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Making Imperatives: Evidence from Central Rhaetoromance*

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1 Imperative Particles in Badiotto

In this paper, we hope to contribute to a better understanding of the syntax of imperatives by analyzing the properties they exhibit in a Rhaetoromance variety spoken in north eastern Italy, in the Dolomites area, in a valley called Val Badia.[1] This language, to which we will refer as Badiotto, exhibits properties typical of verb second languages, as discussed in Benincà (1985/6) and Poletto (1998).

For a positive imperative to be grammatical in this variety, one of the four particles *ma, mo, pa, pö* must be present, as exemplified in (1):[2]

(1) a. Lî-l *ma/ mo/ pö/ pa*! (Badiotto)
read-it prt
'Read it!' (2nd sg)
b. Lié-l *ma/ mo/ pö/ pa*!
read-it prt
'Read it!' (2nd pl)

A positive imperative cannot consist of the verb alone (cf. (2)), or of the verb and a pronominal clitic (cf. (3)):[3]

* It is our honor to dedicate this paper to Paola Benincà, who is for us a teacher, a role model, and a source of inspiration. It is with great joy and enthusiasm that we write a paper for her, grateful for the opportunity to show her our appreciation for being not only such a careful and sophisticated linguist but also a most gracious, patient and generous mentor. This paper was presented at the *XXIV Incontro di Grammatica Generativa* (Verona, February 1998), LSRL 28 (Penn State, April 1998) and *Quarta giornata italo-americana di dialettologia* (Padova, June 1998); we are grateful to those audiences for their comments. Moreover, we would like to thank Guglielmo Cinque, Robert Frank, Richard Kayne, Paul Portner, Yves Roberge, Vieri Samek and Laura Vanelli for more extensive discussions of this material. We also wish to thank Fabio Chiocchetti and Veronika Pedevilla for their help with the data from Pera di Fassa and from Corvara, respectively. Most of all, we are indebted to Daria Valentin, our main informant from San Leonardo: her sharpness and her natural gift for understanding the complexity of language, combined with her thoughtfulness and infinite patience, have enabled us to uncover the pattern we describe and understand it to the level to which we do. We could not have done this work without her. For the concerns of the Italian academy, Raffaella Zanuttini takes responsibility for sections 1 and 2, Cecilia Poletto for sections 3 and 4, and we jointly take responsibility for section 5.

[1] Unless otherwise noted, all the data are from the town of San Leonardo in Badia. They were collected by Cecilia Poletto, with invaluable help from Daria Valentin.

[2] Throughout this paper, we will write the examples following the orthographical conventions established by the *Istitut Cultural Ladin "Micurà de Rü" della Val Badia y Val Gardena* and the *Istitut Cultural Ladin "Majon di Fascegn" della Val di Fassa*. These organizations promote the preservation and the study of the varieties of Rhaetoromance spoken in the Dolomites. We will only use phonetic transcriptions when needed to mark a morphological distinction which is relevant for our discussion. We will, however, take the liberty to insert diachritics as needed; for example, in (1), we use a dash to separate the verb from the pronominal clitic.

[3] The morphological form used for the second person imperative, both singular and plural, is usually distinct from that used for the corresponding form in the indicative and subjunctive, and from the infinitive. This is illustrated below with the verb *arsí* 'to land':

(i)

	2nd sigular	2nd plural
imperative	arsësc	arside
indicative	arsësces	arsîs
subjunctive	arsësces	arsîs
infinitive	arsí	

In contrast, the morphological form used for the 1st person plural imperative is for some speakers identical to the one used for

(2) a. *Ciara!
look (2nd sg)
b. *Ciared!
look (2nd pl)

(3) a. *Lî-l!
read-it (2nd sg)
'Read it!'
b. *Lié-l!
read-it (2nd pl)
'Read it!'

This constraint does not stem from a phonological or prosodic restriction which makes sequences such as the ones in (2) and (3) ungrammatical in this language. Neither does it stem from a restriction against monosyllabic sequences, since bisyllabic verbs are as ungrammatical as monosyllabic ones in positive imperatives if they lack one of the particles. Moreover, it doesn't stem from a restriction which rules out clauses consisting of a single word, since the same constraint holds even in the presence of other lexical material, such as an adverb, as in (4), or an overt object, as in (5). Finally, it doesn't stem from a restriction against sequences which consist of only the verb and a pronominal clitic, since such sequences are grammatical in non-imperative clauses, as shown in (6):[4]

(4) a. Fà-l *(*ma*) atira!
do-it ma right away (2nd sg)
'Do it right away!'
b. Jit *(*ma*) zagn!
go ma now (2nd pl)
'Leave now!'

(5) a. Lî *(*ma*) l liber!
read ma the book (2nd sg)
'Read the book!"
b. Liét *(*ma*) l liber!
read ma the book (2nd pl)

(6) a. Al vëgn.
s.cl comes
'He is coming.'
b. Al l'ó
s.cl cl wants
'He wants it.'

In light of the contrast between (1) on the one hand and (2) and (3) on the other, it seems natural to think that the particles *ma, mo, pö* and *pa* are required to mark the clause as an imperative. There is, however, one syntactic environment in which the particles can be missing. As shown in (7), in the presence of the sentential negative marker *no*, the particles are not required (though they are possible):

(7) a. No (*ma*) l lî!
neg it read (2nd sg)
'Don't read it!'
b. No (*ma*) l liét!
neg it read (2nd pl)

---

the same person in the present indicative and subjunctive, while for others it is distinct (cf. Haiman and Benincà 1992:98). This split seems to be along generational lines, with the older speakers maintaining a distinct morphological form which the younger speakers have lost. In this paper, we will limit our discussion to the forms which are unique to the imperative for all speakers, namely 2nd singular and 2nd plural.

[4]Regrettably, it is not possible to find non-imperative contexts in which the verb precedes the pronominal clitic, which would constitute a minimal pair with the examples in (3). This is because the verb follows the pronominal clitics with all finite verbs as well as with infinitives and gerunds; moreover, Badiotto does not make use of clauses formed with gerunds (e.g. temporal adjuncts) or past participles (e.g. absolute constructions).

'Don't read it!'

If the grammar of Badiotto requires the presence of one of those four particles to form an imperative, their absence in (7) should give rise to ungrammaticality, contrary to what is observed.[5]

To understand the syntax of imperatives in this language we will seek an answer for the following questions:

- What is the semantic contribution of the particles which obligatorily occur in positive imperatives?
- What is their syntactic characterization?
- Why are they obligatory in positive but not in negative imperatives?

More broadly, in this work we will be asking the question of what makes a sentence imperative in Badiotto, with the hope of better understanding the properties of this clausal type in general. For example, it has been argued in the literature (cf. Rooryck 1992, Rivero 1994, Rivero & Terzi 1995, Graffi 1996, Han 1998, among others) that imperatives are characterized by verb movement to C. It remains to be established whether this is a necessary property, or simply one of several ways of marking a clause as imperative. Given that, in Badiotto, imperatives are characterized by the presence of certain particles, we should ask whether verb movement is nevertheless required or whether the presence of the particles makes it superfluous. The answer to this question is likely to help us better characterize the role of this syntactic property in marking a clause as imperative.

The paper is organized as follows. In section 2, we provide an informal characterization of the contribution of the particles to the interpretation of the clause in which they occur. We suggest that the contribution of the two particles which are unique to imperatives is best expressed with the notion of point of view. We take point of view to be a modal notion and suggest that imperatives in Badiotto encode this notion in the syntax, via a functional projection with modal properties (ModP). In section 3 we then turn to the analysis of the structural position of these particles, which sheds light on the structure of the clause in general and of imperatives in particular. We then discuss what our findings from Badiotto suggest about the syntax of imperatives. Finally, in section 4, we discuss negative imperatives, which contrast with positive imperatives in not requiring the presence of a particle and in the different extent to which the verb moves. We examine how these differences can be reconciled with the syntactic requirements on imperatives previously uncovered.

