ii) it cannot receive a theta-role.

The expletive-like properties of *niet* strongly limit its distribution. Either *niet* heads a projection of its own, or appears in those phrasal positions that respect its syntactic conditions. As *niet* needs to have its case feature checked it may not appear in adjunct positions but it can thus not appear in a verb's fixed argument position either, as it would receive a theta-role there. The only non-head position where *niet* would be allowed to appear is the position where a verb assigns case but no theta-role, i.e. the position where one usually attests expletive objects, e.g. the object position of verbs with an extraposed CP object. Such verbs, as illustrated for *zien* ('to see'), allow objects to appear in two possible positions, dependent on the syntactic category of the object (DP/CP):

(55) a. … dat Jan die vrouw ziet — Dutch
… that Jan that woman sees
'… that Jan sees that woman'

b. … dat Jan ziet dat die vrouw rondloopt
… that Jan sees that that woman around.walks
'… that jan sees that that woman walks around'

The verb has thus different positions for DP and CP complements, as shown in (56).

(56) [$_{VP}$ <DP> V <CP]]

As DP's contrary to CP's require the verb to assign case to them, the DP position is a position that receives case. If then the verb selects for a CP complement, which receives

its theta-role, the DP position is a position available for elements that must receive case, but may not receive a theta-role, such as (object) expletives, and according to Barbiers (2002), Dutch *niet*. In all other phrasal positions these conditions cannot be met.

This means that except when it occupies an object position of a verb with an extraposed object, *niet* must be a syntactic head in other cases, and due to its head status, *niet* may not move to a phrasal position, such as Spec,CP.

Barbiers argues consequently that only in those cases where *niet* is able to occupy a phrasal position it may move out to Spec,CP, otherwise not (since then it would constitute illicit head-to-phrasal movement). Barbiers motivates this analysis by presenting examples of exactly such constructions where he shows that *niet* can be fronted indeed, such as (57), where *niet* is allowed in Spec,CP.

(57) Ik had wel gezien dat Jan aankwam, maar *niet*$_i$ had ik t_i gezien dat Eddy vertrok
I had PRT seen that Jan arrived, but NEG had I seen that Eddy left
'I did see that Jan arrived, but I didn't see that Eddy left'

However, Barbiers' analysis is problematic in several respects. First of all, it is unclear how verbal movement across the verb can be explained if *niet* constitutes a functional projection of its own: in Dutch main clauses finite verbs are always able to move across *niet*, which is unexpected if *niet* were a head (see also section 2.2.2).

(58) Ik kom *niet*
I come NEG
'I don't come'
[$_{CP}$ Ik kom [[$_{Neg°}$ niet] [$_{VP}$ t_i]]

Apart from that, Barbiers' analysis suffers from both overgeneralization and undergeneralization. For instance, it predicts that in positions where expletive objects may occur *niet* is always allowed to occupy the DP position and be fronted to Spec,CP if a complement CP has been selected. However this prediction is false, as shown in (59).

(59) **Niet* had ik gezien dat Eddy vertrok Dutch
NEG had I seen that Eddy left
'I didn't see that Eddy left'

Apparently, the grammaticality of (57) is does not depend on the base position of *niet*, as that is identical as the one in (59).

Furthermore, (57) is not the only type of construction where *niet* may topicalise. In (60) no CP complement has been selected by the verb, but *niet* is allowed to appear in Spec,CP as well.

(60) *Níet* moeten in de lijst worden aangekruist de planten die je al hébt[28]
NEG must in the list be crossed the plants that you already have
'You must not mark the plants on the list that you already have'

The arguments presented above indicate that Barbiers' analysis faces serious problems, both theoretically and empirically. In the next subsection I argue that the alternative analysis, i.e. application of the explanation of the ban on TNIs, can account for (54) and also predicts the grammaticality of examples such as (57) and (60) by adopting Chomksy's (1995a, 2000) Merge-over-Move-constraint.

3.2 Analysis

In this section I demonstrate that the analysis for the ban on TNIs also applies to *niet*-topicalisation. The central goal of this analysis is to account for the generalisations in (9)-(10), repeated as (61) and (62), and the apparent counter examples presented above.

