Dialectal variation in clitic placement in Andalusian and Asturian Spanish negative infinitival imperatives[*]

Julio Villa-García

University of Manchester

This paper investigates a novel syntactic contrast regarding the placement of clitics in negative root infinitival sentences with imperative illocutionary force in two varieties of present-day Iberian Spanish, namely (Lower) Andalusian and (Central) Asturian Spanish. I provide And(alusian) and Astur(ian) Sp(anish) data revealing a stark difference in clitic directionality in second-person plural imperatives with infinitives: whereas positive imperatives involve postverbal clitics in both dialects (viz. $V_{inf.}$+clitic), negative imperatives involve enclisis in AndSp (viz. negation+$V_{inf.}$+clitic) but proclisis in AsturSp (viz. negation+clitic+$V_{inf.}$). I argue for a PF-merger+copy-and-delete approach à la Miyoshi (2002). On this view, imperatives involve an affixal null F head that must merge with a PF-adjacent host. The main virtue of this analysis is that it allows for a uniform syntactic treatment of the relevant construction in the two dialects, the difference between the two varieties reducing to PF considerations. A similarly welcome result of this approach is that it makes use of the same machinery employed to account for the infamous ban on negative imperatives operative in languages like Greek and Spanish.

Keywords: clitics, infinitives, negation, imperative force, dialectal variation, PF merger, Copy Theory of Movement, enclisis, proclisis

1. Introduction

By presenting comparative dialect data from two varieties of present-day Iberian Spanish, namely Andalusian and Asturian Spanish, this paper investigates a novel syntactic contrast regarding the placement of clitics in negative root infinitival sentences with imperative illocutionary force.

More specifically, I provide And(alusian) and Astur(ian) Sp(anish) data that show a contrast in clitic directionality in second-person plural imperatives displaying infinitival verb forms: whereas positive

[*] This work has benefited enormously from discussions with Željko Bošković. I would like to express my gratitude to three anonymous reviewers, two from OUP and an additional one, for useful comments, data, and suggestions. I would also like to thank the audiences at HLS Ottawa, the permanent session on theoretical linguistics of the Linguistics and Cognitive Science Group at the Spanish National Scientific Research Council, the University of Pennsylvania, and Villanova University, especially Eulalia Bonet, José Camacho, Elena Castroviejo, Violeta Demonte, David Embick, Olga Fernández-Soriano, Mercedes Juliá, Paula Kempchinsky, Krzysztof Migdalski, Norberto Moreno-Quibén, Isabel Pérez-Jiménez, and Florian Schwarz. I am thankful to a number of native speakers of different dialects of Spanish who have kindly –and patiently- judged the numerous sentences with which I presented them. Lastly, I would like to thank Ángel A. Gallego for enthusiastically supporting this project.

imperatives involve postverbal clitics (i.e. enclitics) in both dialects (cf.(1)a), negative imperatives involve enclisis in AndSp (cf. (1)b) and proclisis in AsturSp (cf. (1)c).

(1) a. ¡Seguirme! [AndSp, AsturSp, spoken Spanish]
follow$_{inf.-2.PL}$-cl.
'Follow$_{2.PL}$ me!'
b. ¡No seguirme! [AndSp]
not follow$_{inf.-2.PL}$-cl.
'Don't$_{2.PL}$ follow me!'
c. ¡No me seguir! [AsturSp]
not cl. follow$_{inf.-2.PL}$
'Don't$_{2.PL}$ follow me!'

I argue for a PF-merger+copy-and-delete approach *à la* Miyoshi (2002) and Bošković (2001 *et seq.*), *inter alia*, whereby imperatives involve a null F head which is an affix that must merge with an appropriate host under adjacency in P(honological)F(orm). One of the major advantages of this analysis is that it allows for a unified syntactic treatment of the relevant construction in the two dialects, the difference between the two varieties reducing to PF considerations. Another welcome result is that the analysis to be proposed here makes use of the same theoretical machinery used to account for the well-known ban on negative imperatives found in languages like Spanish.

The paper is organized as follows: in Section 2, I review imperative data in standard Spanish, with an emphasis on infinitival sentences with imperative meaning, in particular in the dialects of Spanish spoken in Andalusia and the Principality of Asturias, in the south and in the north of Spain, respectively; in Section 3, I explore competing accounts of the dialectal contrast brought to light in this paper; in Section 4, I lay out the analysis to be proposed and some of its consequences; in Section 5, I offer some concluding remarks.

2. Imperatives and infinitival imperatives in Spanish

2.1. Imperatives in standard Spanish

Standard Spanish displays true imperatives (i.e. imperative sentences involving verbs with *bona fide* imperative morphology) in positive contexts, as shown in (2).

(2) a. ¡Sal de aquí! (RAE 2009: 3129)
exit$_{imp.-2.SG}$ of here
'Get$_{2.SG}$ out of here!'

b. ¡Venid! (RAE 2009: 3130)
come$_{imp.-2.PL}$
'Come$_{2.PL}$ (here)!'

c. ¡Haz el favor de no molestarme! (RAE 2009: 3139)
do$_{imp.-2.SG}$ the favor of not bother cl.
'Please, stop$_{2.SG}$ bothering me.'

d. Tomad y bebed todos de él (Eucharistic Prayer)
take$_{imp.-2.PL}$ and drink$_{imp-2.PL}$ all of it
'Take$_{2.PL}$ this, all of you, and drink$_{2.PL}$ from it.'

As regards negative commands, Spanish observes a constraint against negated imperatives, a matter to which I return in the following section.

2.2. The prohibition against negative imperatives in Spanish

As is well known, like in many other languages, in Spanish there is a ban on negative imperatives, both in singular (cf. (3)a) and plural cases (cf. (3)b), irrespective of whether we are dealing with neg^{o} (cf. (3)a,b) or negative-constituent (cf. (3)c,d) cases.

(3) a. *¡No sal de aquí!
not exit$_{imp.-2.SG}$ of here
'Don't get$_{2.SG}$ out of here!'

b. *¡No venid!
not come$_{imp.-2.PL}$
'Don't come$_{2.PL}$ (here)!'

c. *¡Tampoco preocúpate tanto! (inspired by RAE 2009: 3137)
neither worry$_{imp.-2.SG}$ so-much
'Don't worry$_{2.SG}$ too much either!'

d. *¡Nada decidle! (RAE 2009: 3137)
nothing tell$_{imp.-2.PL.}$-cl.
'Don't tell him/her anything!'

In order to express negative imperative force, languages that do not admit negative imperatives use different verb forms that function as surrogate/suppletive imperatives. Such surrogate imperatives tend to include indicative, infinitival, gerundival, and subjunctive verb forms (Zanuttini 1997). In this sense, Spanish resorts to the subjunctive, as shown in the examples in (4), which stand in glaring contrast to their ungrammatical counterparts in (3).

(4) a. ¡No salgas de aquí!
not exit$_{subj.-2.SG}$ of here
'Don't get$_{2.SG}$out of here!'
b. ¡No vengáis!
not come$_{subj.-2.PL}$
'Don't come$_{2.PL}$ (here)!'
c. ¡Tampoco te preocupes tanto! (RAE 2009: 3137)
neither cl. worry$_{subj.-2.SG}$ so-much
'Don't worry$_{2.SG}$ too much either!'
d. ¡Nada le digáis (RAE 2009: 3137)
nothing cl. say$_{subj.-2.PL}$
'Don't tell$_{2.PL}$ him/her anything!'

Needless to say, surrogate forms are confined to negative contexts, as the ungrammaticality of (5)a indicates, although the imperative forms reserved for *usted* (*tú*, *you*$_{sg.}$) and *ustedes* (*vosotros, you*$_{pl.}$) employ the form of the subjunctive (cf. (5)b) (though see Villa-García 2015 for the claim that such forms may be manifestations of the jussive/optative mood, homophonous with the subjunctive in Spanish).

(5) a. *¡Salgas de aquí!
exit$_{subj.-2.SG}$ of here
'Get$_{2.SG}$out of here!'
b. ¡Vengan ustedes!
come$_{imp./subj.(?)}$ you$_{pl.}$
'Come$_{2.PL}$(here)!'

Interestingly, although the ban on negative imperatives is rather rigid, occasionally one encounters cases that show negated imperatives in Spanish texts from different periods. According to RAE (2009: 3137), examples such as (6) may stem from hypercorrection and are considered incorrect, albeit attested. The reader is referred to Ausín (2013) for recent relevant discussion.

(6) No llorad ninguna (Estébanez Calderón, *Escenas*, cited in RAE 2009: 2137)
not cry$_{imp.-2.PL}$ none
'Don't any of you cry!'

By contrast, other languages (e.g. Polish) show no evidence of the prohibition against negative imperatives (i.e. they do display negated imperatives), as shown by the examples in (7), kindly provided to me by Krzysztof Migdalski.

