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**Syntactic effects of the morphological status of the negative marker:
negative imperatives *vs.* negative gerunds**[1]

Abstract
The squib analyses an asymmetry concerning the availability of V-to-C movement with different Romanian finite (the imperative) and non-finite (the gerund) verbal forms in the presence of clausal negation: with imperatives negation blocks V-to-C movement, while with gerunds it does not. We show that it is not the projection of clausal negation *per se* that blocks V-to-C movement. Rather, the nature of the clausal negators selected (full word *vs.* affix) is responsible the verb movement asymmetry depicted.

Key-words: V-to-C movement; clausal negation; full word *vs.* affix; Romanian

1. The asymmetry

The present squib addresses an asymmetry concerning the availability of V-to-C movement with different finite and non-finite verbal forms in the presence of negation. Against a background according to which clausal negation blocks V-to-C movement (Pollock 1989, Rivero 1993, Roberts 1994 i.a., but cf. Isac & Jakab 2004), we show that it is not the projection of a clausal Negation Phrase (NegP, cf. Pollock 1989) in and of itself that blocks verb movement to the CP-domain, but rather the nature of the marker of clausal negation: full word (Rom. *nu* 'not, no') *vs.* affix (Rom. *ne-* 'not')[2]. Thus, the blocking effects are shown to derive from general constraints on syntactic movement, not from particular features of clausal negation.

We have chosen to analyse Romanian imperatives and clausal gerunds (see §2 below on gerunds). In their positive form, these forms undergo V-to-C movement, as testified by pronominal (and auxiliary for certain types of imperative structures, see §3 below) enclisis:

(1)   ***Citește**-l!*
        read.IMPER.2SG=CL.ACC.3SG.M
        'Read it!'
(2)   ***Citindu**-l,*   *Ion*   *se*   *bucură.*
        read.GER=CL.ACC.3SG.M   John   CL.REFL   be.glad
        'John is glad reading it'

By contrast, in the presence of clausal negation[3], V-to-C is blocked for imperatives (3) (and triggers the usage of the "surrogate imperative" in the singular – i.e. the usage of the infinitive instead of the imperative), but free for gerunds (4).

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[1] *Mă alătur tuturor colaboratorilor, colegilor și foștilor studenți și îi urez domnului profesor Emil Ionescu multă sănătate și putere de muncă în continuare. La mulți ani, domnule profesor!*

[2] Note that we are interested in what follows only in the negative prefix *ne-* occurring with clausal gerunds (see §2); the prefix *ne-* is also used along other negative prefixes (e.g. *in-, non-, i-*) as word formation device which creates antonyms, an issue which is beyond our concern here.

[3] Clausal negation has been reported to also induce other types of blocking effects in Romance, e.g. clitic raising in Italian (Roberts 1994: 223):

(i)   a.   ***Non** <u>lo</u> voglio fare.*   (Italian)
        b.   **<u>Lo</u> voglio **non** fare.*
        c.   *Voglio **non** far<u>lo</u>.*
                'I don't want to do it'

(3)   ***Nu*-*l*   *citi!***
        not=CL.ACC.3SG.M read.INF
        'Don't read it!'

(4)   ***Necitindu*-*l*,***   *Ion*   *n-a*   *știut*   *ce*   *să*   *spună*   *la ședință*.
        read.GER=CL.ACC.3SG.M   John   not=has known   what   SUBJ   say   at meeting
        'Not having read it, John did not know what to say in the meeting.'

The **aim** of this squib is to provide a syntactic analysis of this asymmetry. We adopt the generally accepted generative grammar view on clause structure, according to which clausal structure consists of three domains (the *v*P-domain, the IP-domain, and the CP-domain), and Zanuttini's (1997) hypothesis on the position of clausal negation. There is agreement on the fact that in Romanian clausal negation is situated at the border between the CP-domain and the IP-domain (see Nicolae 2015: 95-104 and references therein). Work in the wake of Cinque (1999) advocated a finer-grained structure of the IP-domain, with the IP being split at least into three distinct fields: IP → MoodP > TP > AspP (see Schifano 2015 and references therein). Furthermore, according to Rizzi (1997), the internal composition of the CP-domain is also complex, consisting of at least the following projections: CP → ForceP > TopP* > FocP > FinP. Pronominal clitics merge in Pers(on)Ps, situated immediately above the IP (Săvescu Ciucivara 2011)[4]. We will thus adopt the following functional structure for Romanian clauses:

(5)   CP {ForceP > TopP* > FocP > FinP} > NegP > PersP* > IP {MoodP > TP > AspP} > *v*P

The paper is organized as follows: in the next section, we briefly delimit our domain of inquiry and show that only particular types of gerunds project up to the CP level, these being of interest for our analysis; §3 introduces the syntactic tests which diagnose V-to-C movement; in §4 we show that negative gerunds represent instances of clausal negation; §5 proposes a syntactic account of the asymmetry reported above; in the final section (§6), we contrast our findings with a previous analysis and we show that the Romanian clausal negator *nu* is not an affix in any of its occurrences.

