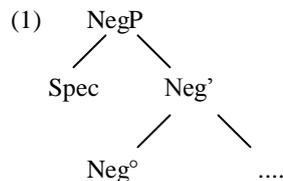


## ON CLITICS AND NEGATION IN ALBANIAN\*

Giuseppina TURANO

### 0. Introduction

Much attention has been paid in recent years to the nature and the position of negative elements (Pollock 1989; Belletti 1990; Laka 1990; Ouhalla 1990; Benmamoun 1991; Haegeman 1995; Zanuttini 1990, 1991, 1995, 1997). Since Pollock (1989), the negation is considered as a functional head in terms of X-bar theory. According to this proposal, the negation is the head of a maximal phrase, as is exemplified in (1):



In some languages, for instance Italian, the negation is a Neg° head; in other languages, like Dutch, the negation is a maximal phrase (i.e. a SpecNegP); in French, both the head and the specifier are realised. Languages may also differ as to the position of the negation. Concerning this point, Ouhalla (1990:194) assumes that languages fall into two groups, differing in terms of the value assigned to the following parameter:

#### (2) *The NEG Parameter*

- a. NEG selects VP
- b. NEG selects TP

English, for instance, exhibits the value (2a) of the Neg Parameter (Pollock 1989, Ouhalla 1990, Benmamoun 1991). Languages like Italian (Belletti 1990; Zanuttini 1990,

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1991, 1997; Acquaviva 1994)<sup>1</sup>, French (Ouhalla 1990, Moritz & Valois 1992) or Basque (Laka 1990), on the other hand, have value (2b) of the Neg Parameter.

In this paper, I will discuss the properties of the negation in Albanian.<sup>2</sup> I will focus on the status of the negation and the position it occupies within the Infl domain (section 1). I will investigate the properties of Albanian negative sentences and I will discuss the interaction between negation and clitic positions (section 2).

## 1. Albanian negative elements

### 1.1. Distribution of Albanian negative elements

Albanian has four different negative elements: *nuk*, *s'*, *mos* and *jo*. *Nuk* and *s'* are associated with indicative (3), conditional (4) and admirative<sup>3</sup> (5) clauses.

- (3) a. **Nuk** vajta (më) në bibliotekë.  
Neg went-1s (anymore) in library  
'I didn't go to the library (anymore)'  
b. **S'**vajta (më) në bibliotekë.  
Neg went-1s (anymore) in library  
'I didn't go to the library (anymore)'
- (4) a. Po të mos e kishit lajmëruar, ai **nuk** do të vinte<sup>4</sup> (më).  
If M° Neg him had called he neg COND come-3s (anymore)  
'If you hadn't called him, he wouldn't have come (anymore)'  
b. Po të mos e kishit lajmëruar, ai **s'**do të vinte (më).  
If M° Neg him had called he neg COND come-3s (anymore)

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<sup>1</sup> Zanuttini (1997) actually distinguishes four different structural positions in which negative markers occur. The author identifies two positions above TP where pre-verbal negative markers occur and two lower positions where post-verbal negative markers occur. The position of negative markers is determined with respect to the hierarchy of adverbs discussed in Cinque (1997).

<sup>2</sup> For a morphosyntactic treatment of Albanian negative elements, see Hamp (1984).

<sup>3</sup> The admirative is used to express surprise or amazement.

<sup>4</sup> Conditional forms, as those of the indicative future, are built by means of the invariable particle *do* (from *dua* 'will') and a subjunctive form which comprises a finite Infl introduced by the invariable particle *të*. In particular, the future has the form: *do* + *subjunctive present*, whereas the conditional has the form: *do* + *subjunctive imperfect*.

‘If you hadn’t called him, he wouldn’t have come (anymore)’

- (5) a. **Nuk** qenka (më) këtu Maria?  
 Neg been-has-ADM (anymore) here Mary  
 ‘Hasn’t Mary been here?’
- b. **S’**qenka (më) këtu Maria?  
 Neg been-has-ADM (anymore) here Mary  
 ‘Hasn’t Mary been here?’