2 The Contribution of the Particles

In this section, we provide an informal characterization of the contribution of the four particles found in imperative clauses in Badiotto. We will discuss first the two particles which are unique to sentences with the illocutionary force of an imperative, then the two which are also found in other contexts.

One parameter which we will use in characterizing their contribution is that of "point of view". Informally, we can think of an order as being given either from the vantage point of the speaker or from that of the hearer. For example, "Bring me a cup of coffee!" can most readily be seen as a command given for the benefit of the speaker, whereas "Have a cup of coffee!" as one given for the benefit of the hearer. Imperatives expressing these two different points of view are often described as expressing an order or command, and giving advice or permission, respectively.[6] In what follows we will see how this simple distinction proves helpful in characterizing the intuitions of the informants concerning the contributions of the particles to the sentences in which they occur. We will then build on these intuitions to formulate our hypothesis on the properties of imperatives in Badiotto.

Let us start by examining the two particles which are unique to imperatives, *ma* and *mo*.

1. *ma*. Imperatives containing the particle *ma* are described by our informants as expressing advice or permission. This can be paraphrased in our terms by saying that *ma* signals a command given from

[5] Another interesting property of the examples in (7) is that, even though the verbal form is morphologically unique to the imperative paradigm (hence they are 'true imperatives'), they can be negated. At first sight, this seems to invalidate a robust generalization concerning true imperatives, namely that they cannot be negated by a pre-verbal negative marker (cf. Rivero 1994, Zanuttini 1997, Han 1998, among others). However, as will become clear in section 4, the negative marker *no* found in (7) is not a pre-verbal negative marker in the sense relevant for that generalization. Hence these are not true counter-examples.

[6] See Lewis (1979), and references therein, for a semantic characterization of imperatives which express orders in contrast with those which express permission.

the vantage point of the hearer. Both advice and permission can be seen as related to the notion of point of view, in particular as corresponding to an order given for the benefit of the hearer.[7] Some examples follow, illustrating the range of contexts in which imperatives with *ma* can occur:[8]

(8) a. Màngel *ma* che spo crësceste.
eat-it ma that then grow (2nd sg)
'Eat it and you'll grow.'
b. Tète *ma* n dé de vacanza!
take-yourself ma a day of vacation (2nd sg)
'Take a day off for vacation!'
c. Va *ma* tres adërta fora!
go ma always straight ahead (2nd sg)
'Keep going straight ahead!'

In addition to co-occurring with imperative verbs, as in the examples just given, *ma* can also co-occur with subjunctives when the clause has the illocutionary force of an imperative, as in (9):

(9) Ch al vëgnes *ma* ince osc compagn.
that s.cl come (subj.) ma also your friend
'Your friend may come in as well.'

Characterizing *ma* as a particle which signals an order given from the point of view of the hearer allows us to account for the ungrammaticality of imperatives with *ma* in contexts where the order is given for the benefit of the speaker. The judgements indicated below were given for a context where the employee clearly wants to leave and the employer puts forward another request:

(10) a. *Puzeněime *ma* ciamò i cialzà!
clean-me ma yet the shoes
'Polish my shoes!' or 'You still have to polish my shoes!'
b. *Arjigneme *ma* cà le bagn!
prepare-me ma here the bath
'Get my bath ready!'

Further support for the hypothesis that *ma* signals a command given from the vantage point of the hearer comes from the fact that, when the imperative with *ma* is followed by the description of a negative consequence for the hearer, the sentence is judged grammatical only if taken to be ironical. Some such examples are given in (11):

(11) a. Fà-l *ma* che spo t'amareste.
do-it ma that then s.cl-get-sick
'Do it, and you'll get sick.'
b. Dìjil *ma* che spo s'ofëndel pa bëgn.
tell-him-it ma that then s.cl offends quite well

[7] In addition to Badiotto, our informants can speak Italian, which is in fact the language we use to interact. They would often translate Badiotto imperatives with *ma* into Italian imperatives with *pure*, a particle marking concessive or permissive imperatives, exemplified in (i) and (ii):

(i) Siediti *pure*! (Italian)
sit (2 sg) pure
'Have a seat!'

(ii) Che venga *pure* anche il vostro amico.
that come (subj.) pure also the your friend
'Your friend may come in as well.'

[8] For reasons of space, we give only examples with the second person singular; the same pattern holds with the second person plural.

'Tell him that, and he'll really get offended!'

2. *mo*. The particle *mo* is only found in co-occurrence with imperative verbs.[9] Imperative clauses containing the particle *mo* are described by our informants as expressing an order. This can be paraphrased in our terms by saying that *mo* signals a command given from the vantage point of the speaker. This helps us account for the fact that *mo* is possible in precisely those contexts where *ma* isn't possible, as shown in (12):

(12) a. Puzenëieme *mo* ciamò i ćialzà!
clean-me mo yet the shoes
'Polish my shoes!' or 'You still have to polish my shoes!'
b. Arjigneme *mo* cà le bagn!
prepare-me mo here the bath
'Get my bath ready!'

Imperatives with *mo* are also possible when it is not clear from the context whether the order is given from the point of view of the speaker or the hearer; in such cases, they can only be interpreted as an order, and not as a piece of advice or as permission:

(13) a. Mànge-l *mo*!
eat-it mo (2nd sg)
'Eat it!'
b. Mangé-l *mo*!
eat-it mo (2nd pl)
'Eat it!'

In such cases, *ma* would also be possible, but then the imperative would be interpreted as giving advice or permission.

There are two restrictions on the distribution of *mo* that deserve to be mentioned, although we do not know how to account for them at this point. First, imperatives with *mo* cannot be negated, thus difffering from imperatives with the other particles. The second restriction concerns the type of clause which makes a grammatical continuation of an imperative with *mo*. As expected, it is impossible to follow up with a sentence which denotes something for the benefit of the hearer, as in (14), since it is incompatible with the point of view marked by *mo*. Moreover, a continuation expressing that the benefit is for the speaker, as in (15), must be introduced by the complementizer *che*: lack of the complementizer gives rise to ungrammaticality. This contrast with imperatives with the other particles, which may have a continuation which is not introduced by the complementizer. Two examples of possible continuations are given in (15):

(14) *Mànge-l *mo* ke spo crësceste.
eat-it mo that then grow (2nd sg)
'Eat it and you'll grow.'

(15) a. Fà-l *mo*, *(che) i l'adori!
do-it mo, that s.cl it use
'Do it, I need it!'

[9]The particle *mo* found in imperatives happens to be homophonous with the adversative element in Badiotto which corresponds to English *but* (cf. (i)), with which it can co-occur (cf. (ii)):

(i) Al e bun *mo* pesoch.
it is good but heavy
'It's good but heavy.'

(ii) *Mo* fàl *mo*!
but do-it mo
'But do it!'

We take the homophony to be accidental and assume that, as a particle, it is unique to imperative clauses.

b. ?Fà-l *mo*, *(che) i l'ó atira!
do-it mo, that s.cl it want right now
'Do it, I want it right away!'

We speculate that these restrictions are syntactic in nature, though we will not provide an explanation for them at this point.

To summarize our discussion up to this point, we have suggested that the contribution of *ma* and *mo*, two particles unique to imperatives, consists in marking the point of view from which the command is expressed, as follows:

(16)

point of view	particle
+hearer	*ma*
+speaker	*mo*

We now turn to the other particles, *pa* and *pö*, which are found in positive imperatives though are not restricted to these contexts.