2. Which type of gerunds?

While there is general agreement on the fact that imperatives project up to CP-level, this is not also true of Romanian gerunds. The class of forms discussed under the label 'gerund' is heterogeneous (Avram 2003, Nicula 2013, Niculescu 2013); we may roughly distinguish between a 'clausal' gerund, which projects up to the CP level, and a heterogeneous class of gerund forms which project a reduced amount of syntactic structure (gerundial complements of verbs of perception, formative gerunds in the structure of analytic forms, (adjectival or verbal) modifier gerunds, etc.) (see Avram 2003: 203-204 on the distribution of the gerund).

Our analysis concerns only clausal gerunds, which are CPs, as shown by the following syntactic properties: clausal gerunds take their own lexical subject in the nominative, different from the subject of the matrix clause (6a) (*vs.* gerunds selected by verbs of perception, whose subject undergoes raising to the object position of the selecting verb, (6b)); light adverbials of the *mai*-type may adjoin to clausal gerunds (7a) (*vs.* adjunction of light adverbials is not licit with gerunds selected by verbs of perception, the only possibility being adjunction to the higher predicate (7b)); N-words obligatorily trigger negative concord[5] with clausal

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[4] Pronominal clitics are generally assumed to occur at the left edge of each of the three clausal domains (CP, IP, *v*P) (Tortora 2014 and references therein). The occurrence of pronominal clitics on the edge of the IP-domain is a parametric option of Romanian (Nicolae 2015: 90-95, Ledgeway 2016: 47 *i.a.*).
[5] Romanian is a strict negative concord language (Dominte 2003, Ionescu 2004, Manea 2013 *i.a.*).

gerunds (8a), while non-clausal gerunds are crossed by negative concord, clausal negation being expressed by the higher predicate (8b)[6] (Babu Mititelu & Maftei Ciolăneanu 2004: 51-52).

(6)   a.   ***Văzându*-l**   <u>*Maria*</u> /   <u>*eu*</u>,   *am*   *hotărât să*   *plec.*
                see.GER=CL.ACC.3SG.M   Mary(NOM)   I(NOM)   I.have   decided SUBJ   leave.1SG
                'Since Mary saw him / Having seen him, I decided to leave'
    b.   <u>***Nu***</u>   ***l*-**am**   *auzit*   <u>*tușind*</u>
                not   CL.ACC.3SG.M=I.have   heard   cough.GER
                'I didn't hear him coughing (= I didn't hear that he was coughing)'

(7)   a.   ***Ne<u>maiducându</u>*-se**   *la teatru,*   *a*   *văzut*   *un film.*
                NEG.more.go.GER=CL.REFL   at theatre   (s)he.has   watched   a film
                'Since she no longer went to the theatre, she watched a movie'
    b.   *L-am*   <u>*mai*</u> *auzit*   *(*<u>mai</u>)*   ***tușind****.*
                CL.ACC.3SG.M=I.have   still heard   still   cough.GER
                'I heard him coughing before'

(8)   a.   ***Ne<u>venind</u>*** /   ****Venind***   <u>*nimeni*</u>, *am*   *plecat* *și eu.*
                NEG.come.GER   come.GER   nobody I.have   left also I
                'Since nobody came, I also left'
    b.   <u>***Nu***</u>   *l-am*   *auzit*   ***zicând*** / **<u>nezicând</u>***   <u>*nimic*</u>.
                not   CL.ACC.3SG.M=I.have   heard   say.GER NEG.say.GER   nothing
                'I didn't hear him saying anything'

As for the syntactic analysis of clausal gerunds, although researchers (Avram 2003, Niculescu 2013) agree that the IP-domain of clausal gerunds is impoverished, agreement has not yet been reached as to the exact amount of syntactic structure projected in the IP-domain: Avram (2003) puts forth an aspectual analysis of gerunds, while Niculescu (2013) argues that T also projects in the inflectional domain of clausal gerunds. Both analyses have advantages and disadvantages (see Nicolae 2015: 99-101 for a discussion), and it is implicit in both that the Mood projection is absent from the inflectional domain of the clausal gerunds. We will continue to treat gerunds as projecting up to T/Asp in the inflectional domain.

3. On V-to-C movement

Taking stock of the functional structure of the clause sketched in (5) above, several syntactic diagnostics identify V-to-C movement.

The alternation between pronominal proclisis and enclisis is the first relevant diagnostic (Kayne 1991): the occurrence of the verb to the left of pronominal clitics indicates movement past one of the highest IP-related projections, PersP. Clausal gerunds always undergo V-to-C movement (9). The situation is slightly more complex for imperatives: in the case of coordinated imperatives, the verb in the first conjunct always undergoes V-to-C movement; for the second conjunct, V-to-C movement is optional, hence both pronominal enclisis (10a) and pronominal proclisis (10b) are available. Most probably, this instance of optionality derives from the fact that certain coordinated imperatives are interpreted as a single event and coordination is actually a form of pseudo-coordination (hence the imperative force is checked/valued only once); when two coordinated imperatives cannot be conceived as a single event, V-to-C is obligatory in both conjuncts (11).

(9)   *citindu-l*
        read.GER=CL.ACC.3SG.M

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[6] There are several marginal instances in which gerunds selected by verbs of perception can be negated (Irina Nicula, *p.c.*; see Niculescu 2013: 77-78 for a discussion).