The elements *nuk* and *s’* cannot be replaced neither by *mos* (6) or by *jo* (7)

- (6) a. \***Mos** vajta (më) në bibliotekë.  
 Neg went-1s (anymore) in library  
 ‘I didn’t go to the library (anymore)’
- b. \*Po të mos e kishit lajmëruar, ai **mos** do të vinte (më).  
 If M° Neg him had called he neg COND come-3s (anymore)  
 ‘If you hadn’t called him, he wouldn’t have come (anymore)’
- c. \***Mos** qenka (më) këtu Maria?  
 Neg been-has-ADM (anymore) here Mary  
 ‘Hasn’t Mary been here?’
- (7) a. \***Jo** vajta (më) në bibliotekë.  
 Neg went-1s (anymore) in library  
 ‘I didn’t go to the library (anymore)’
- b. \*Po të mos e kishit lajmëruar, ai **jo** do të vinte (më).  
 If M° Neg him had called he neg COND come-3s (anymore)  
 ‘If you hadn’t called him, he wouldn’t have come (anymore)’
- c. \***Jo** qenka (më) këtu Maria?  
 Neg been-has-ADM (anymore) here Mary  
 ‘Hasn’t Mary been here?’

*Nuk* and *s’* appear to the left of the finite verb (see (3), (4), (5)). They precede the auxiliary in compound tenses (8) and the future (9) and conditional (10) marker *do*.

- (8) a. **Nuk** kam ngrënë.  
 Neg have-1s eaten  
 ‘I haven’t eaten’
- b. **S’**kam ngrënë  
 Neg have-1s eaten  
 ‘I haven’t eaten’

- c. \*Kam **nuk** ngrënë.  
Have Neg eaten
  - d. \*Kam **s'** ngrënë.  
Have Neg eaten
- (9) a. **Nuk** do të vijë.  
Neg FUT come-3s  
'He will not come'
- b. **S'**do të vijë.
  - c. \*Do **nuk** të vijë.
  - d. \*Do **s'**të vijë.
- (10) a. **Nuk** do të vinte.  
Neg COND come-3s  
'He would not come'
- b. **S'**do të vinte.
  - c. \*Do **nuk** të vinte.
  - d. \*Do **s'**të vinte.

*Nuk* and *s'* must be immediately adjacent to the verb (cf. (3), (4), (5)); no lexical items (11), no adverbs (12) and no parentheticals (13) may appear between *nuk/s'* and the verb; clitics however can, as in (14):

- (11) a. \***Nuk** Maria flet.  
Neg Mary talks  
'Mary doesn't talk'
- b. \***S'**Maria flet.  
Neg Mary talks  
'Mary doesn't talk'
- (12) a. \***Nuk** akoma flet.  
Neg yet talks  
'He doesn't talk yet'
- b. \***S'**akoma flet.  
Neg yet talks  
'He doesn't talk yet'
- (13) a. \***Nuk**, sipas meje, iku.  
Neg, according to me, left-3s  
'According to me, he didn't leave'

- b. \***S'**, sipas meje, iku.  
 Neg, according to me, left-3s  
 'According to me, he didn't leave'
- (14) a. **Nuk** i        flas.  
 Neg to him        talk-1s  
 'I don't talk to him'
- b. **S'i**        flas.  
 Neg to him talk-1s  
 'I don't talk to him'

Now consider the negative element *mos*. It combines with the subjunctive (15a), the imperative (15b), the optative (15c), the gerund (15d) and the infinitive (15e).