1. *pö*. Contrary to *ma* and *mo*, which are always found in clauses with the illocutionary force of an imperative, *pö* also occurs in other types of clauses (cf. the statements in (17)). It signals that the content of the proposition denoted by the sentence in which it occurs contradicts some proposition which is already in the discourse. We can thus call *pö* a presuppositional particle, in that it signals that the discourse contains a proposition which conflicts with the one denoted by the sentence in which it occurs.[10] For example, the sentence in (17)a asserts that something is good; because of the presence of *pö*, it is felicitous only if the discourse already contains the proposition that what is being discussed is not good. Similarly, the sentence in (17)b is felicitous if a proposition expressing that he's coming is already present in the discourse; (17)b asserts that he is not coming, and implicates that this is contrary to expectation:[11]

(17) a. Al é *pö* bun!
s.cl is pö good
'Sure it's good!' (contrary to what was said)
b. Al ne vëgn *pö* nia.
cl neg comes pö neg
'He's not coming.' (contrary to expectation)

In imperatives *pö* has the same function, informally that of signalling that the denotation of the imperative sentence is in contradiction with some proposition already present in the discourse. In this case, if we view the contribution of the imperative to the discourse as that of adding an item to a list of things to do on the part of the hearer, we can view the role of *pö* as that of signaling that the discourse contains some proposition to the effect that the hearer was not planning or did not intend to do such a thing. This reflects the intuition of the native speakers, who describe an imperative with *pö* as indicating that the speaker is trying to convince the hearer to do something which wasn't part of his/her plans or desires.[12] The imperative in (18)a, for example, is felicitous if, given the structure of the discourse up to this point, it is assumed that the hearer was not going to do what is being ordered. Similarly, the example in (18)b is felicitous if, given his/her knowledge of the road, the speaker has reasons to believe that the hearer might not go straight:

[10] As first pointed out to us by E. Herburger (p.c.), this is parallel to the function of German *doch*.

[11] Badiotto has a special morphological form, *mine*, for a presuppositional negative marker, namely one which signals that the proposition expressed by the sentence contradicts a proposition present in the discourse. The negative marker *nia* in (17)b is not presuppositional. Hence, in this example, the task of relating the proposition to the discourse in this particular way is carried out by *pö*.

[12] The situation is slightly more complex, as it seems that imperatives with *pö* are compatible both with cases in which the hearer is neutral (for example, hadn't yet thought about it) and with those in which the speaker is unwilling to do what is being ordered. It is not clear to us what the contribution of *pö* is in the former case.

(18) a. Fàl *pö* ch'al é na buna idea.
do-it pö that it is a good idea
'Do it, it's a good idea.'
b. Va *pö* tres adërta fora.
go pö always straight ahead
'Keep going straight ahead.'

We note that, though possible in general with positive and negative imperatives, the particle *pö* is not compatible with imperatives in the first person plural, as shown in (19)c, for reasons which are not clear to us at this moment:[13]

(19) a. Mànge-l *pö* che sce no vëgnel frëit.
eat-it pö that if not gets-cl cold (2nd sg)
'Eat it, or it'll get cold.'
b. Mangé-l *pö* che sce no vëgnel frëit.
eat-it pö that if not gets-cl cold (2nd pl)
'Eat it, or it'll get cold.'
c. *L mangiun *pö*.
it eat (1st pl) pö

Finally, it is important to note that imperatives with *pö* are only possible in contexts where the order is given for the benefit of the hearer, while they are impossible when it is given for the benefit of the speaker. In this respect, then, they share the distribution of imperatives with *ma*. This is shown in the examples below, where the sentences in (20) are orders given for the benefit of the hearer, those in (21) for that of the speaker:

(20) a. Mànge-l *pö* che spo crësceste.
eat-it pö that then grow (2nd sg)
'Eat it and you'll grow.'
b. Tèt *pö* n dé de vacanza!
take-yourself pö a day of vacation (2nd sg)
'Take a day off for vacation!'

(21) a. *Puzenëieme *pö* ciamò i ćialzà!
clean-me pö yet the shoes
'Polish my shoes!' or 'You still have to polish my shoes!'
b. *Arjigneme *pö* cà le bagn!
prepare-me pö here the bath
'Get my bath ready!'

We will account for this aspect of the distribution of *pö* by assuming that, in addition to signalling a particular relation to the discourse, it also signals that the order is given from the point of view of the hearer, similarly to *ma*.

2. *pa*. The particle *pa* is the hardest one to characterize, since it occurs in a variety of contexts in Badiotto; hence, our description of its function is more tentative than the one given for the other three particles. When it occurs in statements, it is described by our informants as giving the sentence the character of an emphatic affirmation or of an emphatic negation, as exemplified in (22) and (23), respectively:[14]

[13]We note that, while *pö* alone gives ungrammaticality in co-occurrence with a verb in the 1st person plural, *pö* and *ma* together yield a grammatical sentence:

(i) L mangiun *pö ma*!
it eat pö ma
'Let's eat it!'

[14]Though not directly relevant to the point under discussion, it is worth noting an interesting property of the sentence in (23).

(22) Al 'e *pa* bun!
it is pa good
'It IS good!'

(23) Al n'é *pa* bun.
cl neg'is pa good
'It ISN'T good.'

The sentences are perceived as asserting that the state of affairs they describe is the true one, in contrast with some other state of affairs. We take this as suggesting that *pa* signals that the entire sentence is focussed.

Confirmation for this hypothesis comes from wh questions. When *pa* is present, the sentence is interpreted as an umarked wh question; when it is absent, the wh phrase gets contrastive focus, as if the rest of the sentence were known and the speaker only wanted the information corresponding to the wh phrase. This is exemplified in (24) below; the sentence in (24)b is only grammatical with emphatic stress on the wh phrase:

(24) a. Can vaste *pa* a Venezia?
when go-cl pa to Venice
'When are you going to Venice?'
b. CAN vaste a Venezia?
when go-cl to Venice?
'WHEN are you going to Venice?'

We view this as resulting from the fact that *pa* signals that the entire sentence is in focus; when *pa* is absent, then another constituent receives contrastive focus, as marked by intonational prominence.

Imperatives with *pa* can also be described as having the whole sentence in focus. The informants describe them as "stronger orders", in comparison with imperatives with the other particles:

(25) a. Fà-l *pa* ch'al é na buna idea!
do-it pa that s.cl is a good idea (2nd sg)
'Do it, it's a good idea.'
b. Fajé-l *pa dessigÿ*!
do-it pa definetely (2nd pl)
'Definetely do it!'
c. Va *pa* tres adërta fora.
go pa always straight ahead (2nd sg)
'Always go straight ahead!'

Moreover, they seem to be orders given from the vantage point of the speaker, as was the case with *mo*. This is suggested by their incompatibility with certain continuations which explicitly suggest that the order is for the benefit of the hearer, as in (26):

(26) *Màngel *pa* che spo crësceste.
eat-it pa that then grow
'Eat it and you'll grow.'

In sum, *pa* occurs in a variety of contexts, with the function of marking that the entire clause is focussed. Moreover, in imperatives, it signals that the order is given from the point of view of the speaker.

The particles *pö* and *pa* thus maintain in imperatives the same discourse function they have in non-imperative contexts: *pö* signals that the sentence expresses a proposition which contradicts one already

The only negative marker is the pre-verbal *n*. Like French pre-verbal *ne*, this element usually cannot by itself negate a clause; to do so, it requires the co-occurrence of another negative element. In this case, we speculate that the particle *pa* can license *n* and the negative features of the clause. See Ladusaw (1992) for a discussion of cases where the role of post-verbal elements is that of licensing the negative features on IP.

present in the discourse, while *pa* signals that the proposition expressed by the sentence is the true one out of a set of propositional alternatives. Moreover, in imperatives they take on the function of expressing the point of view from which the command is given, normally carried out by *ma* and *mo*: *pö* signals that the command is given from the point of view of the hearer, while *pa* from that of the speaker. This is summarized in the table in (27):

(27)

particle	relation to discourse	point of view
pö	contradicts a presupposition	+hearer
pa	clause is in focus	+speaker

We can now go back to one of the questions raised at the beginning of the paper, namely why a particle is obligatory in positive imperatives in Badiotto. Given the data examined up to this point, we can formulate a preliminary hypothesis (to be revised in the course of the paper): imperatives in Badiotto obligatorily express in the syntax the point of view from which a command is given. Because all of these particles can mark point of view, any one of them can satisfy this requirement and thus make imperatives grammatical.