(7) a. Idź tutaj
go$_{imp.-2.SG}$ here
'Come$_{2.SG}$ here!'
b. Nie idź tutaj
not come$_{imp.-2.SG}$ here
'Don't come$_{2.SG}$here!'
c. Idźcie tutaj
go$_{imp.-2.PL}$ here
'Come$_{2.PL}$ here!'
d. Nie idźcie tutaj
not come$_{imp.-2.PL}$ here
'Don't come$_{2.PL}$ here!'

Note that whereas imperatives in contemporary Spanish generally display enclitics (i.e. postverbal clitics), subjunctive surrogate forms feature proclitics (i.e. preverbal clitics), as illustrated in (8)a and (8)b, respectively (see also (4)c,d).[1]

(8) a. ¡Di*le* eso!
tell$_{imp.-2.SG}$-cl. that
'Tell$_{2.SG}$ her that!'
b. ¡No *le* digas eso!
not cl. tell$_{subj.-2.SG}$ that!
'Don't tell$_{2.SG}$ her that!'

I now turn to infinitival imperatives in Spanish, which will serve as a springboard for discussion of negative infinitival imperatives in AndSp and AsturSp.

2.3. Infinitival imperatives in Spanish

[1] It is of note that Medieval Spanish had true imperatives with proclitics (cf. (i)a) and in fact present-day Spanish still employs certain archaic, formulaic expressions where a subjunctive form appears with encliticis (cf. (i)b).

(i) a. Las manos *le* besad (*The Song of my Cid*, 12th-13th c., cited in RAE 2009: 3132)
the hands cl. kiss$_{imp.-2.PL}$
'Kiss his hands!'
b. ¡Hága*se* la luz!
do$_{subj.-3.SG}$-cl. the light
'Let light come to be!'

An anonymous reviewer correctly notes that examples along the lines of (i)b are also common in dictionaries and instruction manuals in cases such as *véase* 'look,' consúltese 'consult,' and *agítese antes de usar* ('shake well before use'), all of which include the impersonal (en)clitic *se*.

Now, although the second-person plural imperatives in (2)b,d are canonical forms, spoken Spanish tends to use infinitival forms instead, as in (9). Much like infinitives, such forms manifest enclisis (cf. (9)b).[2]

(9) a. ¡Comer eso!
eat$_{inf.}$ that
'Eat$_{2.PL}$ that!'
b. ¡Comprar*la* pronto!
buy$_{inf.}$-cl. soon
'Buy$_{2.PL}$ it soon!'

It is important to take into account that infinitival forms are limited to plural contexts (otherwise a true imperative must be used, as in (2)a,c and (8)a). This intuition is confirmed by the data in (10), which show that infinitival imperatives can only combine with second-person plural reciprocals. The reasons why such forms are confined to plural contexts are unclear, and it should be noted that such infinitival forms in other languages (e.g. Italian, see below) are singular only.

(10) a. *¡Dejar de pensar solo en *ti mismo*
stop$_{inf.}$ of think only in yourself
b. ¡Dejar de pensar solo en *vosotros mismos*
stop$_{inf.}$ of think only in yourselves
'Stop$_{2.PL}$ thinking only about yourselves!'

Note that infinitives are also characteristic of forms of the imperative paradigm in board notices in different parts of the Spanish-speaking world (RAE 2009: 3135), usually in the negative, as exemplified in (11). Observe that, in much the same way as in the case of regular infinitives, the clitic appears postverbally, as indicated by (11)b.

(11) a. No fumar (RAE 2009: 3135)
not smoke$_{inf.}$
'Smoking is prohibited/Don't smoke!'
b. No estacionars*e* (RAE 2009: 3135)
not park$_{inf.}$ - cl.
'Do not park.'

[2] A question arises as to whether such cases involve true infinitives or the imperative ending [θ/ð] is simply replaced by [ɾ/r] (e.g. *comed* → *comer*). In this paper, I will pursue the view that the relevant verbal form is infinitival, which can function as an imperative. If this was exclusively a phonological phenomenon, the AsturSp form displaying the word order neg.+cl.+inf. exemplified in (1)c would be unexpected, since the corresponding neg.+cl.+imp. form (i.e., **no me seguid*) is never attested.

As (12) illustrates, this pattern is also found in informal written communication with exhortative value (cf. (12)a) and in school texts (cf. (12)b).

(12) a. No contestar por correo electrónico (RAE 2009: 3135)
not answer$_{inf.}$ for mail electronic
'Do not respond via email!'

b. Ordenar alfabéticamente las siguientes palabras (RAE 2009: 3136)
order$_{inf.}$ alphabetically the following words
'Put the following words in alphabetical order.'

Finally, in colloquial Spanish there is a form consisting of *a* + infinitive, which expedites a command (cf. (13)a) or invites the interlocutor to engage in some kind of activity, usually a pleasant one (cf. (13)b) (RAE 2009: 3151; see also Rivero 1994b).

(13) a. ¡A trabajar! (RAE 2009: 3151)
to work$_{inf.}$
'Work!'

b. ¡A bailar, a bailar! (Sanchis, *Aguirre*, cited in RAE 2009: 3151)
to dance to dance
'Dance!/Let's dance!'

Returning to the positive infinitival imperatives in (9), characteristic of spoken Spanish, it should be pointed out that whereas infinitives are used to express positive imperatives, a surrogate form is generally used for negative imperatives, as in (14)b, negative infinitivals being limited to board notices (cf. (11)), although the reader should note, as mentioned above, that negated imperatives do occur in certain spoken varieties.

(14) a. ¡Hablar de eso!
eat$_{inf.}$ of that
'Talk$_{2.PL}$about that!'

b. ¡No habléis de eso!
not talk$_{subj.-2.PL}$ of that
'Don't talk$_{2.PL}$about that!'

I turn now to the dialectal paradigm that constitutes the object of study of this paper.

2.3.1. Dialectal variation and clitic directionality in negative infinitival imperatives

In certain dialects, including (but not limited to) Andalusian Spanish (AndSp) and Asturian Spanish (AsturSp) plural negative infinitival imperatives are attested. Thus, the infinitival counterpart of (14)b, given in (15), is acceptable in the colloquial speech of speakers of said varieties.[3]

(15) ¡No hablar de eso![4]
not $talk_{inf.\text{-}2.PL}$ of that
'Don't $talk_{2.PL}$ about that!'

Such configurations are not unique to dialects of Spanish. In fact they are found in other languages. For instance, negative singular imperatives in standard Italian are formed using the infinitive, as the following example from RAE (2009: 3138) illustrates.

(16) Non cantare!
not $sing_{inf.}$
'Don't$_{2.SG}$ sing!'

Note that in Italian, such imperatives are limited to negative singular forms, unlike in Spanish (cf. (14)a/(15)), as noted above. Thus, (16) is a surrogate imperative used for the second-person singular only when negation is present. I return to this example in due course. As mentioned above, positive infinitival imperatives in spoken Spanish and, more specifically, in AndSp and AsturSp can only appear with postverbal clitics, as indicated by the contrast in (17)a (=(9)b) and (17)b.

(17) a. ¡Comprar*la* pronto!
$buy_{inf.}$-cl. soon
'$Buy_{2.PL}$ it soon!'

[3]Although I use the term Andalusian Spanish, the relevant construction is particularly common in areas such as Cádiz and Seville. Regarding Asturian Spanish, the data most likely belong to the variety referred to as *amestáu*, a mixture of Asturian and Spanish that displays features of both languages. RAE (2009) uses the expression 'the popular Spanish spoken in Asturias' to refer to said variety. It is worth noting that both (standard) Asturian and, needless to say, Spanish exhibit surrogate imperatives with the subjunctive in both singular and plural negative imperatives, which in *amestáu* coexist with the plural infinitival forms exemplified in (15).

[4] An anonymous reviewer points out that such forms are common in Basque Spanish. Additionally, in Basque (the contact language), inflected imperative forms (which use a special verb form) are clearly receding, and participial forms, which may be used in contexts where infinitivals are employed, are used instead. Future research will show whether this tendency is due to language contact.

b. *¡*La* comprar pronto!
cl. buy$_{inf.}$-cl. soon

However, in negative contexts, we find an asymmetry in terms of clitic directionality between negative infinitival imperatives in AndSp, which display the neg.+inf.+*cl.* word order (cf. (18)a), and their AsturSp counterparts, which exhibit the neg.+*cl.*+inf. word order (cf. (18)b). This paper concerns itself primarily with this dialectal contrast, which has so far gone unnoticed in the literature. The orders V$_{inf.}$+cl. and cl.+V$_{inf.}$ are not interchangeable, that is to say, there is a clear dialectal difference: (18)b,d,f are ungrammatical in AndSp and (18)a,c,e are not found in AsturSp.