- (15) a. Merr    çadrën        që    të    **mos** lagesh  
 Take-2s the umbrella that M° Neg wet-2sSUBJ  
 'Take the umbrella, so that you don't get wet'
- b. **Mos** lexo        këtë libër.  
 Neg read-2sIMP this book  
 'Don't read this book!'
- c. **Mos** vdeksh        kurrë.  
 Neg die-2sOPT never  
 'May you never die'
- d. Duke **mos** ditur    ç'të        bënte,        doli        në oborr.  
 GER Neg known what+M° do-3sSUBJ came-3s out in yard  
 'Not knowing what to do, he came out in the yard'
- e. Për të **mos** u vonuar, mori një taksi.  
 INF Neg been late took-3s a taxi  
 'For not to be late, he took a taxi'

*Mos* cannot be replaced by *nuk*, by *s'* or by *jo*. I illustrate this restriction by using the subjunctive clause:

- (16) \*Merr çadrën që të **nuk/s'/jo** lagesh.  
 Take-2s the umbrella that M° Neg wet-2sSUBJ  
 'Take the umbrella, so that you don't get wet'

One of the most notable characteristics of the paradigm (15) is the presence of a mood marker overtly realized by the particle *të* in the subjunctive, by the particle *duke* in the gerund and by the particles *për të* in the infinitive. The negative element *mos* follows the mood marker. So, in (15a), *mos* appears between *të* and the verb; in (15d) *mos* appears

between *duke* and the verb; in (15e) *mos* appears between *për të* and the verb. Like *nuk* and *s'*, *mos* must be immediately adjacent to the verb. Clitics are the only lexical material which may intervene between the negation and the verb. Again I illustrate this restriction by using the subjunctive clauses:

- (17) a. Të **mos** e harrojnë.  
M° Neg him forget-3plSUBJ  
'They don't forget him'  
b. \*Të **mos** Maria niset.  
M° Neg Mary leave-3sSUBJ  
'Mary doesn't leave!'  
c. \*Të **mos** shpesh vijë  
M° Neg often come-3sSUBJ  
'He doesn't come often'

Albanian negative element *-jo-* is restricted to nominals (18), adjectives (19), prepositional phrases (20) and adverbials (21) in the way of what in English is referred to as a constituent negation<sup>5</sup>. It cannot be replaced by *nuk*, *s'* or *mos*.

- (18) a. Lexo librin e historis **jo** atë të gjografis.  
'Read the book of history not that of geography'  
b. \*Lexo librin e historis **nuk/s'/mos** atë të gjografis.  
(19) a. Maria është e hollë dhe **jo** shumë e gjatë.  
'Mary is thin and not very tall'  
b. \*Maria është e hollë dhe **nuk/s'/mos** shumë e gjatë.  
(20) a. Ai udhëton me tren **jo** me makinë.  
'He travels by train not by car'  
b. \*Ai udhëton me tren **nuk/s'/mos** me makinë.  
(21) a. Flit, por **jo** shpejt.  
'Talk, but not too fast'  
b. \*Flit, por **nuk/s'/mos** shpejt.

In this paper I will ignore the negative element *jo*. I will limit my discussion to the distribution and the position of *nuk*, *s'* and *mos* which express sentential negation.

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. Cardinaletti & Guasti (1993) for constituent negation in Italian.

### 1.2. The status of Albanian negative elements

As we saw in 1.1. the distribution of *nuk*, *s'* and *mos* is linked to the verbal mood. *Nuk* and *s'* occur with indicative, conditional and admirative verbs, whereas *mos* occurs with subjunctive, imperative, optative, gerund and infinitive verbs. *Nuk/s'* and *mos* are in complementary distribution.

Partially similar is the situation that we find in Greek where a negative element, *dhen*, combines with the indicative, whereas a different negative element, *min*, combines with the subjunctive. Albanian *nuk* strongly resembles Greek *dhen*, whereas Albanian *mos* looks like Greek *min*. However, Albanian differs minimally from Greek since, in Albanian, sentential negation can also be expressed by the negation *s'*. There is no counterpart to this negative element in Greek. According to Tsimpli (1990) and Tsimpli & Roussou (1992, 1996), Greek negation *min* can only appear in subjunctives because it is selected by Mood, whereas *dhen* can only appear if it is not preceded by a Mood category, that is only in indicative clauses. Such account predicts that it is the head Mood which triggers the presence of the negation *min*.