Viewing point of view as a type of modality (cf. Kratzer 1981), we suggest that this requirement is syntactically encoded in the presence of a functional category of modal nature, which we label ModP for convenience. The projection ModP must be activated (in the terminology of Cinque 1999), or licensed. The reason why one of these particles must be present in positive imperatives, then, is to activate, or license, this projection. In the next section, we will see more precisely how this is done.

3 The Syntax of the Particles

We begin this section by discussing the structural position of the imperative particles in Badiotto. We then put forward our proposal concerning the characteristic property of imperative clauses in this language. Throughout our discussion, we will assume that linear order reflects hierarchical relations (cf. Kayne 1994). Because the verb always occurs to the left of the particle in positive imperatives, we assume that the particles are not heads, which would interfere with head movement of the verb, but rather XPs in the specifier position of some functional projection.

3.1 The structural position of the modal particles

Let us start by analyzing the particle *ma*. The characterization of its meaning we have given in the previous section, in terms of the notion of point of view, leads us to propose that it occurs in a modal projection. Cinque (1999) discusses several kinds of modal notions argued to be encoded in the syntax. Though the one we used to characterize the imperative particles does not correspond exactly to any of the ones discussed in that work, if we are indeed dealing with a modal projection, following his proposals we expect it to be in the part of the structure where other modal projections are found, namely lower than CP and higher than TP.

Evidence that *ma* indeed occurs lower than CP is provided by sentences with the illocutionary force of an imperative and the verb in the subjunctive, which have an overt complementizer. Let us repeat here the example already given in (9):

(28) Ch'al vëgnes *ma* ince osc compagn.
that s.cl come (subj.) ma also your friend
'Your friend may come in as well.'

In this example, the particle *ma* follows the complementizer *che*, hence it is lower than *che* given our assumption on the relation between linear order and hierarchical structure.

Evidence that *ma* is found in the part of the structure argued by Cinque to be the one devoted to modal projections can be found by examining the relative order of this particle and certain adverb classes in the same part of the tree. The classes of adverbs that can be tested are limited in number, given that several never occur in imperatives (see Zanuttini 1997). One adverb that can be found is *doman* 'tomorrow'. Some examples are given in (29):

(29) a. Fà-l *ma doman*!
do-it ma tomorrow (2nd sg)
'Do it tomorrow!'
b. Fajé-l *ma doman*!
do-it ma tomorrow (2nd pl)
'Do it tomorrow!'

We take the linear order exibited in the sentences in (28) and in (29) as showing that the particle *ma* occurs in a position structurally lower than the one occupied by the finite complementizer *che* and higher than the one occupied by the adverb *doman* 'tomorrow'. Hence, we take these data to offer support for the hypothesis that the particle is in a functional projection lower than CP, within the part of the tree where the functional projections express modal notions. Following up on the suggestion we put forth on the basis of semantic considerations in the previous section, we hypothesize that *ma* is the specifier of a functional projection which expresses point of view and that it is found in the part of the tree which Cinque (1999) identifies as expressing modality. This can be summarized schematically as follows:

(30) $[_{CP}\ [_{C^o}$Fa ...$[_{ModP}\ ma$ ...$[_{TP}$ doman]]]]

Turning now to *mo*, we find that its distribution is completely parallel to the distribution of *ma*: it occurs lower than the complementizer in imperative clauses with a subjunctive verb and it occurs higher than temporal adverbs like *doman*:

(31) a. Ch'al vëgnes *mo* ince osc compagn.
that s.cl come (subj.) mo also your friend
'Your friend must come in as well.'
b. Fà-l *mo* doman.
do-it mo tomorrow
'Do it tomorrow!'

As we have seen in section 2, *mo* shares with *ma* the property of expressing point of view: whereas *ma* signals that the order is given from the point of view of the hearer, *mo* signals that it is given from the point of view of the speaker. We take this similarity in function and the shared distributional properties mentioned above as evidence in favor of assuming that *ma* and *mo* occupy the same structural position, namely the specifier of a modal projection lower than the complementizer but higher than TP.

The third particle we have examined in section 2, namely *pö*, displays the same distribution we have observed for *ma* and *mo*: it occurs higher than temporal adverbs but lower than the finite complementizer in imperative clauses with a subjunctive verb:

(32) a. Ch'al vëgnes *pö* ince osc compagn.
that s.cl come (subj.) pö also your friend
'Your friend may come in as well.'
b. Fà-l *pö* doman.
do-it mo tomorrow
'Do it tomorrow!'

Pö differs from *ma* and *mo* in function, however, since in addition to signalling the point of view from which the command is issued, it also signals that the proposition contradicts one already present in the discourse.[15] The question arises, then, of whether this difference in discourse function corresponds to a difference in structural position. After all, the two syntactic tests we used to determine the position of these particles (occurrence to the right of the complementizer but to the left of temporal adverbs located in Spec,TP) define a syntactic space which can be occupied by more than one projection. Cinque (1999) argues that at least four modal projections have to be postulated higher than TP but lower than CP, each of which encodes a distinct semantic feature. Therefore, *pö* could occupy a different position from *ma* and *mo*, though one which cannot be precisely determined by our tests. For the time being, therefore, we should simply conclude from the examples in (32) that *pö* occurs in the same syntactic space where *ma* and *mo*

[15] In general, in translating examples with *pö*, we should indicate that some information already present in the discourse is being contradicted. We haven't always done so simply for reasons of space. In particular, example (32)a differs from example (28) in that it signals that the order conflicts with what was already in the discourse.

occur while leaving open the possibility that they might not all occur in the same functional projection. We will see later that there is at least one reason to believe that *pö* is located higher than *ma* and *mo*, though still lower than CP (cf. discussion concerning example (41)).

Let us now turn to examining the case of *pa*. If we apply the same two tests we used for the other three particles we see that *pa* is located higher than temporal adverbs of the class of *doman*:

(33) Fà-l *pa* doman!
do-it pa tomorrow
'Do it tomorrow!'

However, differing from the particles previously examined, *pa* is ungrammatical in an imperative with the verb in the subjunctive:

(34) *K al vagnes *pa* ince os compagn.

Such ungrammaticality could be taken to stem from *pa* and the complementizer being in competition for the same structural position. If this is correct, then *pa* occurs in a position structurally higher than the one occupied by the other three particles. Independent evidence that *pa* is in C^0 can be found in data from another variety of central Rhaetoromance, spoken in an adjacent valley called Val di Fassa (hence the name Fassano for the language). This language differs from Badiotto in not being a verb second language. Hence, contrary to Badiotto, in wh questions it can have a constituent other than the verb in second position. This is relevant for our purposes because, in these contexts, the language exhibits an alternation between the complementizer *che* and the particle *pa*, as shown in (35):[16]

(35) a. Olà *pa* tu vas? (Fassano)
where pa s.cl go
'Where are you going?'
b. Olà *che* tu vas?
where that s.cl go
'Where are you going?'
c. *Olà *che pa* tu vas?
d. *Olà *pa che* tu vas?

If we assume that *pa* occupies the same position in interrogative and in imperative clauses, then these data suggest that *pa* occurs in the same functional projection as the complementizer *che* which introduces finite clauses.[17] Following Rizzi's (1997) proposal, this amounts to saying that *pa* occurs in one of the lower components of CP.[18]

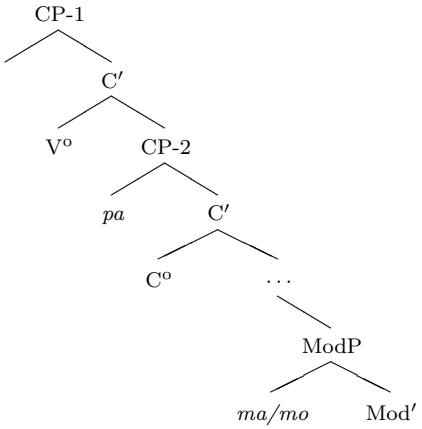
If we are on the right track in assuming that *pa* occurs in one of the layers of CP and *ma* in the part of the structure devoted to modal projections, then the relevant part of the structural representation of a positive imperative in Badiotto is as follows:

[16]These data come from the village of Pera di Fassa and were collected by C. Poletto with help from Fabio Chiocchetti.