(18) a. ¡No coger*la*! [AndSp, inf.+cl.]
not grab$_{inf.}$-cl.
'Don't grab$_{2.PL}$ it/her!'
b. ¡No *la* coger! [AsturSp, cl.+inf.]
not cl. grab$_{inf.}$
'Don't grab$_{2.PL}$ it/her!'
c. ¡No traér*mela*! [AndSp]
not bring$_{inf.}$-cl.-cl.
'Don't bring$_{2.PL}$ it to me!'
d. ¡No *me* *la* traer! [AsturSp]
not cl. cl. bring$_{inf.}$
'Don't bring$_{2.PL}$ it to me!'
e. ¡No ducharse/*os* tanto! [AndSp]
not shower$_{inf.}$-cl. so-much
'Don't shower$_{2.PL}$ so much!'
f. ¡No *os* duchar tanto! [AsturSp]
not cl. shower$_{inf.}$ so-much
'Don't shower$_{2.PL}$ so much!'

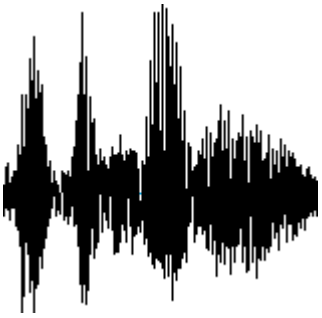
Note that other varieties that employ infinitivals follow similar patterns. For instance, the Spanish spoken in Castile and León seems to behave much like AndSp in this respect.

It is important to note that there is a noticeable dissimilarity between the two dialects discussed here besides the obvious difference in terms of clitic directionality. Whereas in Andalusian Spanish the main stress of the sentence falls on the infinitival (more concretely, on the tonic syllable of the verb, i.e. [kox/héɾ] in examples such as (18)a), in Asturian Spanish the negation bears extra stress –the main stress

of the sentence– and forms a prosodic word with the preverbal clitic (i.e. [nola] in (18)b).[5] This is shown by the Praat spectrograms furnished in (19).

(19) *Praat spectrograms of an example of the relevant construction in each dialect uttered by native speakers*

a. Andalusian Spanish



[no ko h/xérla]
No coger*la*
not grab$_{inf.}$-cl.
'Don't$_{2.PL}$ grab her/it$_{fem.}$'

b. Asturian Spanish

[no la ko xér]
No *la* coger
not cl. grab
'Don't$_{2.PL}$ grab her/it$_{fem.}$'

Having introduced the major data of this paper, I will now assess previous accounts of similar facts in other linguistic varieties.

3. Previous analyses

3.1. Clitic climbing

The most authoritative account of negative infinitival imperatives in the literature to date is that of Kayne (1992, 2000, 2013; see also Zanuttini 1997). Recall that Italian manifests negative second-person singular infinitival imperatives, which work as surrogate imperatives, as illustrated in (16) above. Importantly, in

[5] Even though the order neg.+cl. is the norm in the imperative Asturian Spanish construction under consideration, there are other environments where the clitic can optionally surface preverbally or postverbally, as shown by the alternation in (i). I will leave the issue of optionality in cases like (i) for future research, although a preliminary suggestion could be related to negation being stressed (neg.+cl.+inf.) vs. non-stressed (neg.+inf.+cl.) (see Section 4). The reader is also referred to Lorenzo (1994), who discusses the issue of optionality in clitic placement in Asturian.

(i) a. Pa(ra) no *lo* fastidiar… (RAE 2009: 3132)
for not cl. spoil$_{inf.}$
b. Pa(ra) no fastidia(r)*lo*…
for not spoil$_{inf.}$-cl.
Both: 'In order not to spoil it.'

Italian, both the enclisis option and the proclisis option are available in such contexts, as shown in (20)a and (20)b, respectively. Note that (20)a would be similar to AndSp (cf. (18)a) and (20)b to AsturSp (cf. (18)b).

(20) a. Non far*lo*!
not do$_{inf.}$-cl.
b. Non *lo* fare!
not cl. do$_{inf.}$
Both: 'Don't$_{2.SG}$ do it!'

Kayne's account of such cases assumes of that the negative head *non* 'not' selects a null modal to which the clitic climbs, yielding the neg.+cl.+inf. word order. Put differently, Italian negative infinitival imperatives with procliticization involve a structure featuring a non-overt modal/auxiliary verb onto which the clitic climbs, as in (21).

(21) [NEG. [CL.$_i$ MOD./AUX.$_\varnothing$ (…) [$_{VP}$ INF. ~~CL.$_i$~~]]]

Although in Italian either position for the object clitic is possible (cf. (20)), the neg.+cl.+inf. word order (cf. (20)b) is more prevalent in the Center and South of Italy than in the North, where the word order in which the clitic is post-infinitival, as in (20)a, is favored. Incidentally, it is precisely in the Center and South of Italy that clitic climbing is more robust, which supports the null-modal+clitic-climbing analysis of examples like (20)b (Kayne 2000, 2013). Moreover, Kayne (1992, 2000) has argued that the silent auxiliary characteristic of negative infinitival imperatives actually has an overt counterpart (specific to negative imperatives) in various Northern Italian dialects such as Paduan. This is exemplified in (22), taken from Zanuttini (1997: 119).

(22) a. No *stá* parlare!
not aux$_{2.SG}$ talk$_{inf.}$
'Don't$_{2.SG}$ talk!'
b. **Stá* parlare!

The overt auxiliary *stá* is reminiscent of the empty auxiliary proposed by Kayne and in fact can only be licensed by a true negative marker (i.e. *no*/*non* 'not'), a preposed negative constituent being insufficient to license the phonetically realized modal (cf. (23)).

(23) **A nissuni* stá parlarghe! (Paduan, from Zanuttini 1997: 119)
to no-one aux$_{2.SG}$ talk$_{inf.}$-to-him
'Don't$_{2.SG}$ talk to anyone!'

At first sight, the AndSp and AsturSp data in (18) seem amenable to a similar analysis. Under this account, the AsturSp example in (18)b would receive an analysis along the lines of (24), with negation licensing the non-overt modal/auxiliary verb. The clitic would then climb from its base-generated position as the complement of the infinitival to the empty auxiliary, yielding the familiar neg.+cl.+inf. word order.

(24) [no [la$_i$ MOD./AUX.$_\varnothing$ (…) [$_{VP}$ comprar ~~la$_i$~~]]]

Note that in AndSp and AsturSp negative infinitival imperatives, it is likewise impossible to have a preposed negative constituent (such as *nunca* 'never') with infinitival imperatives, much like in Italian (cf. (23)), as shown by the unacceptability of the examples in (25). Unlike infinitival imperatives, surrogate subjunctive imperatives in Spanish can be negated by means of a preverbal negative constituent, which can certainly function as the negator, as shown in (4)c,d above.

(25) a. *¡*Nunca* llamarla! [AndSp]
never call$_{inf.}$-cl.
b. *¡*Nunca* la llamar! [AsturSp]
never cl. call$_{inf.}$
Both: 'Don't$_{2.PL}$ ever call her!'

The contrast between (18) and (25) follows naturally under Kayne's account, since the sentences in (25) lack the negative head *no*, which is required to license the null auxiliary selecting the infinitive.

In the following subsection, I turn to some issues that arise for this account in light of the AndSp and AsturSp phenomena under consideration.

3.1.1. Problems for the clitic-climbing account of the Spanish case

3.1.1.1. Lack of optionality of clitic climbing in AndSp and AsturSp

As is known, clitic climbing is optional in run-of-the-mill modal+infinitival constructions in languages like Spanish, as indicated by (26).

(26) a. Podéis comprar*la*
can$_{2.PL}$ buy$_{inf.}$-cl.
b. *La* podéis comprar
cl. can$_{2.PL}$ buy$_{inf.}$
Both: 'You can buy it.'

If the alternation inf.+cl. (AndSp) – cl.+inf. (AsturSp) is a case of clitic climbing *à la* Kayne (1992 *et seq.*), then the question arises as to why AndSp forces the clitic to stay low and AsturSp forces clitic climbing, since in neither dialect is the operation optional, contrary to what happens in regular clitic climbing cases such as (26).[6] Unless an additional requirement forces the clitic to either stay *in situ* in AndSp or move high in AsturSp, it is unclear how the clitic-climbing approach can explain the contrast between AndSp and AsturSp straightforwardly. I now discuss an additional problem for such an account.