(10) a. *Du-te*   *și*   *împușcă-te!*
          go.IMP=CL.REFL.ACC.2SG   and   shoot.IMP=CL.REFL.ACC.2SG
    b. *Du-te*   *și*   *te*   *împușcă!*[7]
          go.IMP=CL.REFL.ACC.2SG   and   CL.REFL.ACC.2SG   shoot.IMP
          'Go shoot yourself'
(11) a. *Citește-l*   *și (apoi)*   *spală-te!*
          read.IMP=CL.ACC.3SG.M   and then   wash.IMP=CL.REFL.ACC.2SG
    b. ??*Citește-l*   *și (apoi)*   *te*   *spală!*
          read.IMP=CL.ACC.3SG.M   and then   CL.REFL.ACC.2SG   wash.IMP
          'Read it and then wash yourself'

Since auxiliaries lexicalize TAM-related projections from the IP-domain, the position of the verb relative to auxiliaries is relevant for assessing the level of verb-movement, auxiliary encliticization being a diagnostic for V-to-C movement. Despite the fact that auxiliaries are not present in the structure of the gerund and of the imperative, auxiliaries still serve our purposes, providing a better understanding of how verb movement works in Romanian. In modern Romanian, V-to-C movement in the case of auxiliary-verb constructions is limited to imprecatory conditionals (12) which have an imperative value; it is a stylistic device when it occurs with other analytic formations (13). V-to-C movement in auxiliary-verb constructions was much more widespread in Old Romanian (see Dragomirescu 2013, Zafiu 2014, Nicolae 2015, Hill & Alboiu 2016 *i.a.*).

(12) *Lua-l-ar*   *naiba!*
       take.INF=CL.ACC.3SG.M=AUX.COND.3SG   hell
       'May he go to hell!'
(13) *Făcutu-s-a!*   *Cândva am   trăit într-o   Românie   democrată!*
       done=CL.REFL=(it)has   Once   (we)have lived in-a   Romania   democrat
       'It was done! We once lived in a democrat Romania!' (internet, http://comunitate.ziare.com, 2011)

The Romanian subjunctive helps us identify the target of V-movement in the C-domain. It is well known that the Romanian subjunctive is a synthetic form introduced by the particle *să*, an element whose status has been a long-standing subject of controversy: inflectional head (Mood⁰) or (low) complementizer (Fin⁰)? A gamut of distributional and interpretative properties[8], the most important of which is its occurrence in a split-CP construction where both Force⁰ and Fin⁰ (Rom. *ca…să*) are lexicalized, has led to the interpretation of *să* as a Fin⁰ head (Stan 2007). The Romanian subjunctive may undergo V-to-C movement in imprecations and in directive contexts, as testified by pronominal enclisis (14); the overt realization of *să* is always blocked (15) under V-to-C movement. This distribution shows that V-to-C movement targets the FinP,

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[7] Note that the absence of V-to-C movement in the second conjunct of imperatives does not trigger the usage of the "surrogate" imperative (i.e. the usage of the infinitive instead of the imperative) in the singular, as it happens when movement is blocked by negation (see example (3) above). Thus, in (10b), the verb still surfaces with its proper imperative form (*împușcă* 'shoot!'), not as an infinitive (*împușca* 'shoot.INF'), as it does under negation (i):
(i)   *Nu*   *te*   *împușca!*
       not   CL.ACC.2SG   shoot.INF
       'Don't shoot yourself!'
[8] Occurrence to the left of the clausal negator *nu* and of pronominal clitics, occurring in dual complementizer structures (either with the lexicalization of two complementizers *ca…să* or with recomplementation of *să*: *să…să*), occurrence in embedded relative clauses, etc. (see Nicolae 2015: 104-109 and references therein).

which is also the locus of *să*: movement of the verb blocks the merger of *să*, as they both compete for the same position. We can thus conclude that V-to-C movement targets FinP[9].

(14) a. ***Ducă**-se*   *pe pustii!*
          go.SUBJ.3SG=CL.REFL   on wilderness
          'Go to hell!'
      b. ***sfințească**-se*   *numele*   *tău*   (*Our Father*)
          hallow.SUBJ.3SG=CL.REFL   name.DEF   your
          'hallowed be your name'
(15) a. *să*   *se*   *ducă*   (non-inverted subjunctive)
          SUBJ   CL.REFL   go.SUBJ.3SG
      b. **să*   *ducă-se*   (pronominal enclisis & preverbal *să*)
          SUBJ   go.SUBJ.3SG=CL.REFL
      c. **ducă-să-se*   (V-movement across *să* and the pronominal clitic)
          go.SUBJ.3SG=SUBJ=CL.REFL

A final point on V-to-C movement concerns the manner in which the verb moves: is V-to-C movement a form Long Head Movement, straight from the *v*P-domain to the CP-domain, bypassing the IP-domain as in Rivero's (1993) analysis, or is it the case that the V-movement is local, in the sense that the moving verb transits the IP-domain? The particular data of Romanian tilt the balance in favour of the latter option. Romanian possesses a class of five light adverbials *și, cam, mai, prea,* and *tot* (see Mîrzea Vasile 2015 and references therein; see also Giurgea 2011 on *mai*), which merge as heads in the IP-domain (in Asp-related projections)[10] (Nicolae 2015) and adjoin to the lexical verb (16). In all configurations allowing V-to-C movement (imperative (17a), imprecatory conditional (17b), clausal gerund (17c), imprecatory subjunctive (17d)), the light adverbials are incorporated in the structure of the lexical verb and pied-piped along to the C-domain. The fact that the IP-related light adverbials are pied-piped along by the verb under V-to-C movement indicates that V-movement passes through the IP-domain (exemplification with the aspectual additive *mai* '~still, again, more').