[17]If *che* is an X^0 and *pa* an XP, as suggested at the beginning of this section, then the former will occur in the head and the latter in the specifier of this functional projection. Their lack of co-occurrence would then have to be related to incompatibility of some sort.

[18]Note that, if *pa* is in the same position in interrogatives and imperatives, namely in the projection otherwise occupied by the finite complementizer, we are led to conclude that in imperative clauses the verb is in a head higher than the one of the complementizer, given that it always precedes *pa*.

(36)



Given this structural representation, which involves two distinct structural positions for *pa* and *ma*, we would expect that the order in which they co-occur be fixed, with *pa* preceding *ma*. This is indeed what we find: *pa* obligatorily precedes *ma*, as illustrated in (37):

(37) a. Màngel *pa ma*!
eat-it pa ma
'Eat it!'
b. *Màngel *ma pa*.

The interpretation of the example in (37)a is the one we would expect given what we said in the previous section about the contribution of *ma* and *pa*: it is interpreted as a command given from the vantage point of the hearer (the contribution of *ma*) and the entire sentence has contrastive focus (the contribution of *pa*).[19]

We can now provide a partial answer to the question of whether the particles found in imperative clauses occur in the same or in different structural positions. Based on the examination of *ma*, *mo* and *pa*, the answer is that they occur in at least two different structural positions: *ma* and *mo* occur in a modal projection lower than CP and higher than TP, while *pa* occurs in one of the CP layers.

Turning now to *pö*, we should come back to the problem of whether it occurs in the same position as either *pa* or *ma/mo*, or whether we need to invoke yet another position. If the latter, such a position will be lower than the position where *pa* occurs, namely C^0, given that *pö* can cooccur with a complementizer, whereas *pa* cannot. Like *pa*, *pö* obligatorily precedes *ma* when they co-occur, as shown in (38):

(38) a. Màngel *pö ma*!
eat-it pö ma
'Eat it!'
b. *Màngel *ma pö*.

This sentence is interpreted as a piece of advice, hence a command given from the point of view of the hearer (the contribution of *ma*); moreover, it is felicitous if the discourse contains a proposition to the effect that the hearer did not intend to do what is being advised (the contribution of *pö*).

Pa and *pö* can themselves co-occur, as shown in (39):[20]

[19]This might seem problematic in light of what we said in the previous section and summarized in table (27), namely that in imperatives, in addition to marking that the sentence is in focus, *pa* also signals that the command is given from the vantage point of the speaker. It seems that, while this is true when *pa* is the only particle in a positive imperative, it is not true when it co-occurs with another particle, as in the example in (37)a. We hypothesize that this stems from the fact that, when *pa* is the only particle, it licenses the projection ModP, whereas in the presence of *ma*, a particle expressing point of view, the projection ModP is licensed by *ma*, which also determines its interpretation.

[20]Like *pa*, the particle *pö* cannot co-occur with *mo*. For reasons that are not clear to us at present, *mo* does not co-occur with any other particle:

(i) *Màngel *mo pa/pö/ma*!
eat-it mo ma/pö/pa.
'Eat it!'

(ii) *Màngel *pa/pö/ma mo*!

(39) a. Màngel *pa pö*!
eat-it pa pö
'Eat it!'
b. *Màngel *pö pa*!

A precise characterization of the interpretation of (39)a proved to be a rather difficult task. What seems clear is that the two elements normally contributed by *pa* and *pö* are present: the sentence receives contrastive focus (contribution of *pa*) and is felicitous when it contradicts a proposition already present in the discourse (contribution of *pö*). Whether it takes the point of view of the speaker or of the hearer proved rather difficult to establish.

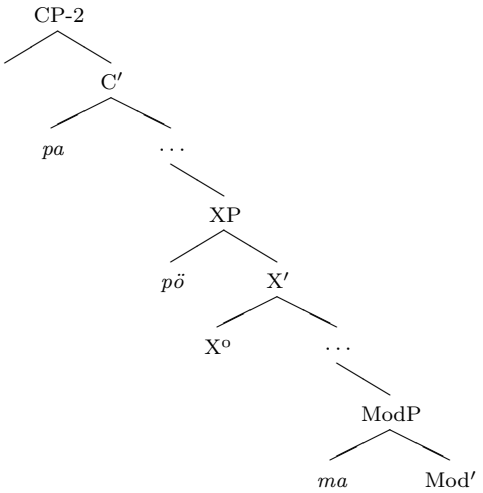
Given the co-occurrences just described, we can make three hypotheses on the structural position of *pö*:

1. *Pö* could be viewed as a modifier of the particle which it precedes, i.e. $[_{XP}$ *pö* $[_{X^o}$ ma]]. This would straightforwardly account for the word order in (38)a; however, it would do nothing to help us account for the co-occurrence of *pö* with *pa*, as in (39)a.

2. *Pö* could be viewed as occurring at times in the position of *pa*, namely one of the layers of CP, and at times in the position of *ma*, namely in ModP. It would be in CP when it co-occurs with *ma* (which is in ModP), as in (38)a, and in ModP when it co-occurs with *pa* (which is in CP), as in (39)a. This would seem to us to imply that *pö* can function exclusively as a marker of point of view when it is in ModP, and as a presuppositional marker when it is in CP. The interpretation of (39)a does not support this view, however: when *pö* co-occurs with *pa*, and hence should be in ModP, it does not clearly contribute point of view. Rather, it maintains its usual function of signalling that the proposition which is being expressed contradicts one already present in the discourse.

3. Finally, *pö* could be viewed as occurring in a position structurally lower than the one occupied by *pa* and higher than the one occupied by *ma*, as indicated in the tree in (40):

(40)



This view can account for the fact that these three particles can indeed co-occur, as in (41):[21]

(41) Ah pu fà-l *pa pö ma*!
ah pu do-it pa pö ma (2nd sg)
'Come on, do it!'

In the interpretation of this sentence, each particle seems to bring its usual contribution to the interpretation of the clause. The sentence is interpreted as receiving contrastive focus (*pa*), as requiring a

[21]This example could be accounted for by the first hypothesis, i.e. assuming that *pö* is a modifier of *ma*, but not by the second, which assumes that *pö* occupies the same position as either *pa* or *ma*.

context in which it was assumed that the hearer would not do it (*pö*), and as being a piece of advice, hence a command given from the vantage point of the hearer (*ma*).[22] If we take each contribution to correspond to a different projection, then this would support the hypothesis that three different functional projections are involved for the three particles.

At present, it seems to us that the third hypothesis is the best one and we thus suggest that the four particles which are found in imperatives in Badiotto occur in three distinct positions, as suggested in the diagram in (40).

3.2 Characterizing imperatives in Badiotto

The discussion concerning the structural position of the particles sheds some light on the structure of the clause in Badiotto, in particular in so far as the relative position of certain functional elements is concerned. This can help us better understand the position of elements which mark focus, presupposition, and point of view, as well as the clausal type under investigation. On the basis of the data and the analysis presented above, we are now in a position to formulate a more precise hypothesis on the structure of imperatives.

Imperatives in Badiotto crucially involve two functional projections. One is CP, the site to which the verb moves in positive imperatives. Given that the verb occurs on the left of the particle *pa*, which we have seen to be in complementary distribution with the complementizer which introduces finite clauses, we conclude that it moves to a CP layer higher than the one where the finite complementizer occurs. Verb movement to C in imperatives has been invoked for several languages, so this property does not uniquely distinguish Badiotto from other languages examined in the literature.