In Albanian as well the negation is realised as *mos* when a mood category is present in a negative clause. Crucial evidence in favor of this assumption comes from the behavior of the admirative mood. Admirative is an agglutinated inverted perfect<sup>6</sup>. The negative form is realized by means of the elements *nuk* or *s'* (cf. (5)). This mood, however, can also be preceded by the particle *të* (22a); in these cases, it combines with the negative element *mos* (22b):

- (22) a. Të qenkësha i semurë...  
           M<sup>o</sup> been-had-1s sich  
           ‘If I were sick...’  
       b. Të **mos** qenkësha semurë.  
           ‘If I should not be sick...’  
       c. \*Të **nuk/s'** qenkësha semurë.

The behavior of the admirative seems to confirm the idea that *mos*, like Greek *min*, is selected by a mood category.

I take *nuk*, *s'* and *mos* to be heads of maximal projections NegP. In Albanian there is not an overt element equivalent to the French element *pas* which occupies the specifier of NegP. Nevertheless, Albanian negative elements can cooccur with negative quantifiers such as *kurrë* ‘never’:

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<sup>6</sup> It has been created by the merging of abbreviated past participle forms and auxiliary forms:  
 (i) Punua-kam  
     worked-have-1s

- (23) a. **Nuk** punon kurrë  
Neg work-3s never  
'He never works'  
b. **S'** punon kurrë  
'He never works'  
c. **Të mos** punojë kurrë  
M°Neg work-3sSUBJ never  
'May he never work'

Besides that, I take Albanian negative elements to be clitics since they display the same properties of clitics. In fact, it is impossible to use *nuk*, *s'* and *mos* in isolation. The contrast between (24b) and (24c) which are possible negative answers to the question in (24a) and the contrast between (25b) and (25c) which are possible negative answers to the question in (25a) show that *nuk*, *s'* and *mos* cannot be used in isolation:

- (24) a. A punon ti?  
Q work-2s you  
'Do you work?'  
b. Nuk punoj/S' punoj.  
'I don't work'  
c. \*Nuk/S'  
(25) a. Mund të marrë këtë libër?  
May M° take-3sSUBJ this book  
'May he take this book?'  
b. Mos të marrë këtë  
Neg M° take-3sSUBJ this  
c. \*Mos

Only Albanian negative element *jo* can occur in isolation:

- (26) a. A punon ti?  
Q work-2s you  
'Do you work?'  
b. Jo!  
c. Mund të marrë këtë libër?  
'May he take this book?'  
d. Jo!

Additional evidence that negative elements cannot be separated from the verb comes from the restrictions observed in (11), (12), (13), (17) and by the inversion data in Wh-questions. Consider the position of the negative element in Albanian Wh-questions:

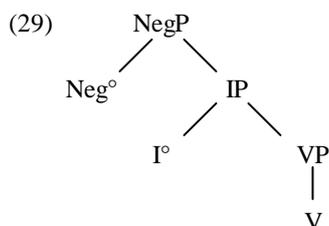
- (27) a. Maria nuk ha bukë.  
 Mary Neg eats bread  
 ‘Mary doesn’t eat bread’  
 b. Çfarë nuk ha Maria?  
 What Neg eats Mary  
 ‘What doesn’t Mary eat?’  
 c. \*Çfarë ha nuk Maria?

Wh-questions, in Albanian, display V-movement to C, as indicated by the subject-inversion. As the contrast between (27b) and (27c) shows, in Wh-questions the negation appears with the verb in Comp<sup>7</sup>.

### 1.3. The position of the negation

We saw above that in Albanian the negation occurs before the inflected verb. I will assume that the negation is projected above IP, in a position where it takes scope over Tense. Hence, the structure of a negative clause like (28) has the simplified form in (29)<sup>8</sup>:

- (28) Maria nuk/s’ ha  
 Mary Neg eats  
 ‘Mary doesn’t eat’



With respect to (28) there is a point which needs to be explained. It relates to the position of the subject. In Albanian negative sentences, the subject always precedes the ne-

<sup>7</sup> The same strategy is found in Italian (Rizzi 1991).