(16) a. *aș*   ***mai***   *merge*
          AUX.COND.1SG   more   go.INF
          'I would go again'
      b. *să*   ***mai***   *merg*
          SUBJ   more   go.SUBJ.1SG
          'to go again'

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[9] In Nicolae (2015: 109-113) I bring other pieces of evidence in favour of the hypothesis that V-to-C movement targets a low C-position: the availability of a focus and of topics to the left of the raised verb, the statistically rare (but attested) co-occurrence of V-to-C movement and high complementizers in Old Romanian, etc.

[10] The fact that these light adverbials merge higher than the *v*P domain is shown by their impossibility to adjoin to bare short infinitives in the modal *putea* ('can, be able to') construction (ia) (they obligatorily adjoin to the modal selector (ib)), in spite of their ability to adjoin to bare short infinitives in general, e.g. with analytic forms like the future or the conditional (ii) (Nicolae 2013). The bare short infinitive in the *putea*-configuration has been analysed as a *v*P (Nicolae 2013).

(i)   a. **Ion*   *poate*   ***mai*** *citi*.
          John   can.IND.PRES.3SG   still read.INF
      b. *Ion*   ***mai***   *poate*   *citi*.
          John   still   can.IND.PRES.3SG   read.INF
          'John can still read'
(ii) *Ion*   *va/ar*   ***mai*** *citi*.
      John   AUX.FUT/AUX.COND.3SG   still read.INF
      'John will/would still read'

(17) a. ***Mai* *citeşte*-l**   *încă o dată!*
          more read.IMP=CL.ACC.3SG.M   once a time
          'Read it again one more time!'

      b. ***Mai*   *lua*-l-ar**   *naiba!*
          more   take.INF=CL.ACC.3SG.M=AUX.COND.3SG   hell
          'May he still go to hell!'

      c. *Ne**maici**tindu-le*   *poveşti   nepoţilor,*
          NEG.more.read.GER=CL.DAT.3PL   stories   grandchildren.DEF.DAT
          s-a   *îndepărtat de ei.*
          CL.REFL=(he)has   estranged from them
          'Since he no longer read stories to his grandchildren, he became estranged from them'

      d. ***Mai*   *ducă*-se**   *pe pustii!*
          more   go.SUBJ.3SG=CL.REFL   on wilderness
          'Go to hell again!'

To sum up, this section has shown the following: pronominal enclisis and auxiliary enclitization diagnose V-to-C movement; the CP-related position targeted by the movement operation is FinP; V-movement is local in the sense that the verb does not raise directly from the *v*P-domain to the CP-domain, but rather moves through the IP-domain, picking up elements suitable for incorporation, such as light adverbs, along the movement path.

4. Negative gerunds as instances of clausal negation

Before moving to the formal analysis of the asymmetry presented in the introduction, it is incumbent upon us to determine the status of negative gerunds: is the negative prefix *ne-* performing the function of a clausal negator or that of a constituent negator? Several properties of negative gerunds indicate that the prefix *ne-* is a clausal negator.

The first syntactic diagnostic concerns negative concord: the gerundial verb is obligatorily negative in the presence of N-words (18). In Ladusaw's (1995: 203) words, „[n]egative Concord (NC) is the morphological indication at multiple positions in a clause of the fact that the clause is to be interpreted as negated".

(18) a. ***Ne**venind* /   **Venind*   *nimeni,* *am   plecat şi eu.*
          NEG.come.GER   come.GER   nobody I.have   left   also I
          'Since nobody came, I also left'

      b. ***Ne**respectând-o* /   **Respectând*-o   *niciodată,*
          NEG.respect.GER=CL.ACC.3SG.F   respect.GER=CL.ACC.3SG.F   never
          nu te   va   respecta   nici   ea.
          not CL.ACC.2SG   AUX.FUT respect.INF   neither her
          'Having never respected her, she won't respect you either'

Secondly, we observe the presence of negative polarity items in negative clausal gerund structures:

(19) a. ***Nefiind*   / **Fiind* *ţipenie de om*   *la facultate,*   *am plecat*   *şi eu.*
          NEG.be.GER   be.GER   a.living.soul   at faculty   (I)have left   also I
          'As there wasn't a living soul at the faculty, I also left'

      b. ***Ne**închizând* / #*Închizând*   *un ochi noaptea trecută,*
          NEG.close.GER   close.GER   an eye   night   last

> *sunt   obosit   azi.*
> I.am   tired   today
> 'Not having slept a wink (= at all) last night, I am tired today'

Finally, different items are actually used with the gerund in order to mark clausal (prefixal *ne-*) *vs.* constituent (focalizing) negation (the full word negator *nu*), witness the following contrast:

(20) a. **<u>Negăsindu</u>**-*l pe Ion, nu am rămas nici eu.*
          'Not having found John, I didn't stick around either'
      b. **<u>Nu</u>** *găsindu*-*l pe Ion, ci chemând-o pe Maria vei rezolva problema.*
          'It is not by finding John, but by calling Mary that you will solve the problem'

We may thus conclude, like Dominte (2003) and Niculescu (2013) (see also Cornilescu & Cosma 2013 on negative supines), that negative form of the clausal gerund represents an instance of clausal negation.