The second functional projection involved in the syntactic make up of imperatives, we hypothesize, is the one which expresses point of view; this proposal is based on the observation that, in positive imperatives, the point of view from which the command is given is always expressed. We identify such a projection with the one where *ma* and *mo* occur, which we have characterized as a modal projection expressing point of view.[23] Such a projection, ModP, can be licensed by one of the particles we have been discussing; if the hypothesis that these particles occur in three different structural positions is correct, then the licensing takes place in different ways:

1. ModP contains the particles expressing point of view, *ma* or *mo*;
2. ModP is licensed by *pö*, a presuppositional element which occurs in a structural position c-commanding it;
3. ModP is licensed by *pa*, a focus marker which occurs in a structural position c-commanding it.

One question which arises at this point concerns the exact mechanism which allows licensing, and also what enables these particles to license ModP.[24] Note that the fact that these particles are obligatory in positive imperatives suggests, under our hypothesis, that the verb cannot license the projection ModP: if it did, the particles would not be obligatory. As for the technical aspect of licensing, we can assume that it happens by virtue of these particles merging in ModP; while *ma* and *mo* stay in the specifier of ModP, *pa* and *pö* raise further, to check the features of higher projections (*pa/pö*$_i$ [$_{ModP}$ t$_i$]).[25] One way to think of this licensing is that it can happen because these particles are all endowed with features shared by ModP, in contrast with the verb which, crucially, must not be. We cannot provide a precise description of the features associated with each of these particles; they must either be a bundle of different kinds of features, or else

[22] Our informant found that the sentence was perfect if introduced by the exclamation particles *ah* and *pu*.

[23] We have chosen this option, at least in part, for the sake of concreteness. Alternatively, we could hypothesize the need to license a functional projection which does not express point of view but rather some other (either interpretative or purely functional) property of imperatives, but which can be licensed by particles marking point of view.

[24] In this discussion, we use the term *licensing* to refer to the ability of some element to activate a given functional head, following the terminology of Cinque (1999), or to license it by checking (some of) its features, following Chomsky (1995). In the literature, the term *licensing* is also used to refer to the opposite situation, in which a head makes possible the occurrence of some lexical category, for instance a DP or its trace. Hoekstra's (1991) "Uniquess of Licensing Principle", according to which a given head can license one and only one element, applies to the second type of licensing, and not to the one relevant here.

[25] When *ma* is present in the specifier of ModP, *pa* and *pö* will presumably merge in a higher position.

rather abstract in nature, since they can check both a projection which is modal in nature and a higher projection related to presupposition (in the case of *pö*) and to focus (in the case of *pa*).[26]

Another question which arises is whether the need to license ModP reflects a purely syntactic constraint, or rather a constraint which is semantic or pragmatic in nature, to the effect that the point of view from which a command is given must always be expressed in this language (recall the preliminary hypothesis formulated at the end of section 2). A clearer answer to this question will come from the examination of negative imperatives, to which we now turn.

4 Negative imperatives

While examining negative imperatives, we will focus on two issues: the fact that the particles which are obligatory in positive imperatives are not obligatory in negative imperatives (section 4.1); and the relative position of the verb and the negative marker, which sheds light on the extent of verb movement (section 4.2).

4.1 Negative imperatives without a particle

Before we delve into the issue of negative imperatives, let us describe briefly how Badiotto negates a non-imperative clause.[27] The pre-verbal negative marker *ne* cannot by itself negate a clause (cf. (42)a), but it can in co-occurrence with one of the three following elements: *nia*, *mine* and *pa*:

(42) a. *Maria *ne* vëgn a ćiasa.
Maria neg comes to home
b. Maria *ne* vëgn *nia* a ćiasa.
Maria neg comes neg to home
'Maria isn't coming home.'
c. Maria *ne* vëgn *mine* a ćiasa.
Maria neg comes neg to home
'Maria isn't coming home.'

Let us examine first the difference between *nia* and *mine*. Whereas the co-occurrence of *ne* and *nia* yields a negative sentence with no particular discourse status, the presence of *mine* signals that the sentence contradicts a proposition already present in the discourse. In other words, *mine* behaves like one of the so-called presuppositional negative markers discussed in Cinque (1976, 1999), Zanuttini (1997). The sentence in (42)c, for example, is uttered felicitously if the discourse already contains the proposition that Maria is coming home. Neither one of these post-verbal negative markers can negate an imperative, as shown in the examples below:

(43) a. **Ne* le fà *nia*.
neg it do neg (2nd sg)
'Don't do it!'
b. **Nia* le fà.
c. **Ne* le fà *mine*.
neg it do neg (2nd sg)
d. **Mine* le fà.

The pre-verbal element *ne* can also negate a clause in co-occurrence with post-verbal *pa*. *Pa* differs from *nia* and *mine* in being able to occur with *ne* in imperatives (cf. (44)b):

[26] We will see in the next section that another element has the relevant features which can license ModP, namely the negative morpheme *no*, which is only found in co-occurrence with verbs in the imperative paradigm. This negative marker shares with the particles the property of being an XP in a specifier position, rather than a head. Based on this observation, one could speculate that the reason why the particles and the negative morpheme *no* can license ModP, in contrast with the verb which cannot, is related to their X-bar status (rather than, or in addition to, their features). That is, the language could have a requirement to the effect that ModP can only be licensed if its specifier is not empty. We will leave this possibility for further investigation.

[27] We will leave aside cases where the clause contains a negative indefinite.

(44) a. Maria *ne* vëgn *pa* a ćiasa.
Maria neg comes neg to home
'Maria isn't coming home.'
b. *Ne* le fà *pa*!
neg it do pa
'Don't do it!'

We might think that the *pa* which co-occurs with *ne* is a negative marker homophonous with the particle *pa* which occurs in positive imperatives. However, in both examples in (44) *pa* seems to make the same contribution to the interpretation of the clause we have attributed to this particle in non-negative contexts, namely that of signalling that the entire clause receives contrastive focus. Thus, if we said that the *pa* found in negative contexts were a negative marker homophonous with the *pa* which marks contrastive focus, we would still have to attribute to it some of the same properties of the *pa* found in other contexts - a suspicious coincidence. Alternatively, given that the *pa* found in negative clauses differs from *nia* and *mine* precisely in being able to occur in imperative contexts, we might think that it is the same element that we find in positive imperatives. In that case, we would have to say that *ne* is the only negative marker in the clause, and that the reason why it can negate the clause (contrary to what we saw in (42)a) is that it is licensed by *pa*. This solution (already mentioned in note 14) has the advantage of avoiding the postulation of an accidental homophony while having to attribute to the two elements certain shared properties. We will subscribe to this hypothesis.[28]

If we view *pa* in (44)b as the same as the *pa* found in positive imperatives, then we haven't yet encountered a case of a negative imperative which lacks a particle and is grammatical. Such a case is found when the imperative is negated by a negative marker which is unique to these contexts, namely *no*.[29] *No* can be either post-verbal and co-occur with *ne*, or pre-verbal without *ne*:[30]

(45) a. *Ne* le fà *no*!
neg it do neg (2nd sg)
'Don't do it!'
b. *No* le fà!
neg it do (2nd sg)
'Don't do it!'

Interestingly, these examples do not contain any of the particles we found in positive imperatives, and yet they are grammatical. Why are the particles required in positive but not in negative imperatives?[31] In

[28]If this proposal is on the right track, it has interesting consequences for the way we think about the restrictions on the possibility of negating imperatives. There is a body of literature which has focussed on the fact that pre-verbal negative markers in Romance and in certain Slavic languages cannot negate a true imperative (cf. Rivero 1994, Rivero & Terzi 1995, Graffi 1996, Zanuttini 1991, 1997, Han 1998, among others). If *ne* is really the element which negates the imperative in example (44)b, then the question arises of whether it constitutes a counter-example to that generalization. While it does at first sight, it is necessary to note that it is not a negative marker which can by itself negate a clause, like Italian *non* or Spanish *no*. Rather, it resembles French *ne* or Walloon *nu* (cf. Remacle 1952, II) in always needing to be licensed by some other element. Note that French *ne* can occur in true imperatives, in co-occurrence with *pas*:

(i) *Ne* mange *pas*! (French)
neg eat neg (2nd sg)
'Don't eat!'