<sup>8</sup> The Infl node is for tense and agreement. Actually, Chomsky (1995) advanced the hypothesis that Agr has no features. In this paper, the AgrP/TP distinction seems to be irrelevant, so I will simply use the label IP.

gation. I exclude that the subject occupies SpecNegP. There is some reason to believe that SpecNegP is filled by an empty negative operator. Notice, in fact, that Wh-extraction of adjuncts is blocked in negative clauses.

- (30) \*Si nuk ke ndrequr makinën t?  
How Neg have-2s fixed the car  
\*‘How didn’t you fix the car?’

According to Rizzi (1990, 1992), (30) involves a violation of Relativized Minimality<sup>9</sup> since a null operator filling SpecNegP represents a potential closer antecedent-governor for the trace of the moved Wh-phrase. Actually, other types of locality play a role here. In the minimalist model of Chomsky (1995), the ungrammaticality of (30) can be derived from the Minimal Link Condition<sup>10</sup>: wh-movement to SpecCP could be blocked by the intermediate negative operator (associated to the Neg<sup>o</sup> head) which can also move to CP since there is a feature in C<sup>o</sup> that can attract both negation and Wh-phrases. Such feature could be, for example, the focus feature (Brody 1990). Under the Locality theory of Manzini (1995), instead, is the negation that is responsible for blocking the movement of the Wh-phrase. According to Manzini (1995), in fact, the negation has operator properties, so it blocks the dependency connecting a higher operator to a variable. Whether the ungrammaticality of (30) correlates with the presence of a null negative operator in SpecNegP or with the operator status of the negation will be left an open question. With respect to the position of the subject in Albanian (negative) clauses, I will follow the proposal of Manzini & Savoia (1997) and Savoia & Manzini (forthcoming) that, in null subject languages, the subject of the clause does not occupy the SpecIP but rather a Topic position. A similar assumption has been made by Pollock (1996), Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1997), Nash & Rouveret (1997). These authors assume that the D feature of I is universally strong. As such, it must be checked or by an argument or by the verbal inflection. In null subject languages, the verbal inflection is rich enough to check the D feature of I. Then, raising of the verb to I is sufficient to check this feature. As a consequence, the presence of a pre-verbal lexical subject is not related to the necessity to satisfy the D feature of I. In null subject languages, in fact, a pre-verbal lexical subject does not necessarily involve a Spec-Head configuration with I. Evidence for this comes from the fact that the sequence ‘subject-verb’ may be interrupted by adverbials. The conclusion these au-

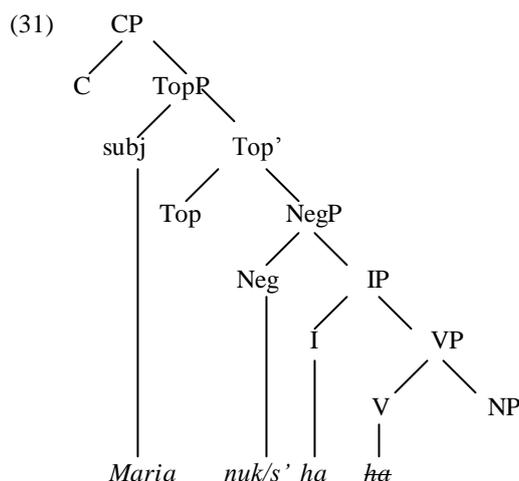
<sup>9</sup> Relativized Minimality is defined in the following way (Rizzi 1990):

- (i) Z governs Y only if there is no Z such that
  - a. Z is a potential governor for Y
  - b. Z c-commands Y and does not c-command X

<sup>10</sup> The Minimal Link Condition is defined in the following way (Chomsky 1995):

- (i) K attracts  $\alpha$  only if there is no  $\alpha$  closer to K than  $\alpha$  such that K attracts  $\alpha$

thors reach is that pre-verbal subjects are not in the specifier of I, but rather in a Topic position. The structure I propose for (28) is, then, that in (31):



I assume that the configuration given in (31) is the basic structure of Albanian negative sentences.