5. Accounting for the asymmetry

Before turning to the analysis of the asymmetry presented in §1, let us briefly take stock of a few properties identified above which are directly relevant for the syntactic analysis that follows:

(i) of the forms undergoing V-to-C movement in Modern Romanian, we have identified an asymmetry between negative imperatives and negative gerunds, verb movement being blocked in the former case, but obligatory in the second case;

(ii) V-to-C movement (diagnosed by pronominal enclisis and auxiliary enclitization) targets the low complementizer projection in Rizzi's split CP structure, FinP; movement is local in the sense that it transits the IP-domain and picks up incorporable heads along the path;

(iii) negative gerunds are negative non-finite clauses.

Recall the minimal pairs which stand in need of an analysis:

(21) a. ***Citeşte*-<u>*l*</u>*!*   b. ***<u>Nu</u>-<u>l</u>***   ***citi!***
          read.IMPER.2SG=CL.ACC.3SG.M   not=CL.ACC.3SG.M read.INF
          'Read it!'   'Don't read it!'
(22) a. ***Citindu*-<u>*l*</u>,**   *Ion*   *se*   *bucură.*
          read.GER=CL.ACC.3SG.M   John   SE.REFL   be.glad
          'John is glad reading it'
      b. ***<u>Ne</u>citindu*-<u>*l*</u>,**   *Ion*   *n-a*   *ştiut*   *ce*   *să*   *spună la şedinţă*.
          read.GER=CL.ACC.3SG.M   John   not=has   known   what   SUBJ   say at meeting
          'Not having read it, John did not know what to say in the meeting.'

The blocking effect observed with negative imperatives is actually encountered with all verbal forms which undergo V-to-C movement in present-day Romanian[11] (cf. also Isac & Jakab 2004), except for the clausal gerund: alongside the imperative, neither the imprecatory conditional, nor the subjunctive accept any form of inversion/V-to-C movement in the presence of the negator *nu* (exemplification with the subjunctive).

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[11] With respect to Old Romanian, pronominal enclisis and auxiliary enclitization in the presence of the negator *nu* has just a few attestations, being found only in early translations of the type *Psaltirea Hurmuzaki, Codicele Popii Bratu* etc. (Nicolae & Niculescu 2016) (actually, auxiliary encliticization in the presence of negation is attested only in *Codicele Popii Bratu*, while pronominal enclisis to the right of the negator *nu* also appears in a few other translations). Texts of this type tend to mimic to a great extent the Old Church Slavonic word order with Romanian words. What these diachronic findings tell us is that *nu* has constantly acted as an intervener for V-movement throughout the history of Romanian.

(23)   a.   *să   <u>se</u>   ducă*
                SUBJ   CL.REFL   go.SUBJ.3SG

        b.   *ducă-<u>se</u>*
                go.SUBJ.3SG=CL.REFL

        c.   *să   **nu**   <u>se</u>   ducă*
                SUBJ   not   CL.REFL   go.SUBJ.3SG

        d.   ****nu**   *ducă-<u>se</u>*
                not   go.SUBJ.3SG=CL.REFL

        e.   **ducă-<u>se</u>*   **nu**
   go.SUBJ.3SG=CL.REFL   not

Recall that light adverbials are pied-piped along by the verb under V-to-C movement (§3 above); technically, they have been analysed as heads which adjoin to the left of the lexical verb passing through the inflectional domain on its way to the C-domain (24a). However, the clausal negator *nu* ('not'), which is neither a clitic nor an affix (*contra* Barbu 2004, see the next section for arguments against the affixal nature of *nu*), acts as a defective intervener for verb movement. Being endowed with [+V] features, it triggers a Relativized Minimality violation (Rizzi 1990): it can neither be crossed by movement, nor incorporated (24b).

(24)   a.   **Mai**   *citiți-l!*
                again   read.IMP=CL.ACC.3SG.M
                'Read it again'

        syntactic structure: (…)   FinP   PersP   MoodP   (…)
                                                   mai citiți   *-l*   ~~*mai citiți*~~

        b.   **Nu**   *îl*   *mai*   *citiți!*
                no   CL.ACC.3SG.M   again   read.IMP
                'Don't read it again!'

        syntactic structure: (…)   FinP   NegP   PersP   MoodP   (…)
                                                   nu   *-l*   *mai citiți*

By contrast, the gerundial prefixal negator *ne-* is a head, generated in Neg^0, and incorporates into the structure of the moving verb just like light adverbials and moves to FinP along with the verb (25). If the gerundial cluster already contains an adjoined light adverbial, prefixal *ne-* adjoins to the left of the cluster (25b) (see section §2 for the IP-internal structure of clausal gerunds).