(61) *[$_{CP}$ NM [$_{C°}$ V_{fin}]]

(62) [$_{CP}$ [Nm XP] / [NQ] [$_{C°}$ V_{fin}]]

First, operators that encode illocutionary force may not be operated on by a (semantic) negation. Second, I adopt the analysis that V-to-C movement is triggered by the illocutionary force of the clause (see Wechsler (1991), Lohnstein (2000), Gärtner (2002) and most notably Truckenbrodt (2006) amongst many others)). Similar to the imperative cases, this amounts to saying that the features that encode operators with the illocutionary force of a speech act take scope from C°. Consequently, these features may not be c-commanded by negation. Hence, in principle no negative material is allowed to occur in Spec,CP.

However, such a constraint would be much too strong as much negative material is allowed in Spec,CP, as shown in (63)-(64) (= (4)-(5)).

(63) a. *Niemand* komt — Dutch
Nobody comes
'Nobody comes'
b. *Niet* iedereen komt
NEG everybody comes
'Not everybody comes'
c. *Nooit* neem ik een hond
Never take I a dog
'I'll never have a dog'

(64) a. *Niet* Marie heb ik gebeld ??(maar Jan) — Dutch
Neg Marie have I called, but Jan
'I didn't call Marie (but Jan)'

[28] Example taken from Haeseryn et al. (1997: 1280).

b. *Niet* kippen hebben vier poten, *(maar koeien)
Neg chickens have four legs, but cows
'Chickens don't have four legs, cows do'

But the fact that all these constructions are grammatical is due to the fact that Spec,CP is not the base position of these negative expressions. All these expressions are realised either as a temporal adverb (in the case of *nooit* ('never)) or as an argument (all others). Hence they must have been base-generated in a lower position in the clause. Given that movement to Spec,CP is an instance of A-Bar movement, all these expressions must be reconstructed at LF, and do not violate the condition that operators with illocutionary force are outscoped by negation.

The question now arising is why *niet* itself is not able to be base-generated, in the middlefield from where it would have been raised overtly to Spec,CP and be reconstructed at LF again. Such an instance of movement of the negative marker is however ruled out under minimalist reasoning. Based on the idea that movement is costly operation, which should thus be prevented if possible, Chomsky (1995a, 2000) has formulated the Merge-over-Move principle, which states that if some lexical item can be directly base-generated in some position, it cannot move to that position. Hence, if *niet* is part of the enumeration and thus able to base-generated in Spec,CP, it may not merge earlier and subsequently- move to Spec,CP.

Since negation is a semantically flexible operation (in the sense that it can apply to different types of complements) it is not necessarily fixed to some particular clausal position. Therefore the negative marker *niet* can be base-generated in Spec,CP and fronting *niet* from a lower position is thus forbidden. Consequently, base-generated *niet* cannot be lowered at LF and must therefore scope over the illocutionary feature in C°.[29]

Now, (61) and (62) follow immediately. An expression of the form [*niet XP*] may move to Spec,CP and reconstruct to the base position of *XP* at LF, thus yielding no problem for pragmatics/semantics. Single *niet* however cannot lower at LF and renders the sentence unacceptable.

However, the counter examples against the observation that *niet* cannot appear solely in Spec,CP (see subsection 3.1), are now in need of an explanation. Let me repeat them below:

(65) Ik had wel gezien dat Jan aankwam, maar *niet* had ik gezien dat Eddy vertrok
I had PRT seen that Jan arrived, but NEG had I seen that Eddy left
'I did see that Jan arrived, but I didn't see that Eddy left'

(66) *Níet* moeten in de lijst worden aangekruist de planten die je al hébt
NEG must in the list be crossed the plants that you already have
'You must not mark the plants on the list that you already have'

In both cases the element *niet* is disconnected from the elements it takes direct scope over. In (65) the speaker says s/he saw John's arrival, but not Eddy's departure. In (66)

[29] Note that sentence-initial *niet* is not syntactically ill-formed, and thus strictly speaking not ungrammatical, but that it yields a pragmasemantically infelicitous expressions, just like banned TNIs under Han's analysis.

the speaker asserts that only those plants that you already have marked do not need to be marked, but all others do. These readings strongly suggest that the kind of negation exhibited here is actually constituent negation, with *niet dat Eddy vertrok* and *niet de planten die je al hebt* being negative constituents. If that is indeed the case, what (65) and (66) reflect is partial topicalisation. Being part of a larger constituent *niet* in these examples is then indeed expected to reconstruct at LF.