3.1.1.2. Verb height

The clitic-climbing account outlined in (21)/(24) assumes that the infinitive is rather low in the structure. Concretely, this analysis places the infinitival in the VP layer. Nevertheless, it is easy to show that the AndSp and AsturSp infinitival imperatives in question are rather high structurally, much like adult root infinitives (Grohmann and Etxepare 2003; see also Ojea 1994: 114 and Cinque 1999: 226 on the height of infinitives).[7] First, whereas frequency adverbs such as *a menudo* 'often' can occur before or after a verb in the indicative, as shown by (27), in infinitival imperative cases the verb must precede the adverbial, as in (28). This is taken by authors including Grohmann and Etxepare (2003: 15) to indicate that the infinitival has moved past the adverb. In their own words, "[t]he conclusion is clear: […] the

[6] Remember that the Italian examples that inspired Kayne's work display optionality (cf. (20)), and speakers of different dialects seem to allow both word orders, although they point out differences in register.
[7] See also Kayne (1991) and Uriagereka (1995), among others, for arguments in favor of a high landing site for the infinitival verb with non-imperative value in several Romance languages.

infinitival raises even higher than the finite verb, into a position above T^0," which they take to be located in the CP/left periphery of the sentence.

(27) a. Alberto a menudo llama a las Klaikas
Albert often calls$_{indic.}$ the Klaikas
b. Alberto llama a menudo a las Klaikas
Albert calls$_{indic.}$ often the Klaikas
Both: 'Albert often calls Klaikas.'

(28) a. *¡A menudo comprar manzanas!
often buy$_{inf.}$ apples
b. ¡Comprar a menudo manzanas!
buy$_{inf.}$ often apples
'Buy$_{2.PL}$ apples/them often!'

It is of note that in negative infinitival sentences with pronominal clitics, the frequency adverb must also occur after the infinitive in both dialects, as indicated by (29). This suggests that the infinitival is rather high in the structure independently of whether enclisis or proclisis obtains.

(29) a. *¡A menudo no traerlas! [AndSp]
often not bring$_{inf.}$-cl
b. *¡A menudo no las traer! [AsturSp]
often not cl. bring$_{inf.}$
c. ¡No traer*las* a menudo! [AndSp]
not bring$_{inf.}$-cl. often
d. ¡No *las* traer a menudo! [AsturSp]
not cl. bring$_{inf.}$ often
All: 'Don't$_{2.PL}$ bring them often!'

Moreover, Grohmann and Etxepare (2003) claim that quantified subjects may not stay in situ and must necessarily vacate the VP. Quantified subjects can follow –but not precede– the infinitive verb in the root-infinitive sentences Grohmann and Etxepare are concerned with. If such post-infinitival subjects have left the verb layer and occupy Spec,TP, then we can conclude that the infinitive must be higher than TP.[8] By the same token, in AndSp and AsturSp infinitival imperatives, quantified subjects must also follow the

[8]According to Etxepare and Grohmann (2003: 14), the sentence in (i), with an indicative verb, is ungrammatical.

(i) *Compró *toda clase de gente* un Volkswagen
bought every class of people a Volkswagen
'Every kind of person bought a Volkswagen.'

infinitival in both negative and positive imperatives, as shown in (30). This fact again suggests that the infinitive is located in a high position in the clause.

(30) a. ¡Oye, no llamar *todos los parientes* a María a la vez!
listen not call$_{inf.}$ all the relatives Mary at the time
'Listen, don't$_{t2.PL}$ you (all her relatives) call Mary at the same time!'
b. ¡Oye, llamar *todos los parientes* a María a la vez!
listen call$_{inf.}$-cl. all the relatives Mary at the time
'Listen, you (all her relatives) call$_{2.PL}$her at the same time!'

Lastly, the construction in question can adopt the form of a perfect (with *haber* as the infinitive), as in (31), which is actually the structure used in standard Spanish to express the relevant meaning. It is natural to assume that *haber* cannot have been in the VP area at any point in the derivation, nor can it remain in the VP. In addition, *haber* appears with a participle. The data at hand thus confirm that the infinitival in such constructions must be in a high structural position. For cases such as (31), usually called retrospective imperatives, the reader is referred to Bosque (1980).

(31) a. ¡No haber comprado algo tan caro!
not have$_{inf.}$ bought something so pricy
'You shouldn't have bought something so expensive.'
b. ¡No haber*lo* comprado! [AndSp, standard Sp]
not have$_{inf.}$-cl. bought
c. ¡No *lo* haber comprado! [AsturSp]
not cl. have$_{inf.}$ bought
Both: 'You shouldn't have bought it$_{masc.}$!'

In sum, the evidence adduced hitherto indicates that the infinitival verb in AndSp and AsturSp infinitival imperatives is located in a high position in the clause, regardless of whether negation is present and whether the verb is accompanied by enclitics (AndSp) or proclitics (AsturSp).

Lastly, note that Kayne's clitic-climbing analysis is silent as to the dialectal difference in terms of the location of sentence stress, which in Asturian Spanish negative infinitival commands falls upon the negative head.[9]

[9] It is interesting to note that the work of Den Dikken and Blasco (2007) presents a fact that had thus far gone unnoticed in the literature, namely the observation that the aspectual verbs *ir* 'go' and *venir* 'come' do not allow a

Furthermore, the three pieces of evidence reviewed above regarding the height of the verb can also be taken to argue against an analysis of the relevant dialectal contrast which assumes that the difference between AndSp and AsturSp is due to the infinitival moving past the clitic in AndSp, yielding the inf.+cl. order characteristic of this variety, but staying in a lower position in AsturSp, yielding the cl.+inf. order; rather, it appears that the infinitive moves to a high position in both dialects, independently of whether the clitic is postverbal (as in AndSp) or preverbal (as in AsturSp). This is actually consistent with the height of the verb being the same in the two dialects, as suggested by the evidence reviewed in this section. As shown below, the account to be pursued in this paper is indeed compatible with the infinitive being high in both AndSp and AsturSp.

4. Accounting for the Andalusian-Asturian contrast in clitic placement in negative infinitival imperatives

In this section I propose a unified account of the Andalusian-Asturian contrasts regarding clitic directionality in negative infinitival imperatives (cf. (18)) that draws on Bošković's (2001, 2004, 2012) and Miyoshi's (2002) account of the ban on negative imperatives in certain languages, illustrated for Spanish in (3) and (4). I then show that the system to be developed here makes a correct prediction, which should be taken to be an argument in its favor.

---

clitic to climb out of their infinitive in simple imperative sentences in Spanish, in contrast to what happens in finite and non-finite contexts. This ban is illustrated in the contrast in (i), where only the non-climbing version results in a legitimate outcome.

(i) a. ¡Ve a llamar*lo*!
go$_{2.SG}$ to call$_{inf.}$-cl.
'Go call him!'
b. *¡Ve*lo* a llamar!
go$_{2.SG}$-cl. to call$_{inf.}$

Although other verbs such as *intentar* 'try' marginally allow for the clitic to climb, the tendency for clitic climbing to be at best marginal in imperatives could also be interpreted as an argument against a clitic-climbing analysis of infinitival imperatives.

4.1. The PF-merger+copy-and-delete approach

In what follows, I show that the Asturian-Andalusian contrasts brought to light in this paper argue for a PF-merger+copy-and-delete approach *à la* Miyoshi (2002) and Bošković (2001 *et seq.*), *inter alia*. On this view, imperatives involve a null F head which is an affix that must merge with a host under PF adjacency (see Bošković 2001 for discussion of such non-overt affixes in a number of constructions). More concretely, this account adopts (i) Franks' (1998) suggestion that a low copy of a non-trivial (i.e. movement) chain can be pronounced provided that convergence so demands and (ii) the proposal that imperatives involve a null F(unctional) head (possibly C) whose affixal nature requires PF merger (i.e. affix hopping) with a host (i.e. a verb/prosodic word) under adjacency. I will first briefly look at the two key ingredients of the account in some detail and then go on to demonstrate how the system works for the Andalusian-Asturian Spanish data.

4.1.1. The Copy Theory of Movement

Within Chomsky's (1995) Copy-Theory-of-Movement (i.e. movement-as-copy-and-deletion) approach, a number of works have shown that in some cases, the requirement that the highest copy of a moved element be pronounced can be overridden if a condition of the Phonological Form (PF) component requires the pronunciation of a low copy (e.g. Abels 2001; Bobaljik 2002; Bošković 2001*et seq.*; Bošković and Franks 2002; Franks 1998, 2000; Hiramatsu 2000; Lambova 2002, 2004; Landau 2003; Nunes 2004; Ortega-Santos 2006; Pesetsky 1997, 1998; Reglero 2004; Stjepanović 1999, 2004; Villa-García 2015; among others).

Bošković (2002) convincingly shows that one such case can be found in Romanian, a quintessentially multiple-*wh*-fronting language, where all *wh*-phrases are normally fronted, as shown in (32)a. However, when the *wh*-items are homophonous, the second *wh*-phrase cannot appear preverbally, as shown by the ungrammaticality of (32)b; instead, the second *wh*-phrase has to surface postverbally (i.e. as if it did not undergo movement), as in (32)c.

(32) a. Cine ce precede?
who what precedes
'Who precedes what?'
b. *Ce ce precede?
what what precedes
c. Ce precede ce?
what precedes what
'What precedes what?'