Badiotto *ne* exhibits the same behavior as French *ne*. This suggests that the generalization still stands, though it strictly applies to those pre-verbal negative markers which can by themselves negate a clause, as already emphasized in Zanuttini (1997).

[29]The only other context where *no* is found is when it occurs in isolation, for example as the negative answer to a question.

[30]Going back to the discussion in note 28, one should ask whether the pre-verbal *no* of example (45)b constitutes a counter-example to the generalization that pre-verbal negative markers in Romance cannot negate a true imperative. We do not think it does, since the negative markers covered by that generalization are best analyzed as heads which originate in a structural position higher than the one occupied by the finite verb in a declarative clause, whereas *no* is a maximal projection originating in a lower structural position. The generalization concerning the incompatibility of pre-verbal negative markers and true imperatives should then be viewed as applying to pre-verbal negative heads, not to all negative markers which can occur in pre-verbal position.

[31]The negative marker *no* may co-occur with three of the particles which mark an imperative, namely *ma*, *pa* and *pö*:

(i) Ne le fà *ma no*!
neg it do ma neg (2nd sg)

the previous section we have hypothesized that two functional projections are involved in the making of imperatives in Badiotto, CP and ModP. We have further suggested that the particles are needed to license ModP. Maintaining that hypothesis, we now suggest that, in examples like those in (45), it is the negative marker which licenses ModP.[32] That is, in addition to the particles which mark point of view (*ma* and *mo*), presupposition (*pö*) and focus (*pa*), yet another functional element has the ability to license this functional projection, namely the negative marker *no*. This amounts to saying that all these elements, including the negative marker, have features of the right kind to license ModP. The proposal that the negative marker *no* can license ModP is reminiscent of the proposal found in Kayne (1992) to the effect that, in Italian imperatives, the negative marker *non* can license an empty modal verb (which in turn takes an overt infinitive as its complement).

Viewing the negative marker as endowed with modal features is one way of expressing the fact that negative markers can be sensitive to the mood specifications of the clause in which they occur. It is well-known that in Latin, for example, the negative marker *ne* was used in prohibitive sentences, a class which included imperatives and certain clauses in the subjunctive, whereas *non* was used in all other clausal types. In fact, Sadock & Zwicky (1985) point out that, cross-linguistically, when a language has two or more morphologically distinct negative markers, they are most often sensitive to mood distinctions and specialize accordingly. Badiotto *no*, in our view, is one instance of a negative marker which exhibits sensitivity to mood; such sensitivity is manifested in its ability to occur in sentences where the projection ModP is licensed (for example when *ma* is present), or to license it itself. This cannot be done by the other negative markers of Badiotto, *nia* or *mine*, which occur with other moods or, in our terms, do not have modal features which make them compatible with the ModP of imperatives.

How does *no* license the projection ModP? Because this negative marker only occurs in imperatives, it is difficult to establish where exactly in the structure it originates. We know that, when it is in post-verbal position, it follows the modal particle *ma* and precedes adverbs corresponding to English 'anymore' and 'always':

(46) a. Ne le fà ma *no* plü!
neg it do ma neg anymore
'Don't do it anymore.'
b. Ne le fà ma *no* tres!
neg it do ma neg always
'Don't always do that!'

Let us then assume that *no* merges in a position structurally lower than ModP and suggest that it licenses it either by overt raising, or by covert raising of the relevant features. When *no* occurs in pre-verbal position, as in (45)b, such licensing can take place by the negative marker moving through the projection ModP on its way to a higher position (which we will discuss momentarily):

(47) no_i [$_{ModP}$ t_i [$_{Mod^o}$ ... [$_{NegP}$ t_i [$_{Neg^o}$ ...]]]]

When *no* occurs in post-verbal position and no modal particle is present, as in example (45)a, it is difficult to know whether it is lower than ModP ([$_{ModP}$ ... [$_{NegP}$ *no* [$_{Neg^o}$]]]) or whether it has raised to ModP overtly ([$_{ModP}$ no_i [$_{Mod^o}$ ... [$_{NegP}$ t_i [$_{Neg^o}$]]]]). If it is lower than ModP, then licensing must take place at LF via adjunction of the relevant features.

We can now go back to the question raised earlier of whether the requirement on the licensing of the projection ModP is syntactic or semantic in nature. That is, does it stem from a semantic/pragmatic

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'Don't do it!

(ii) Ne le fà *pa no*! *

(iii) Ne le fà *pa mine no*!

(iii) Ne le fà pö no!

The point is that it does not *have to* co-occur with one of these particles for the sentence to be grammatical.

[32] In example (45)b, *no* is the only negative marker, and thus it is straightforward to think that it is the one which licenses ModP. In the example in (45)a the issue is slightly more complex, as there are two negative negative markers, pre-verbal *ne* and post-verbal *no*. In this case, it is difficult to ascertain which one licenses ModP: because pre-verbal *ne* is licensed by post-verbal *no*, it seems that the latter plays a role in the licensing, either by doing so itself, or by doing so indirectly through the licensing of *ne*. In what follows, we will focus on licensing by *no*.

constraint of Badiotto which requires that every command be specified as being either from the vantage point of the speaker or of the hearer, or does it stem from a purely syntactic requirement that the projection ModP be licensed? We think it is the latter, in view of the fact that negative imperatives which lack a particle are not clearly specified for point of view: they can be commands given from the vantage point of the speaker or of the hearer. If the negative marker can license this projection without specifying one of its values (point of view of the speaker versus point of view of the hearer), the requirement on licensing must be purely syntactic. That is, it cannot be the case that the language needs to specify, for every command, what point of view it takes; rather, it must be that the language needs to license, for every imperative clause, a certain number of functional projections, which include ModP.

4.2 Verb movement in negative imperatives

Besides not requiring a particle, negative imperatives in Badiotto are worth examining also because they appear not to be subject to the requirement that the verb move to C. When an imperative is negated by *no* in post-verbal position, the verb appears to occupy the same position as in positive imperatives, immediately preceding the particles:

(48) a. Ne le fà *ma no*!
neg it do ma neg (2nd sg)
'Don't do it!'
b. Ne le fà *pa no*!
neg it do pa neg (2nd sg)
'Don't do it!'

This suggests that the verb is higher than ModP (recall that we are working with the assumption that *ma* is in the specifier of ModP). Moreover, if our hypothesis on the position of *pa* is correct, the verb is also higher than the CP layer which hosts either *pa* or the complementizer found in interrogative clauses.

The position of the verb is different when the negative marker *no* is in pre-verbal position; in this case, the verb *follows* the particles:

(49) a. *No ma* le fà!
neg ma it do (2nd sg)
'Don't do it!'
b. *No pa* le fà!
neg pa it do (2nd sg)
'Don't do it!'

That the verb is in different positions depending on whether the negative marker is pre- or post- verbal is also shown by its distribution with respect to lower adverbs (cf. Cinque 1999). When the negative marker is post-verbal, the verb precedes the adverb corresponding to 'anymore', as shown in (50). Assuming that adverbs of this class occur in the specifier of a functional projection higher than VP, this suggests that the verb has raised out of VP:

(50) Ne le fà ma *no* plü!
neg it do ma neg anymore (2nd sg)
'Don't do it anymore.'

In contrast, when *no* is pre-verbal, the verb follows the adverb corresponding to 'anymore', as shown in (51). This suggests that the verb is in a lower position with respect to the adverb:

(51) a. *No* pa plü le fà!
neg pa anymore it do (2nd sg)
'Don't do it anymore!'
b. *No* ma plü le fà!
neg ma anymore it do (2nd sg)
'Don't do it anymore!'
c. *No* plü le fà!
neg anymore it do (2nd sg)

'Don't do it anymore!'