In interrogative sentences the negation appears with the verb in Comp (see (27)). With respect to the position of the negation in interrogative sentences, there are two lines of thought. Zanuttini (1997), for example, has proposed that in negative interrogatives displaying V-movement to C, the negation moves along with the verb to Comp, giving the word order 'negation – verb-subject'. Zanuttini (1997) assumes that, first the negation cliticizes onto the verb, and then, the negation and the verb, as a unit, raise to C°. According to Zanuttini, however, this strategy is restricted to those languages like French or Walloon, whose pre-verbal negative markers cannot negate the clause alone but must co-occur with another negative element<sup>11</sup>. Languages where the negation can negate the clause alone, on the other hand, do not display I-to-C movement. This difference between the two classes of languages is related to the different status of the negative markers. Indeed, the negative markers which can negate a clause alone are the head of NegP. Having the status of a head, these negative markers can be attracted to C, making the movement

<sup>11</sup> In French, the pre-verbal negative marker *ne* co-occurs with the post-verbal *pas*; in Walloon the pre-verbal negative marker *nu/ni* co-occurs with *nin*.

of the verb unnecessary<sup>12</sup>. In languages like French or Walloon, on the other hand, the pre-verbal negative markers do not head NegP but are left-adjoined to another functional head (Infl). In such languages the pre-verbal negative marker cannot be attracted to C°, so the verb must move to this position. There are, however, evident counterexamples to Zanuttini's (1997) generalization. Consider, for example, Italian whose pre-verbal negative marker *non* can negate a clause alone. This pre-verbal negative marker has the status of a head which, in Zanuttini's terms, can be attracted to C°, to satisfy the Q feature of C, making V-movement to C unnecessary. Hence, we expect that the verb does not raise to C°. Nevertheless, contrary to Zanuttini's prediction, in interrogative sentences Italian exhibits the inversion of the lexical subject indicating that the verb is in C (Rizzi 1991, 1995). Albanian, also, is another case of this type. Albanian pre-verbal negative marker *nuk* can negate a clause alone, hence it counts as a head which can be attracted to C°. Albanian would not allow for I-to-C movement of the verb, contrary to fact.

But, also some Northern Italian dialects (the dialect of the Po valley area), discussed by Manzini & Savoia (in press a) and Savoia & Manzini (forthcoming), constitute a counterexample to Zanuttini's (1997) generalization. Northern Italian dialects present an obligatory subject clitic (Brandi & Cordin 1981, 1989; Poletto 1993, 1997; Manzini & Savoia (1997, in press a), Savoia & Manzini (forthcoming) which precedes the inflected verb in declarative clauses. In interrogative sentences, the subject clitic appears to the right of the verb suggesting that I-to-C movement has taken place. The dialects of the Po valley area negate the clause by employing a pre-verbal negative marker alone, which in Zanuttini's terms corresponds to the head of NegP. In negative interrogatives, these dialects display the word order 'negation- verb-subject clitic', hence they display I-to-C movement. These dialects represent an evident counterexample to Zanuttini's generalization since their pre-verbal negative marker would count as the closest head which could be attracted to C° and this would make the movement of the verb unnecessary. In the presence of the negative marker, instead, the verb moves to C°.