Example (32)b can be ruled out by appealing to a contraint against contiguous homophonous forms (Bošković 2002, Menn and MacWhinney 1984, *inter alia*). Example (32)c, for its part, is an illustration of the intricate interplay between phonology and syntax, with the need to satisfy a PF requirement taking precedence over the need to satisfy a syntactic requirement (Bošković and Nunes 2007). The Copy-Theory-of-Movement analysis, whereby all movement is overt, the choice of copy to pronounce being a PF decision, provides a straightforward solution to the problem posed by (32)c: in Romanian examples like (32)c, movement of all *wh*-phrases takes place overtly, in compliance with the syntactic requirement that all *wh*-phrases be fronted in this language. This is shown in (33), where copies of the relevant moved constituents have been included.

(33) ce_1 ce_2 precede ce_1 ce_2
what what precedes what what

However, retention of the two highest copies of the moved elements (i.e. *ce_1 ce_2*) in (33) would lead to a crash (cf. (32)b), since the resulting structure would not conform to the requirements of the PF component (i.e. adjacent homophonous forms are illegitimate in this language). This is precisely the context where it is possible favor a low copy in PF (Franks 1998). Thus, the low copy of the object is pronounced instead of the high one, satisfying the PF condition against contiguous homophonous forms and yielding (32)c as a result (cf. (34)).

(34) ce$_1$ ~~ce$_2$~~ precede ~~ce$_1$~~ ce$_2$
what what precedes what what

In short, the Romanian case provides evidence that on occasion, a low copy of a moved element can be phonetically realized if convergence so demands. In Villa-García (2015), I show that an analysis along these lines can also be extended to explain the grammaticality contrast between sentences with preverbal and postverbal subjects in constituent questions, namely the notorious effect first noted by Torrego (1984) in Spanish sentences displaying obligatory subject-verb inversion. My analysis assumes a Copy-Theory-of-Movement account of subjects in Spanish, as in (35), on the presumption that the subject always rises to Spec,AgrSP/TP in this language. In the cases at hand, which involve constituent questions with *qué* 'what,' pronouncing the high copy of the subject leads to a crash (cf. (35)a), since adjacency between *qué* and the verb is disrupted, but pronouncing a low copy of the subject *Juan* leads to convergence instead (cf. (35)b), since nothing intervenes in PF between *qué* and the verb. (On the need for the *wh*-word and the verb to be adjacent, see Buesa-García 2008; the reader is referred to Villa-García 2015 for discussion of different accounts of the need for the *wh*-word and the verb to be adjacent that are compatible with the proposal advocated here).

(35) a. *¿Qué Juan$_i$ dijo ~~Juan$_i$~~?
what John said John
b. ¿Qué ~~Juan$_i$~~ dijo Juan$_i$?
what John said John
'What did John say?'

In work in progress, I show that similar effects are observed in cases where clitic climbing cannot occur (i.e. the clitic must stay low) due to factors that include homophony, as shown in (36). In (36)a, the clitic of the lower verb (i.e. *me*) can either climb or stay low. However, in (36)b, where the clitic of the higher V is identical in form to that of the lower verb, the clitic of the lower verb must stay low, in stark contrast to (36)a. The impossibility of clitic climbing in certain cases due to factors that include haplology can now be seen as a consequence of obligatory lower copy pronunciation to avoid a PF violation, much like in the Romanian cases in (32).

(36) a. Se {me} quedó mirándo{me}
cl. cl. stayed looking-cl.
'S/he stared at me.'
b. Me {*me} quedé mirándo{me}
cl. cl. stayed looking-cl.
'I stared at myself (in the mirror).'

In the following subsection I sketch the second component of the analysis.

4.1.2. The affix-hopping analysis of the prohibition against negative imperatives in Spanish-style languages

The analysis of the ban on negative imperatives in some languages has commanded a great deal of attention in the literature (e.g. Ausín 2013; Bošković 2004, 2012; Han 1999; Isac and Jakab 2001; Laka 1994; Miyoshi 2002; Postma and van der Wurff 2007; Rivero 1994a; Rivero and Terzi 1995; Tomić 2001, 2007; Zanuttini 1994, 1997; Zeijlstra 2004). I adopt Miyoshi's (2002) analysis whereby imperatives feature a null imperative affix, F, which must merge with an appropriate host to which it must be PF-adjacent.

As Miyoshi (2002) shows (see also Bošković 2004, 2012), there is a parallelism between the impossibility of negative indicatives in English and negative imperatives in languages like Spanish. In English, indicatives cannot co-occur with negation; in languages like Spanish, imperative verbs with negation are disallowed. Whereas Spanish resorts to subjunctive surrogate forms in such cases (cf. (4)), English employs an infinitive and resorts to the *do*-support strategy. Consider the data in (37).

(37) a. *Joe not visited Manchester
b. Joe did not visit Manchester

Miyoshi (2002) provides a uniform account of the ban on negative indicatives in English and the ban on negative imperatives in languages like Spanish. This is made possible by adopting Chomsky's (1957) affix hopping analysis, which has been recast as PF/morphological merger, a morphophonological rule involving merger of an affix with its host under PF adjacency (Bobaljik 1994, 1995; Bošković 2001*et seq.*; Halle and Marantz 1993; Lasnik 1995). This operation is blocked by phonologically realized

intervening elements, but not by non-overt elements such as traces and *pro* (Bošković 2012). By a way of illustration, consider the paradigm in (38), whose pre-PF-merger and *do*-support structures are given in (39). (I use t(races) for the sake of simplicity).

(38) a. Joe visited Manchester
b. *Joe not visited Manchester
c. Joe did not visit Manchester

(39) a. [TP Joe_i T^o (ed) [$_{vP}$ t_i visit Manchester]]
b. [TP Joe_i T^o (ed) [$_{NegP}$ not [$_{vP}$ t_i visit Manchester]]]

In English (38)a, the affix T (i.e. *–ed*) is PF adjacent to its verbal host *visit* (recall that the trace, as a phonologically null element, does not disrupt adjacency between the affix and its host), as shown in (39)a. PF merger thus takes place without a problem, yielding (38)a. In (38)b, on the contrary, *not* disrupts PF adjacency between the T affix *–ed* and the verb (cf. (39)b), blocking PF merger as a result. *Do*-support, which has a last-resort flavor, takes place in order to save an otherwise stranded affix (i.e. T), hence deriving (38)c. The upshot of the account is that indicatives cannot co-exist with negation in English, because their co-occurrence leads to a stranded affix, which is illegitimate.

Let us now see how the analysis can be extended to the prohibition against negative imperatives found in languages like Spanish. Although Miyoshi (2002) and Bošković (2004, 2012) focus on Greek, I will use standard Spanish data to illustrate their proposal. Consider again the data in (2)a, (3)a, and (4)a, repeated here as (40)a,b, and c. Recall that while positive imperatives involve true imperative morphology, as shown in (40)a, negated imperatives are impossible (cf. (40)b), surrogate subjunctive forms being used instead (cf. (40)c). Note that the same pattern obtains for second-person plural imperatives.

(40) a. ¡Sal de aquí! (RAE 2009: 3129)
exit$_{imp.-2.SG}$ of here
'Get$_{2.SG}$out of here!'
b. *¡No sal de aquí!
not exit$_{imp.-2.SG}$ of here

c. ¡No salgas de aquí!
not exit$_{subj.-2.SG}$ of here
'Don't get$_{2.SG}$out of here!'

Bošković (2004, 2012), Cavalcante (2011), and Miyoshi (2002) propose that imperatives involve a null F(unctional) head (possibly C; see below for a refinement) whose affixal nature requires PF merger (i.e. affix hopping) with a host (i.e. a verb/prosodic word) under adjacency.[10] This operation takes place rather easily in (40)a, where the verb and the affix F are PF adjacent, as in the highly simplified derivation in (41)a. Problems arise, however, in (40)b, where the negative head disrupts adjacency between imperative F and the verbal host, blocking PF merger and leaving an illegitimate stranded affix (cf. (41)b).

(41) a. [F [sal de aquí]]
[+affix]
b. *[F [$_{NegP}$ no [sal de aquí]]]
[+affix]

Spanish lacks a *do*-support-style last-resort mechanism; rather, the language makes recourse to another verbal form, a subjunctive, as in (40)c, the assumption being that F is not present in subjunctive imperatives (though see Postma and van der Wurff 2007 and Zanuttini 1997 for the suggestion that negation may check imperative features; see also Section 4.2).[11] As for languages where the ban on negative imperatives is not operative (e.g. Polish, exemplified in (7)), Bošković suggests that such languages either lack F or, more plausibly, F is not affixal in those languages and thus requires no host. In sum, English lacks negative indicatives and languages like Spanish lack negative imperatives. In order to

[10] Note that Bošković (2001: 260-261) proposes that other constructions where the clitic appears postverbally (e.g. non-imperative infinitives and gerunds) may also contain an affix head F, but that we do not necessarily have to have the same affix in imperatives and other enclitic-triggering constructions including gerunds (i.e. the affix can have a different featural make-up while still requiring PF adjacency with an appropriate host).