These constructions are not the only cases of partial topicalisation in Dutch. Other examples are given in (67):

(67) a. *Boeken heb ik over Mulisch *niet* gelezen Dutch
Books have I about Mulisch NEG read
'I didn't read books about Mulisch'

b. Boeken heb ik over die arrogante schrijver uit Amsterdam *niet* gelezen, *(wel artikelen)
Books have I about that arrogant writer from Amsterdam NEG read, PRT articles
'I didn't read books about that arrogant writer from Amsterdam, but articles'

c. Boeken heb ik over Mulisch, die onder andere "de ontdekking nan de hemel" heeft geschreven *niet* gelezen, *(wel artikelen)
Books have I about Mulisch who amongst other wrote "the discovery of heavens", NEG read, PRT articles
'I didn't read books about Mulisch, who amongst other things wrote "the discovery of heavens", but articles'

The a example in (67) is clearly out, but the b and c examples are not. This illustrates that in cases where the stranded XP is sufficiently heavy, it does not have to move along with the negative marker. As the stranded CP and NP in (65) and (66) are heavy enough, these examples indeed allow for partial topicalisation. The idea that (65) involves an instance of constituent negation, which undergoes partial topicalisation, also explains the ungrammaticality of (59), repeated as (68).

(68) **Niet* had ik gezien dat Eddy vertrok Dutch
NEG had I seen that Eddy left
'I didn't see that Eddy left'

Normally constituent negation induces a contrastive effect. This can be illustrated for Dutch in the following way in (69) where both sentences exhibit constituent negation but where the example with the given contrast is much better than the sentence without such a contrast.

(69) a. ??Zij heeft *niet* Hans gezien Dutch
She has NEG Hans seen
'It wasn't Hans whom she saw'

b. Zij heeft *niet* Hans gezien maar Piet
She has NEG Hans seen but Piet
'It wasn't Hans but Piet whom she saw'

In (65) and (66) such contrastive effects are present as well (as in (67)), but not in (68). Hence, the markedness of (68) also follows from the analysis in terms of partial topicalisation.

The idea that those cases that allow a single fronted *niet* are cases of partial topicalisation and therefore cases of constituent negation is also motivated by the following example from Swedish, which also exhibits V-to-C movement. Here, *inte* ('NEG') can be fronted in cases such as (70).

(70) A: Inte kom SVEN, utan BERTIL till festen igår — Swedish[30]
Neg came Sven but Bertil to party-the yesterday
'Not Sven, but Bertil came to the part yesterday'
B: Ja, det gjorde han, och Arne också /*heller
yes that did he and Arne too / either
'Yes he did and so did Arne'

Swedish exhibits the same type of *too/either*-pair (*heller/också*), which can be used as diagnostics for the distinction between sentential and constituent negation, just like their English counterparts (cf. Klima (1964)). *Också* ('either') can be used in cases of constituent negation, where as *heller* ('too') is included in cases of sentential negation. The fact that the reply in (70) includes *också* indicates that *inte* has scope over *Sven* only, and not over the entire sentence.

Hence all counterexamples against the ban on single negative markers in Spec,CP reduce to partial topicalisation. This entails that if partial topicalisation does not apply, the single negative marker is banned from Spec,CP for the same reasons as why TNIs are banned. Hence the two phenomena introduced in section 1 have thus receieved a unified explanation.

4 Conclusions

In this paper I discuss two phenomena concerning the syntax and semantic of sentence-initial negation: the ban on True Negative Imperatives that is attested in many languages and the ban on single negative markers in sentence-initial position in V-to-C languages.

I have argued, following Han (2001), that both phenomena can be explained on the basis of the following three well-motivated assumptions (i) the assumption that features that encode the illocutionary force of a speech act are hosted on V_{fin} in C° and that therefore speech act operators take scope from C°; (ii) the assumption that operators that encode illocutionary force may not be operated on by a (semantic) negation; and (iii) the Head Movement Constraint (cf. Travis (1984)), an instance of relativized minimality (cf. Rizzi (1989)).

Furthermore, I have argued that on the basis of these assumptions it is correctly predicted that all languages where such a negative marker is both semantically negative and a syntactic head ban TNIs and that every language that bans TNIs exhibits an overt negative marker X°. More specifically, this entails that all Non-strict Negative Concord languages must ban TNIs.

[30] Examples based on Brandtler (2006).

Finally, I have also shown that on the basis of these assumptions it follows as well that no negative material may dominate the illocutionary features in C° and that therefore negative material may only appear in Spec,CP provided that it can be reconstructed at LF. This is only the case whenever this negative material is of form of [NEG XP] or a negative quantifier, or when the sentence-initial negative marker is solely fronted as part of a process of partial topicalisation.

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