(25)   a.   **ne**văzându-l
                NEG.see.GER=CL.ACC.3SG.M
                'not seeing him'

        b.   **ne**<u>mai</u>văzându-l /   **ne**<u>prea</u>văzându-l
                NEG.more.see.GER=CL.ACC.3SG.M   NEG.too.see.GER=CL.ACC.3SG.M
                'no longer seeing him' / 'not seeing him too often'

        syntactic structure: (…)   FinP   NegP   PersP   T/AspP (…)
                                                   nevăzând   ~~*ne-*~~   *(î)l*   ~~*văzând*~~
                                                   nemaivăzând   ~~*ne-*~~   *(î)l*   ~~*maivăzând*~~
                                                   nepreavăzând   ~~*ne-*~~   *(î)l*   ~~*preavăzând*~~

To conclude, the negative prefix *ne-* is an X^0 element that incorporates and is pied-piped by the verb, while *nu* is an autonomous word (an AvP), merged as a specifier of NegP; it can be neither incorporated, nor crossed over, hence producing intervention effects for movement.

(26)

```
            NegP
          /      \
       AvP        Neg'
        △        /    \
       nu       Neg⁰
                 |
                ne-
```
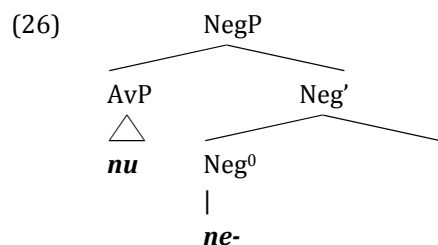
6. Discussion: on the status of the Romanian negator *nu*

In a seminal paper, Barbu (2004) analysed and contrasted *nu* as a 'phrase modifier' (= nu_1) (constituent negation in our discussion above) (27) and *nu* as an element of the verbal cluster (= nu_2) (clausal negation) (28), and concluded that the latter is an affix and the former is an autonomous word.

(27) a. ***Nu₁** Ion a venit.*
          'It is not John who came'
      b. A: *Ai vorbit cu el?*
          B: ***Nu₁**.*
          'Did you speak to him? No'
(28) *E posibil să **nu₂** vină.*
      'He is likely not to come'

In the previous section, we have argued for a slightly different analysis, considering that nu_2 and *ne-* form a minimal pair, with nu_2 being autonomous word, and *ne-* being a prefix, an analysis which has derived the verb movement asymmetries discussed here. Obviously, our account differs from that of Barbu's (2004), hence a few comments are in order.
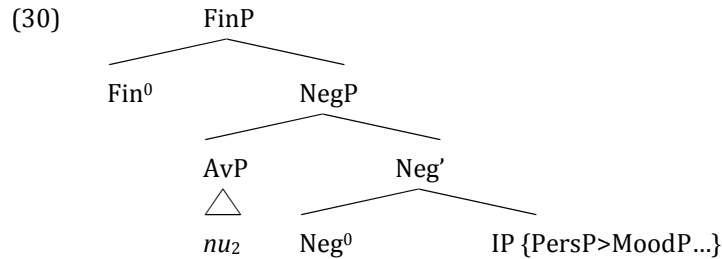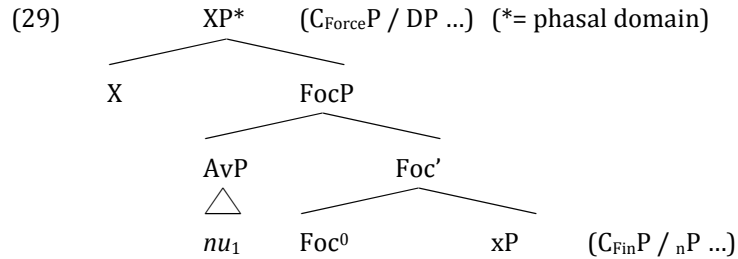
While many of the differences depicted by Barbu (2004) are real (nu_1: low degree of selection, emphasis, full form and stress, wide scope over coordination, lexical substitution, pro-form *vs.* nu_2: high degree of selection, complementary distribution with an affix, impossibility to omit its verbal host, no scope over coordination, rigid ordering, and morphophonological idiosyncrasies), we believe that they do not derive from a different status of nu_1 and nu_2 (autonomous word *vs.* affix); rather, they would also follow from an analysis in which nu_1 and nu_2 are the same element – an autonomous word, i.e. an AvP which occupies a specifier position –, which merges in different positions in the syntactic structure.