[11] As noted by an anonymous reviewer, the absence of F in subjunctive imperatives could in principle be related to differences in meaning or the illocutionary force of the two types of sentences with imperative value (see, for instance, Villa-García 2015: Ch. 3 for arguments that (at least a subset of) subjunctive clauses with imperative force lexicalize jussive/optative mood).

rescue the relevant derivations, English resorts to the *do*-support strategy, while Spanish employs a surrogate verbal form. As Miyoshi (2002) argues, however, the underlying account is the same.

This analysis in fact receives additional support from the behavior of clitics in the relevant context. Let us look once more at the data in (8), repeated here as (42).

(42) a. ¡Di<u>*le*</u> eso! (cf. **<u>Le</u> di eso*)
tell$_{imp.-2.SG}$-cl. that
'Tell$_{2.SG}$ him/her that!'
b. ¡No <u>*le*</u> digas eso! (cf. **No digas<u>le</u> eso)*
not cl. tell$_{subj.-2.SG}$ that!
'Don't tell$_{2.SG}$ him/her that!'

Following Bošković (2001 *et seq.*), I assume that a copy of the pronominal clitic is always present both above and below the verb in indicative, imperative, and subjunctive contexts alike. Miyoshi (2002) submits that given that a lower member of a non-trivial chain can be pronounced if this is necessary to avoid a PF violation, as shown in the previous section, the affix hopping analysis provides a straightforward account of the V-clitic switch in (42). In (42)a, pronouncing the high copy of the clitic would block adjacency between the imperative affix F and the verb, resulting in an ungrammatical sentence (*cl.+imp.). This is precisely a context where, much like in the Romanian examples in (32), a low copy of the clitic has to be pronounced to avoid a violation. Put another way, choosing a lower copy of the clitic in PF avoids disrupting the adjacency between F and the verb, necessary for F to hop onto the verb. This is shown in (43)a. By contrast, recall that in examples like (42)b, adjacency is not required, since F is not present, and a subjunctive form is used instead. Much like in regular indicatives in Spanish, which display the order cl.+V, nothing goes wrong if the highest copy of the pronominal clitic is chosen in PF. The high copy of the clitic can, hence must be pronounced, as shown in (43)b, which yields a well-formed output (cf. (42)b; cl.+subj.).

(43) a. [F [~~*le*$_i$~~ di*le*$_i$ eso]]
[+affix]
b. [… [$_{NegP}$ no [*le*$_i$ digas ~~*le*$_i$~~ eso]]]

I now turn to demonstrate how a PF-merger+copy-and-delete-based approach successfully accounts for the Andalusian and Asturian facts presented in this paper.

4.2. Explaining the Andalusian-Asturian Spanish contrast

In light of the analysis outlined in the previous subsections, the positive infinitival imperative sentences in (17), repeated here as (44), receive the familiar derivation in (45)a, which features imperative F, and a copy of the clitic above and below the verb. Under Frank's proposal summarized in Section 4.1.1, the highest copy of the clitic chain is pronounced unless this pronunciation causes a PF violation. Recall that F, a non-overt affix, must be adjacent to the verb/prosodic word, which functions as a host. In (44), the PF adjacency requirement between the null head F and the verb is met as long as the low copy of the clitic is favored in PF (cf. (44)a), which further instantiates the pronounce-a-low-copy-to-avoid-a-PF-violation approach (viz. (32)c and (42)a). This derivation is illustrated in (45)b. By contrast, pronouncing the clitic preverbally (i.e. choosing the highest copy in PF) would prevent affixal F and the verb from being PF adjacent to each other, hence incurring a violation (i.e. a stranded affix, i.e., F, without a host), as in (44)b (cf. derivation in (45)c).

(44) a. ¡Comprar*la* pronto! [AndSp, AsturSp, and general spoken Spanish]
buy$_{inf.}$-cl. soon
'Buy$_{2.PL}$ it soon!'
b. *¡*La* comprar pronto!
cl. buy$_{inf.}$ soon

(45) *Positive 2-pl. infinitival imperatives*

a.	F	la	comprar	la	pronto	(cf. (44))
b. ✓	F	~~la$_1$~~	comprar	la$_1$	pronto	(cf. (44)a)
c. *	F	la	comprar	~~la$_1$~~	pronto	(cf. (44)b)

As far as negative infinitival imperatives in the relevant dialects are concerned, exemplified again in (46), I propose that the negative head in such cases moves to the affixal head F in both dialects, as in (47)a and (48)a (see below for evidence to this effect).

(46) a. ¡No comprar*la*! [AndSp, inf.+cl.]
not buy$_{inf.}$-cl.
'Don't buy$_{2.PL}$ it!'
b. ¡No *la* comprar! [AsturSp, cl.+inf.]
not cl. buy$_{inf.}$
'Don't buy$_{2.PL}$ it!'

As shown in Section 2.3.1, in Andalusian Spanish (cf. (46)a/(47)), negation is not stressed and does not constitute a prosodic word; hence, it cannot properly support F phonologically (i.e. it cannot function as a host). In this case, only the verb can serve as a host. Thus, a low copy of the clitic must be pronounced, since F can only hop onto the verb provided that the two entities are PF adjacent (cf. (47)b). Alternatively, pronouncing the high copy of the clitic would disrupt adjacency between F and the verb (cf. (47)c), resulting in an illegitimate stranded affix in PF (i.e. F).

(47) *Negative 2-pl. infinitival imperatives in AndSp* (cf. (46)a)

a.	no	F	la	comprar	la
b. ✓	no	F	~~la~~	comprar	la
c. *	no	F	la	comprar	~~la~~

By contrast, in Asturian Spanish (cf. (46)b/(48)), NO bears stress (indicated by means of capitalization), making it a host that can support F phonologically. Therefore, F does not need to hop onto the verb.[12] Since no violation ensues in PF if the highest copy of the clitic is pronounced, the high copy can and therefore must be chosen (cf. (48)b). If a low copy of the clitic were favored in PF instead, the derivation would crash, which is now explained as a violation of Last Resort, since there would be no PF reason to pronounce the low copy of the clitic in place of the high one (cf. (48)c). Note that, as indicated by the spectrograph in (19)b, negation and the preverbal clitic form a prosodic word and both carry stress (in fact, the actual prosodic word would involve neg.+F+cl., under the current analysis). This is likely due to the fact that Asturian is a language that generally exhibits enclisis. Consequently, the preverbal clitic

[12] David Embick and Isabel Pérez-Jiménez (p.c.) correctly point out that F seems to manifest a preference for a verbal host, suggesting that we are not dealing here with an exclusively phonological phenomenon, a matter that future research should care to investigate in depth.

encliticizes onto the negation in examples such as (46)b. Notice that Asturian exhibits postverbal clitics in positive declarative clauses (*llamela* – called$_{1.SG.}$ + cl. 'I called her'); however, Asturian negated declaratives obligatorily feature preverbal clitics (*nun la llamé* – not + cl. + called$_{1.SG.}$ 'I didn't call her'), with the clitic actually encliticizing onto *nun* 'not,' a possibility also found in old varieties of Romance, at least phonologically (cf. *no'l*). This fact lends further support to the analysis currently pursued, since unlike AsturSp, AndSp does not have enclisis in finite environments, much like present-day standard Spanish.[13]

(48) *Negative 2-pl. infinitival imperatives in AsturSp* (cf. (46)b)

a.	NO	F	la	comprar	la
b. ✓	NO	F	la	comprar	~~la~~
c. *	NO	F	~~la~~	comprar	la

Importantly, the account currently pursued allows us to treat the two dialects in exactly the same way syntactically (cf. (44)a/(46)a,b), which is a welcome result. Put differently, there is no need to posit a different syntax between AndSp and AsturSp infinitival imperatives, in line with Bošković's (2001 *et seq.*) approach to PF word reordering, on which PF considerations are allowed to affect word order but without actual PF movement, much like in the Romanian examples in (32). In analogous fashion, note that an additional virtue of the analysis proposed here is that it is an extension of the account of the ban on negative imperatives in languages like Spanish outlined in Section 4.1.2.

Finally, the analysis pursued in this paper correctly predicts that negative imperatives cannot be accomplished via a preverbal negative constituent (e.g. *nunca* 'never') in either dialect (cf. (25), repeated here again in (49)). Such cases (likely featuring adjuncts) do not involve the negative head (neg^{o}) *no* 'not' moving to a position close to F. The negative constituent then does not move to F and hence it intervenes between F and the verb, disrupting adjacency (see Bošković 2004b for evidence that adverbs do count for purposes of PF adjacency relevant to PF merger). Note that I assume here that an adjunct cannot host F.