The examples in (52) show that if the verb precedes the adverb, the result is ungrammatical:

(52) a. **No* le fà plü!
neg it do anymore
'Don't do it anymore!'
b. **No* pa le fà plü!
neg pa it do anymore
c. **No* ma le fà plü!
neg ma it do anymore

The same pattern holds when we observe the relative order of the verb and the lower adverb corresponding to English 'always':

(53) a. Ne le fà ma *no* tres!
neg it do ma neg always
'Don't always do that!'
b. *No* ma tres le fà!
neg ma always it do
'Don't always do that!'
c. **No* ma le fà tres!
neg ma it do always
'Don't do that!'

Here again, when the negative marker *no* is in pre-verbal position, the verb appears on the right of the lower adverb, thus suggesting that it is in a position lower than the adverb.

If the verb is required to move in positive imperatives, why does it fail to move in negative imperatives when *no* is in pre-verbal position, without giving rise to ungrammaticality? Along the lines of our proposal concerning the particles, here also we propose a solution to the puzzle that relies on the idea that the negative marker is able to carry out a function normally carried out by movement of the verb, thus rendering verb movement unnecessary. That is, we suggest that whatever triggers movement of the verb in positive imperatives, presumably certain strong features that need checking, can instead trigger movement of the negative marker *no* in negative imperatives.

We do not pretend to have a theory of what these features might be and of why *no* can check them. For the moment, we limit ourselves to pointing out that these data suggest an interaction between movement of the verb and movement of the negative marker to the effect that the latter can make the former unnecessary. Interactions of this sort have been invoked to account for the contrast between positive and negative questions as well. Independently, both Cheng et al. (1996) and Zanuttini (1997) have argued that the reason why verb movement is obligatory in positive but not in negative yes/no questions in the languages they investigate is that the negative marker can move in the latter and satisfy the requirements otherwise met by movement of the verb. Similarly, here we are arguing that the negative marker makes verb movement unnecessary. This implies that the notion of what motivates movement in certain contexts must be construed broadly enough to include a range of values which can be satisfied by elements as different as the verb and (certain types of) negative markers.[33]

Before we conclude this section, we need to comment on the alternation exhibited in our data between movement of the verb and movement of the negative marker. The examples in (48) exhibit verb movement to C; those in (49), in contrast, exhibit movement of the negative marker to C, if our hypothesis is correct. If we think that the target in C attracts the closest element with the right kind of features, this alternation is puzzling: how can the closest element be sometimes the verb and sometimes the negative marker? In fact, this alternation is only apparent, as Badiotto speakers of different age groups tend to use only one of the two structures. That is, older speakers consistently use the structure exemplified in (48), which exhibits verb

[33]G. Giusti and R. Kayne (p.c.) pointed out to us an alternative way of viewing the data where *no* is in pre-verbal position, preceding the particle and the adverb (as in (51)). According to this view, the verb would raise and then the negative marker, the particle and the adverb, as a unit, would move to an even higher position. The main difficulty we see with this solution is in accounting for the fact that the negative marker *no* precedes the particle, given that, when it is in post-verbal position, it always follows it (cf. (48)).

movement, whereas younger speakers can use, in addition to that structure, also the one exemplified in (49), which exhibits movement of the negative marker.[34] Hence we believe that the proper way of thinking of these data is not as a case in which the requirement of moving to C is optionally satisfied either by the verb or by the negative marker. Rather, this should be considered a situation in which the apparent optionality is in fact the result of the presence of two grammatical systems. In one grammar, that of the older speakers, the verb is the only element that can check the features in C and thus it is the only element which moves to C in imperatives, positive and negative. In the other grammar, in addition to the verb, the negative marker is also endowed with the relevant features to satisfy the needs of the target C; because it is closer to the target than the verb (since the verb originates in VP), it is the element which moves to C. Whereas the older speakers consistently use one grammar, younger speakers can switch from one to the other, thus giving rise to apparent cases of optionality.

5 Conclusion

On the basis of data from a Rhaetoromance variety, Badiotto, in this paper we have argued that the syntax of imperative clauses is characterized by the need to license two functional projections: CP and ModP.

Verb movement to C, motivated by the need to license (one layer of) CP, has been argued for in many languages to account for the fact that the relative order of the verb and the pronominal clitics is different in imperative and declarative clauses. We think of this property as some trigger for movement which is present in (one of the layers of) the CP projection. For the sake of concreteness, such a trigger can be thought of as some (strong) feature which needs checking. We leave aside the issue of whether this feature can be identified with the one expressing illocutionary force (as proposed in Rivero and Terzi 1995), and simply say that it distinguishes imperatives from declaratives. In Badiotto, the verb raises in positive imperatives and in negative imperatives in which *no* is post-verbal. However, when *no* is pre-verbal, the negative marker raises instead of the verb. This leads us to conclude that the trigger which causes movement to (one of the layers of) CP can be satisfied by more than one element. In Badiotto, such an element can be either the verb (for all speakers, in positive imperatives) or the negative marker *no* (for younger speakers, in negative imperatives). The proper characterization of the trigger, and the issue of why it can be satisfied by both the verb and the negative marker, is left for further research.

The need to license a ModP projection in imperatives has not been widely discussed in the literature, to our knowledge. One such proposal is found in den Dikken (1992). On the basis of considerations having to do with right-peripheral NP-placement in Dutch, this paper argues for the existence of a Mood and Modality Phrase (M&MP) whose head hosts imperative mood in imperatives (and can otherwise host focus, negation, emphasis). We argue that a projection ModP must be licensed in imperatives in Badiotto based on the observation that a particle must be present in all contexts except the ones where the negative marker *no* is present. We interpret this as the manifestation of the requirement that a functional projection of modal nature is involved in making an imperative, one which we hypothesize to express the point of view from which the command is given. Such a modal projection can be licensed in Badiotto either by having lexical content, or via raising of one of a fixed set of functional elements (the presuppositional particle *pö*, the focus marker *pa* and the negative marker *no*). We further argue that the need to license this projection is purely syntactic, rather than semantic or pragmatic.[35]

This work also offers us the opportunity to make more precise the descriptive generalization concerning the incompatibility of pre-verbal negative markers and verbal forms unique to the imperative paradigm ('true imperatives'). The data from Badiotto show that such incompatibility does not extend to negative elements which are maximal projections that moved to pre-verbal position from a lower position in the structure. Therefore the generalization should be stated as follows: pre-verbal negative markers which are heads and which can by themselves negate a clause are incompatible with true imperatives.

[34] We note that in the variety of Rhaetoromance spoken in the nearby town of Corvara all speakers now use the counterpart of (49), that is a structure which exhibits movement of the negative marker.

[35] Platzack and Rosengren (1994) propose the existence of a functional projection (labeled SP) which checks the feature related to sentence type, namely imperative. Similarly to den Dikken's (1992) and to our proposal, this projection is said to be above VP and below CP. Further similarities with our proposal are difficult to see, however, given the difference in the focus of their work, which is mainly concerned with subjects in imperative clauses.

Finally, we should note that we have not discussed the nature of the difference between a language like Badiotto, which needs to have the projection ModP licensed by a particle or by a particular type of negative marker, and the languages which do not show such a requirement, for example standard Italian or English. Nor have we addressed the question concerning why, assuming that our approach is on the right track, the imperative verb cannot license ModP in Badiotto, while certain particles and the negative marker *no* can. In a highly speculative vein we would like to propose that these two issues are connected as follows: in languages like standard Italian or English ModP can be licensed by the imperative verb which adjoins to Mod^o on its way to Comp. In contrast, in languages like Badiotto movement of the imperative verb through the head of ModP is not sufficient to license this projection; a stronger requirement holds instead, namely that the specifier be filled as well, by an element with appropriate features. Such an element can be one of the particles we have been discussing, the negative marker *no*, or their trace. This amounts to saying that the licensing of a projection can involve a different procedure in different languages, and even within the same language for different projections. In other words, the parametrization of the requirements on the licensing of a functional projection could be invoked to explain the different behavior of English and Italian on the one hand and Badiotto on the other.

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