To be more precise, the clausal negator *nu* (i.e. nu_2) merges as a specifier of NegP, as in representation (26) above. For the phrase modifier *nu* (i.e. nu_1), we suggest to adopt and extend Holmberg's (2013) recent analysis proposed for the syntax of polar questions in English and Swedish. Holmberg (2013: 31) proposes that "bare yes and no-answers to *yes/no*-questions are sentential expressions with the structure [yes/no Foc [$_{IP}$ . . .[$_{Pol}$x]. . .]], where the answer particle is merged in the spec of Focus in the CP-domain, and assigns a value, either affirmative or negative, to the polarity variable in IP". The constituent negator nu_1 attaches to DPs, to PPs, to, AvPs, and to CPs (Barbu's low degree of selection)[12]. More recently, with the

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[12] And even to *v*Ps, if we agree with Nicolae's (2013) analysis of the *putea* + bare short infinitive configuration (see fnt. 10 above), according to which the bare short infinitive is a *v*P:
(i) *Eu   pot   **nu₁**   doar   citi,   ci   și   interpreta!*
     I   can.IND.PRES.1SG   not   only   read.INF but   also   interpret.INF
     'I can not only read, but also interpret!'

advent of phase theory (Chomsky 2000), all these categories have been considered phasal (see, among many proposals, Chomsky 2001, Svenonius 2004 i.a. for the phasal status of CP, *v*P, and DPs; Cornilescu & Nicolae 2011 for DPs). One generally accepted property of phasal domains (not only of the CP-phase) is that they have peripheries (domains responsible for the relation between Narrow Syntax and Spell-Out): by virtue of being peripheral domains, the left edge of phasal domains can always accommodate a Focus projection: $[_{\text{CP/DP/PP-phase}} \text{FocP } [_{\text{IP/nP/pP}} ...]]$. Extending thus Holmberg's analysis, we can analyse the phrase modifier nu_1 as merging in the specifier of the FocP accommodated in the left edge of phasal domains. The difference between nu_1 and nu_2 is thus reduced to the merger site: [Spec,FocP] for nu_2 (29) and [Spec,NegP for nu_1] (30)

(29)

```
            XP*      (C_Force P / DP ...)   (*= phasal domain)
          /    \
        X       FocP
               /    \
            AvP       Foc'
             △       /    \
           nu_1    Foc^0      xP      (C_Fin P / _n P ...)
```

(30)

```
        FinP
       /    \
    Fin^0     NegP
            /    \
         AvP      Neg'
          △      /    \
        nu_2   Neg^0      IP {PersP>MoodP...}
```

The differences between nu_1 and nu_2 identified by Barbu (2004) follow straightforwardly from this account.

The fact that the phrase modifier nu_1 exhibits a low degree of selection while nu_2 has a high degree of selection and a rigid position follows from their merger site: any constituent that can be focused (e.g. with focus adverbials like Rom. *doar* 'only', *chiar* 'even', etc.) may also take combine with phrase modifier nu_1. By contrast, the merger site of nu_2 dictates its immediate syntactic vicinities: it can only appear to the right of CP-domain elements and to the left elements hosted by the IP-domain (full verbs and auxiliaries or (when available) pronominal clitics).

Barbu (2004) also depicts a difference in "strength" between nu_1 and nu_2: nu_1 is emphatic, always has a full form and bears stress, while nu_2 may also occur with the reduced form *n-* and may or may not be stressed. The behaviour of nu_2 is typical of elements generally associated with focus, and no other comments need to be made. On the other hand, that nu_2 is not an affix is shown by the fact that nu_2 itself can be occasionally focused as shown in example (31) below, this testifying to its full phrasal status. That we are unambiguously dealing with nu_2 is shown by its position in example (31): *nu* is sandwiched between the Fin-particle *să* and a pronominal clitic (cf. representation (30) above).

(31) *ar*   *fi*   *super șmecherie*
       AUX.COND   be.INF   super slyness
       să   ***CHIAR***   ***nu****-ți*   *dorești*   *nimic*
       SUBJ   even   not=CL.DAT.2SG   wish.SUBJ.2SG   nothing
       'It would be super cool if you really didn't wish for anything'
       (internet, http://liceulcosmic.casajurnalistului.ro/episodul-15/draga-eu/)

Differences in scope under coordination (wide scope for *nu₁*, no scope for *nu₂*) also follow from the merger site. Focal elements can generally take scope over conjoined constituents (compare (32a) with *nu₁* and (32b) with a focus adverbial, Rom. *doar* 'only'). On the other hand, the omission of functional elements of the verbal cluster is subject to a series of constraints dictated by syntactic and processing factors. For example, pronominal clitics cannot be omitted under any circumstance in coordination (33). The omission of the second occurrence of auxiliaries is generally prohibited (34a), except for situations in which the lexical verbs of the coordinated clusters are immediately conjoined (34b).

(32)   a.   ***Nu₁*** *Ion și Maria vin*.
             'It is not John and Mary that are coming'
       b.   ***Doar*** *Ion și Maria vin*.
             'Only John and Mary are coming'

(33)   *Discursul,*   ***l-am***   *scris*   *și*
       speech.DEF   CL.ACC.3SG.M=(I)have   written and
       l-am   *citit /*   ***am***   *citit*   *în Parlament.*
       and CL.ACC.3SG.M=(I)have read   (I)have read   in Parliament
       'I wrote and read the speech in the Parliament'

(34)   a.   ***Voi***   *merge acasă și* ***voi***   *citi /*   ***citi***   *lecția.*
             AUX.FUT.1SG   go.INF home and AUX.FUT.1SG   read.INF read.INF lesson.DEF
             'I will go home and read the lesson'
       b.   ***Voi***   *scrie*   *și (**voi**)*   *citi*   *discursul.*
             AUX.FUT.1SG   write.INF   and AUX.FUT.1SG   read.INF speech.DEF
             'I will write and read the speech'

The same is true for clausal negation: as a general rule, the negator *nu₂* needs to occur in every negative clause (35a); only in situations in which the verbs are immediately conjoined at the right of the negator, with no other material intervening between them – can the second occurrence of *nu₂* be dropped (35b). The negator *nu₂* thus behaves just like other elements of the verbal cluster, in that its occurrence is almost always required in order to confer a negative interpretation upon an clause.