[13] I would like to thank an anonymous reviewer for bringing this important observation to my attention.

Thus, negation moves to adjoin to F in the relevant contexts in Andalusian and Asturian Spanish, which does not happen with adjuncts.[14] Note that this constraint is syntactic and not semantic in nature (i.e. there is no intrinsic incompatibility between negative adverbs such as *never* and infinitival imperatives). Consequently, the counterparts of (49)a,b with Xº negation and postverbal *nunca* are grammatical, as indicated by the well-formedness of (50)a,b.

(49) a. *¡*Nunca* llamarla! [AndSp]
never call$_{inf.}$-cl.
b. *¡*Nunca* la llamar! [AsturSp]
never cl. call$_{inf.}$
Both: 'Don't$_{2.PL}$ ever call her!'

(50) a. ¡No llamarla *nunca*! [AndSp]
no call$_{inf.}$-cl. never
b. ¡No la llamar *nunca*! [AsturSp]
no cl. call$_{inf.}$ never
Both: 'Don't$_{2.PL}$ ever call her!'

Note also that negative-constituent + cl. + V configurations are licit with subjunctive forms, as noted in passing and as shown in (51) (see also (4)c,d).

(51) ¡*Nunca* la llames/llaméis! [Spanish]
never cl. call$_{2\text{-}SG.imp/2\text{-}PL.imp.}$
'Don't ever call her!'

Similarly, preverbal negative phrases can co-occur with infinitivals in non-imperative contexts, as suggested by the acceptability of the following example:

(52) Viviendo sin *nunca* aprender [*Hoy me desperté*, song by Las Pelotas, 2005]
living without never learn$_{inf.}$
'Living without ever learning.'

Facts like (49) lend further credence to my proposal that the negation adjoins to F in the relevant infinitival imperative contexts in Andalusian and Asturian Spanish. My claim that negº in AndSp and

[14] A reviewer suggests an alternative derivation according to which adverb preposing is mediated by focus, which intervenes between F and (non-overt) Negº, preventing cliticization. I do not explore this option here.

AsturSp moves to F in infinitival commands could potentially be related to (a version of) the proposal made by Postma and van der Wurff (2007) regarding the nature of negation in negated imperatives. According to these authors, negation in imperatives differs from that of non-imperative sentences in expressing volition on the speech act level (i.e. negation has a boulemaeic component). Therefore, since speech acts are typically associated with the CP domain, it would be reasonable to suggest that *no* 'not' in such cases is an element in the CP, wholly compatible with my proposal that neg^{o} moves to F in the relevant contexts.[15] As hinted at above and argued for in the following subsection, F is located in the CP domain, a matter to which I turn immediately.

4.3. Some speculations about the structural positions of F and the infinitival verbs in negated imperatives in Andalusian and Asturian Spanish

In order to determine the structural positions occupied by the relevant elements in the construction at issue, we have to take into consideration certain facts previously observed:

(i) Negation always precedes the infinitival verb and any accompanying clitics it may occur with.

(ii) The infinitival verb with imperative illocutionary force is rather high in both Andalusian and Asturian Spanish imperatives, both in positive and negative contexts and irrespective of clitic directionality.

There is yet another fact that must be taken into consideration: CP-related phenomena such as clitic-left dislocated (CLLDed) constituents precede negation in the pertinent environments, as (53) shows.

[15] Even though I have proposed that neg^{o} moves to F in Andalusian and Asturian Spanish infinitival imperatives, it could also be the case that negation is generated as the head of a left-peripheral BoulemaeicP in the spirit of Postma and van der Wurff (2007). In this case, movement of negation would not need to be postulated. However, as noted by Violeta Demonte (p.c.), there may be problems with the Postma and van der Wurff approach in that negation in the negative imperatives under discussion does not negate the speech act. Moreover, this move would require invoking an additional category. I will not explore the consequences of this move here and leave this possibility for future research, noting that the analysis proposed in this paper works with either option regarding the location of negation.

(53) a. ¡A Juana no molestarla! [AndSp]
Juana not bother$_{inf.}$-cl.
b. ¡A Juana no la molestar! [AsturSp]
Juana no cl. bother$_{inf.}$
Both: 'Don't$_{2.PL}$ bother Juana!'

Therefore, we now add a third fact:

(iii) CLLDed constituents precede the negative marker in negative infinitival imperatives in Andalusian and Asturian Spanish.

Assuming a rich left periphery for Spanish along the lines of Rizzi (1997 *et seq.*), as argued for in Demonte and Fernández-Soriano (2009 *et seq.*) and Villa-García (2015), *inter alia*, the data in (53) point out that whereas F can still be a left-peripheral element, it cannot occupy the highest left peripheral projection, namely ForceP in Rizzi's system (i.e, ForceP > (TopicP) > (FocusP) > FinitenessP), since CLLDed phrases are higher than the negation, which I have assumed moves to F. If CLLD in Spanish targets TopicP (see Villa-García 2015 for extensive evidence), then it would be reasonable to make the natural assumption that imperative F is located in FinitenessP, which has actually been independently argued to be the locus of mood (e.g. indicative, imperative, subjunctive) features.

Given that clitics are standardly assumed to be TP-related elements ever since the seminal work of Kayne (1991), it makes sense to suppose that they stay within the TP domain. Recall that the verb in the relevant contexts is higher than in indicative contexts. How can we reconcile the fact that the verb is very high in the structure with the fact that the clitics (even when preverbal, as in AsturSp) remain within the inflectional layer? This question finds an answer by adopting a (standard) split-INFL hypothesis (Pollock 1989), with AgrSp and TP replacing IP. On this view, it could be argued that the relevant infinitival imperatives are located in the highest head within TP, that is to say, AgrS^{o} (note that this constitutes a departure from Grohmann and Etxepare's proposal, which assumes movement of root infinitives to the left periphery). This move allows us to account for the fact that the verb is situated in a rather high position in the sentence while keeping clitics in the IP area.

The resulting abstract structure would look thus (I assume movement of neg^{o} to F^{o} here):

(54) $[_{ForceP}$ $([_{TopicP}$ CLLD) $[_{FinitenessP}$ neg^{o} F^{o} $[_{AgrSP}$ $cl._{i}$ $V_{inf.}$ $cl._{i}\ldots]]([)]$
[+affix]

Note that the analysis above is just a first approximation –by no means exhaustive– towards determining the structural positions of the relevant elements involved (i.e. imperative affixal F, negation, the clitics, and the infinitival verb). Crucially, the analysis proposed in this paper does not depend on the correctness of the structure in (54).

5. Conclusion

I have presented Andalusian Spanish and Asturian Spanish data manifesting a sharp contrast in terms of clitic directionality in the context of negative infinitival imperative sentences. The analysis proposed here, based on Miyoshi's (2002) and Bošković's (2001 *et seq.*) affix-hopping/PF-merger+copy-and-delete approach, enables us to successfully analyze the relevant dialectal contrast in exactly the same way syntactically, given that PF factors are able to affect word order without the need to postulate PF movement. To the extent that the independently motivated analysis adopted here succeeds in accounting for the novel data presented in this paper uniformly, it receives further crosslinguistic support. Moreover, the analysis adopted in this paper makes use of the same theoretical machinery employed to account for the infamous prohibition against negative imperatives in languages like Spanish, which is a welcome result as well. Future research will care to address whether the analysis proposed here is extendable to comparable constructions in different languages and dialects (e.g. the Italian imperatives reviewed in Section 3.1). More generally, it is my hope that the comparative dialect evidence adduced in this paper will allow for a better understanding of the syntactic behavior of sentences with imperative illocutionary force.

References

Abels, Klaus. 2001. The predicate cleft construction in Russian. Franks, S., T. King, and M. Yadroff (eds.), *Formal Approaches to Slavic Linguistics: The Indiana Meeting 2000.* Ann Arbor: Michigan Slavic Publications, Ann Arbor, 1-19.

Ausín, Adolfo. 2013. A Morphological Approach to the Lack of Negative Imperatives in Spanish. Howe, C. et al. (eds.), *Selected Proceedings of the 15th Hispanic Linguistics Symposium*, 281-296. Somerville, Mass.: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

Bobaljik, Jonathan David. 1994. What does adjacency do? *MIT Working Papers in Linguistics* 22. Department of Linguistics and Philosophy, MIT, Cambridge, Mass., 1-32.

Bobaljik, Jonathan David. 1995. *Morphosyntax: The Syntax of Verbal Inflection*. Doctoral dissertation. MIT, Cambridge, Mass.

Bobaljik, Jonathan David. 2002. A-chains at the PF interface: Copies and "covert" movement. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 20: 197-267.

Bošković, Željko, and Jairo Nunes. 2007. The copy theory of movement: A view from PF. Corver, N., and J. Nunes (eds.), *The copy theory of movement on the PF side*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 13-74.

Bošković, Željko, and Steven Franks. 2002. Phonology-syntax interactions in South Slavic. *Balkanistica* 15: 49-74.

Bošković, Željko. 2001. *On the Nature of the Syntax-Phonology Interface: Cliticization and Related Phenomena.* Amsterdam: Elsevier Science.

Bošković, Željko. 2002. On multiple wh-fronting. *Linguistic Inquiry* 33: 351-383.

Bošković, Željko. 2004. On the clitic switch in Greek imperatives. O. M. Tomić (ed.), *Balkan syntax and semantics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 269-291.

Bošković, Željko. 2012. When are negative imperatives banned? S. Halupka-Rešetar, M. Marković, T. Milićev, and N. Milićević (eds.), *Selected papers from SinFonIJA* 3, 6-17.

Bosque, Ignacio. 1980. Retrospective imperatives. *Linguistic Inquiry*: 415-419.

Buesa-García, Carlos. 2008. The subject-gap restriction in Spanish wh-questions: Some empirical and theoretical consequences. Second general examination, University of Connecticut, Storrs.

Cavalcante, Rerisson. 2011. Negative imperatives in Portuguese and other Romance languages. Herschensohn, J. (ed.), *Romance Linguistics 2010: Selected papers from the 40th Linguistic Symposium on Romance Languages (LSRL), Seattle, Washington, March 2010*, Herschensohn. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 205–220.

Chomsky, Noam. 1957. *Syntactic Structures*. The Hague: Mouton.

Cinque, Guglielmo. 1999. *Adverbs and Functional Heads: A Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Demonte, Violeta, and Olga Fernández-Soriano. 2009. Force and finiteness in the Spanish complementizer system. *Probus*21:23–49.

Dikken, Marcel den, and Mariví Blasco. 2007. Clitic climbing in Spanish imperatives. Van der Wurff, W. (ed.), *Imperative Clauses in Generative Grammar: Studies in honour of Frits Beukema*, 135–152.

Franks, Steven. 1998. Clitics in Slavic. Paper presented at the Comparative Slavic Morphosyntax Workshop, Spencer, Indiana.

Franks, Steven. 2000. Clitics at the interface: An introduction to Clitic Phenomena in European Languages. Beukema, F. and M. den Dikken (eds.), *Clitic Phenomena in European Languages*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1-46.

Grohmann, Kleanthes K., and Ricardo Etxepare. 2003. Root Infinitives: A Comparative View. *Probus* 15: 201-236.

Halle, Morris, and Alec Marantz. 1993. Distributed Morphology and the pieces of inflection. Hale, K. and S. Keyser (eds.), *The view from building 20: essays in honor of Sylvain Bromberger*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 111-176.

Han, Chung-Hye. 1999. Cross-linguistic variation in the compatibility of negation and imperatives. *Proceedings of the West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics* 17. Stanford University, Stanford, Calif.: CSLI Publications, 1-17.

Hiramatsu, Kazuko. 2000. *Accessing linguistic competence: Evidence from children's and adults' acceptability judgments.* Doctoral dissertation, University of Connecticut, Storrs.

Isac, Dana, and Edit Jakab. 2001. A unified syntactic analysis of Balkan imperatives with distinctive morphology. Paper presented at the Acme Balkanica Conference, Concordia University, Montreal.

Kayne, Richard S. 1991. Romance clitics, verb movement, and PRO. *Linguistic Inquiry* 22:647-686.

Kayne, Richard S. 1992. Italian Negative Infinitival Imperatives and Clitic Climbing. Tasmowski, L. and A. Zribi-Hertz (eds.), *Hommages à Nicolas Ruwet*, Communication & Cognition, Ghent, 300-312.
Kayne, Richard S. 2000. *Parameters and Universals*, Oxford University Press, New York.
Kayne, Richard S. 2013. Comparative Syntax. *Lingua* 130: 132–51.
Laka, Itziar. 1994. *On the Syntax of Negation.* New York: Garland.
Lambova, Mariana. 2002. On A'-movements in Bulgarian and their interaction. *The Linguistic Review* 18:327-374.
Lambova, Mariana. 2004. *On information structure and clausal architecture: Evidence from Bulgarian*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Connecticut, Storrs.
Landau, Ian. 2003. Modular recoverability: Chain resolution in Hebrew V(P)-fronting. Ms., Beer-Sheva, Israel.
Lasnik, Howard. 1995. Verbal morphology: *Syntactic Structures* meets the Minimalist Program. Campos, H. and P. Kempchinsky (eds.), *Evolution and Revolution in Linguistic Theory: Essays in Honor of Carlos Otero*. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 251-275.
Lorenzo, Guillermo. 1994. Optionality in the Placement of Asturian Clitics. *Catalan Working Papers in Linguistics* 4.1: 93-120.
Menn, Lise, and MacWhinney, Brian. 1984. The repeated morph constraint: Toward an explanation. *Language* 19:519-541.
Miyoshi, Nobuhiro. 2002. Negative imperatives and PF merger. Ms., University of Connecticut, Storrs.
Nunes, Jairo. 2004. *Linearization of Chains and Sideward Movement*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
Ojea, Ana. 1994. Adverbios y categorías funcionales en español. *Revista Española de Lingüística* 24: 393-416.
Ortega-Santos, Iván. 2006. On New Information Focus, Sentence Stress Assignment Conditions and the Copy Theory: A Spanish Conspiracy. *University of Maryland Working Papers in Linguistics* 14:188-212.
Pesetsky, David. 1997. Optimality theory and syntax: Movement and pronunciation. Archangeli, D. and D. T. Langendoen (eds.), *Optimality theory: An overview*. Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 134-170.
Pesetsky, David. 1998. Some optimality principles of sentence pronunciation. Barbosa, P., D. Fox, P. Hagstrom, M. McGinnis, and D. Pesetsky (eds.), *Is the Best Good Enough*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press and MIT WPL, Department of Linguistics and Philosophy, MIT, Cambridge, Mass, 337-383.
Pollock, Yean-Yves. 1989. Verb Movement, Universal Grammar, and the Structure of IP. *Linguistic Inquiry* 20:365-424.
Postma, Gertjan, and Wim van der Wurff. 2007. Negative imperatives in Romance and Germanic. Van der Wurff, W. (ed.), *Imperative Clauses in Generative Grammar. Studies in honour of Frits Beukema*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 205-249.
RAE. 2009. *Nueva Gramática de la Lengua Española*. Real Academia Española (RAE). Madrid: Espasa.
Reglero, Lara. 2004. On A' dependencies in Spanish and Basque. Doctoral dissertation, University of Connecticut, Storrs.
Rivero, María Luisa, and Arhonto Terzi. 1995. Imperatives, verb movement, and logical mood. *Journal of Linguistics* 31:301-332.
Rivero, María Luisa. 1994a. Negation, imperatives, and Wackernagel effects. *Rivista di Linguistica* 6:39-66.
Rivero, María Luisa. 1994b. On Indirect Questions, Commands, and Spanish Quotative Que. *Linguistic Inquiry*25:547-554.
Rizzi, Luigi. 1997. The fine structure of the left periphery. L. Haegeman (ed.), *Elements of Grammar.* Dordrecht: Kluwer, 281-337.
Stjepanović, Sandra. 1999. *What do Second Position Cliticization, Scrambling, and Multiple Wh-Fronting Have in Common?* Doctoral dissertation, University of Connecticut, Storrs.
Stjepanović, Sandra. 2003. A word-order paradox resolved by copy deletion at PF. *Linguistic Variation Yearbook* 3: 139-177.

Tomić, Mišeska O. 2001. Negation and imperatives. Zybatow, G., U. Junghanns, G. Mehlhorn and L. Szucsich (eds.), *Current issues in formal Slavic linguistics*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang., 159-168.

Tomić, Mišeska O. 2007. Pronominal clitics and imperatives in South Slavic. Van der Wurff, W. (ed.), *Imperative Clauses in Generative Grammar. Studies in honour of Frits Beukema*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 323–339.

Torrego, Esther. 1984. On Inversion in Spanish and Some of Its Effects. *Linguistic Inquiry* 15:103-129.

Uriagereka, Juan. 1995. An F position in Western Romance. Kiss, K. (ed.), *Discourse Configurational Languages*, Oxford Studies in Comparative Syntax. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 153-175.

Villa-García, Julio. 2015. *The Syntax of Multiple*-que *Sentences in Spanish: Along the left periphery*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

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

Zanuttini, Raffaella. 1997. *Negation and Clausal Structure: A Comparative Study of Romance Languages.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Zeijlstra, Hedde. 2004. *Sentential negation and negative concord*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Amsterdam.