(35)   a.   *Nu*   *am*   *băut*   *nimic*   *ieri*
             not   (I)have drunk   nothing yesterday
             și   ***(nu)***   *voi*   *mânca*   *azi.*
             and   not   AUX.FUT.1SG   eat.INF   today
             'I didn't drink anything yesterday and I will not eat today'
       b.   *Nu beau*   *și*   ***(nu)***   *mănânc*   *nimic.*
             not drink.IND.PRES.1SG   and   not   eat.IND.PRES.1SG nothing
             'I am not drinking and eating anything'

Another contrast depicted by Barbu (2004) is that between the possibility to use *nu₁* as a pro-form and the impossibility to omit the verbal host of *nu₂*:

(36)   a.   A: *Ion vrea să ajungă aici?*
                   'Does John want to arrive here?'
             B: ***Nu₁,*** *(Ion **nu₂** vrea să ajungă aici / Ion vrea să **nu₂** ajungă aici).*
                   No, John doesn't want to arrive here / John wants to not arrive here'

b.   **Ion să vină, dar Maria să **nu₂**¹³*
        (intended:) 'John should come, but Mary should not'

In previous work (Nicolae 2015: 97, fnt. 66) we have argued that the impossibility of *nu₂* to occur without its verbal host in examples like (36b) does not derive from its alleged affixal status, but from the general conditions on the licensing of verbal ellipsis in Romanian (Nicolae 2013: ch. 4), and in UG in general (see Thoms 2011, Rouveret 2012 i.a.). In a nutshell, the ability of an element from the verbal cluster to occur without its complement (ellipsis licensed by auxiliaries or by clausal negation) is dependent on the level of verb raising in a given language. This derives from the fact that the cut-off point of verbal ellipsis in UG is the TP: material above the TP systematically escapes the ellipsis site, while material below the TP may be elided under identity with an antecedent (Thoms 2011). Thus, languages of the English type, in which V-movement is low (V-to-I movement does not take place) (Emonds 1978) systematically allow ellipsis licensed by auxiliaries and clausal negation (37). By contrast, in languages of the Romanian type, with high verb movement (see Alboiu & Motapanyane 2000 and references therein), the lexical material systematically escapes the ellipsis site (via V-raising to high inflectional projections, MoodP for synthetic forms, TP for lexical verbs in analytic structures, see Nicolae 2015: ch. 3 and references therein); thus, ellipsis, even if licensed under identity with an antecedent, is idle, since the verb occupies a higher position than the complement of T, being thus outside the ellipsis site (38). This is the reason why functional elements like clausal negation and auxiliaries are good licensors of ellipsis in languages like English, but not in languages like Romanian (<> marks the ellipsis site).

(37)   a.   [*Who allegedly went to the movies?*]. *John persuaded Fred that Bill **did**.*
        syntactic structure: *Bill* [$_{IP}$ did <[$_{vP}$ go…>

        b.   *John was convinced that everyone prefers French food, but Bill **does not**.*
                                                                    (examples from Chao 1988: 13-15)

(38)   a.   A: *Cine a fost la film?*
                        'Who went to the movie?'
                B: **Cred   că   Ion   **a.***
                        I.think that   John   (he)has
                        Cred   că   Ion   a   fost.
                        I.think that   John   (he)has gone.
                        'I think that John did'
        syntactic structure: *Ion* [$_{IP}$ *a fost*$_i$ < [$_{vP}$ ~~*fost*~~$_i$…>

        b.   **Ion să vină, dar Maria să **nu₂***
                (intended:) 'John should come, but Mary should not'

To conclude, in this section we have argued that the negator *nu* is an autonomous word in all its occurrences and has a full phrasal status; the differences between *nu* as a clausal negator (*nu₂*) and *nu* as a marker of constituent negation (*nu₁*) derive from different positions in which *nu* is merged.

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¹³ Irina Nicula (*p.c.*) has drawn my attention to examples like the following one, in which the negator *nu₂* (witness the position of subjunctive *să*) does license verbal ellipsis:
(i)   A: *Vii mâine?*
                'Are you coming in tomorrow?'
        B: *E posibil să **nu** <>.*
                'It's possible that I will not'

By contrast, in the system of Romanian negators, the negator *ne-* is a negative prefix. Its status allows it to incorporate in the structure of the gerundial verb and undergo V-to-C movement along with lexical verb, contrasting thus with *nu* which is an autonomous word – an AvP merged in [Spec,NegP] – which can neither be incorporated, nor crossed over by movement (due to Relativized Minimality considerations).

In conclusion, the blocking effects on V-movement discussed in relation to negation do not derive from the projection of a clausal negation phrase *per se*, but rather from the morphosyntactic nature of the negators.

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