Unlike Zanuttini (1997), Manzini & Savoia (in press a) assume that all instances of pre-verbal negative markers correspond to the head of Neg projections. The position of the Neg projection is determined by a logical requirement whereby Neg takes scope above the position of Tense. Hence, in negative clauses the negative head is always projected within the I field. In negative interrogatives having the verb in C, the negation, instead, is

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<sup>12</sup> The negative marker can provide C with the features it needs. Such an approach has been sketched in the literature. Cheng, Huang & Tang (1996) give evidence that in Cantonese and Taiwanese the negation is base-generated in the C° position since it takes over the function of the Q particle. Also Manzini & Savoia (in press a) assume that in negative interrogatives the negation can check the Q feature of C.

realized in the C field. So, for example, in the dialects of the Po valley area, displaying I-to-C movement in negative interrogatives, as suggested by the subject clitic inversion, the negation is realized in C. In fact, since the negation counts as an independent head, if it were in the I field in negative interrogatives, the verb, raising to C, would skip the negation giving rise to a Minimal Link Condition violation (Chomsky 1995)<sup>13</sup>. The conclusion that Manzini and Savoia reach is the following: when the verb is realized in C, also the negation is realized in C. Hence, there is a Neg position immediately superordinate to C which is realized in negative interrogatives with the verb in C<sup>14</sup>.

Since in Albanian interrogative clauses involve V-to-C (cf. (27)), I will assume, along the lines of Manzini & Savoia, that when the verb moves to C the negation is realized within the domain of C, whereas in declarative sentences the negation is realized in the I domain.

## *2. The interaction of negation and clitics*

### *2.1. Nuk, s' and clitics*

Let us begin by considering the position of the negative elements *nuk* and *s'*. As we saw in 1.1. these elements appear in indicative, admirative and conditional clauses. I assume that they are the realization of the Neg<sup>o</sup> position in the schema in (31). Sentences like (32a-b) have the configuration in (33):

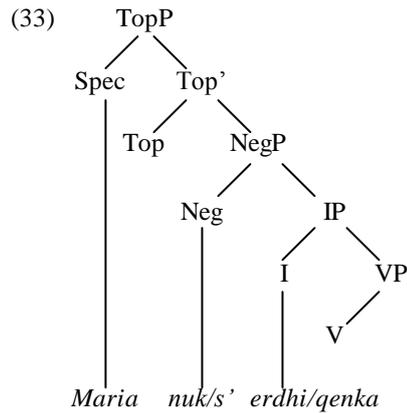
- (32) a. Maria nuk/s' erdhi këtu dje  
Mary Neg came here yesterday  
'Mary didn't come here yesterday'  
b. Maria nuk/s' qenka këtu dje!  
Mary Neg been-has-ADM here yesterday  
'Mary hasn't been here yesterday'  
c. Maria nuk/s' do të vijë  
Mary Neg FUT come-3s  
'Mary will not come'  
d. Po të mos e kishit lajmëruar, Maria nuk/s' do të vinte.

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<sup>13</sup> Manzini & Savoia (in press a) assume in fact that the movement of the verb to an Operator type position such as C is blocked by an intermediate Operator type element such as the negation.

<sup>14</sup> Savoia & Manzini (forthcoming) assume an articulated theory of the C system. Also see Rizzi (1995) for a richer structure of the C system.

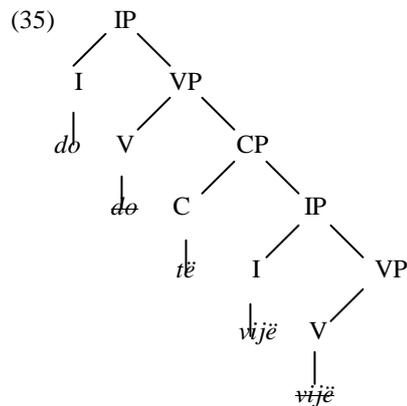
If M° Neg her had called Mary neg COND come-3s  
 ‘If you hadn’t called her, Mary wouldn’t have come’



SpecTopP is the position where the subject of negative sentences is realized. Neg° is the position filled by the negative elements *nuk* and *s'*. The examples of the type in (32c-d), which illustrate future and conditional constructions, are characterized by a different structure. In future (32c) and conditional (32d) clauses, the negative elements *nuk* and *s'* appear before the mood particles. The position of the negative elements in (32c-d) is determined by the fact that the negation takes scope over Tense and Tense, at least in future clause, is expressed by the particle *do*, as the following examples illustrate:

- (34) a. Do të vijë  
 FUT come-3s  
 ‘He will come’  
 b. \*Të vijë  
 ‘He will come’  
 c. \*Vijë

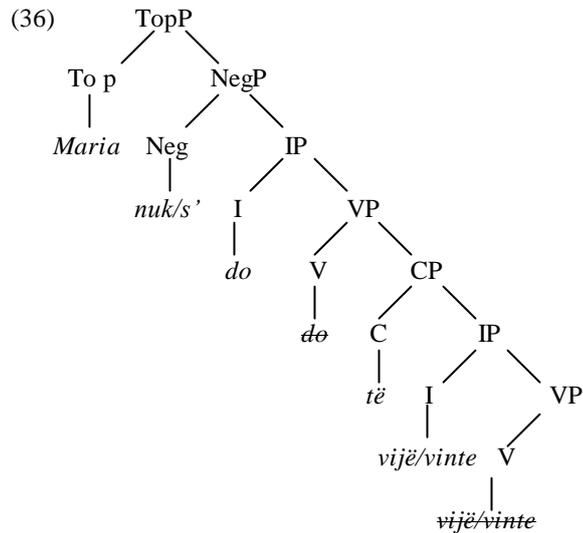
In (34a) the invariable particle *do* has a future meaning. (34b) and (34c), on the other hand, are ungrammatical because of the lack of such particle. This suggests that the particle *do* carries tense information<sup>15</sup>. This fact can be captured by assuming that the future particle appears under I. Since the future particle *do* is followed by a verb which carries agreement features, we are led to analyze (34a) as a biclausal structure:



The invariable particle *do* appears under the upper I node, whereas the lexical verb is realized under the lower I node. The structure of the future (and that of the conditional) is reminiscent of causative structures found in some Arbëresh dialects, as described by Savoia (1989) and Brandi & Savoia (1990)<sup>16</sup>. The relevant structures consist of an invariable causative verb conveying the basic meaning ‘cause’ followed by an inflected verb (in most cases a subjunctive verb). Although the structure of Arbëresh causatives looks biclausal since the causative element and the lower verb are separated words, causative constructions can be analyzed as structures involving a complex predicate formation. Returning to (32c-d), if the modal particle carries tense information, what we expect is that the negation precedes this particle, since the negation takes scope over Tense. In (32c-d) NegP dominates the higher I node in the schema in (35). Hence, (32c-d) have the following representation:

<sup>15</sup> As regards the conditional, Demiraj (1985) and Ressuli (1985) consider it as a ‘future in the past’. According to Demiraj, the temporal meaning is mixed with that of modality.

<sup>16</sup> Arbëresh dialects are Albanian varieties spoken in Southern Italy.



Consider now the distribution of clitics in indicative, admirative and conditional clauses. In indicatives (37a) and admiratives (37b), clitics appear preverbally:

- (37) a. **E** takova.  
 Him met-1s  
 'I met him'
- b. Ai **e** dashka shumë vajzën!  
 He her loves-ADM a lot the girl  
 'He loves the girl a lot'

In future (38a) and conditional (38b) clauses, clitics are associated with the lexical verb. In fact, they are located after the mood particles and before the inflected verb:

- (38) a. Do të **na** takojë nesër.  
 FUT M° us meet-3s tomorrow  
 'He will meet us tomorrow'
- b. Do të **na** takonte nesër.  
 COND M° us meet-3s tomorrow  
 'He would meet us tomorrow'

Consider now the position of clitics with respect to the negation. In indicatives (39a) and admiratives (39c), clitics follow the negative elements *nuk* and *s'*:

- (39) a. Nuk/s' **e** takova.  
Neg her met-1s  
'I didn't meet her'  
b. \***E** nuk/s' takova  
c. Ai nuk/s' **e** dashka shumë vajzën!  
He Neg her loves-ADM a lot the girl  
'He doesn't love the girl a lot'  
\*Ai **e** nuk/s' dashka shumë vajzën

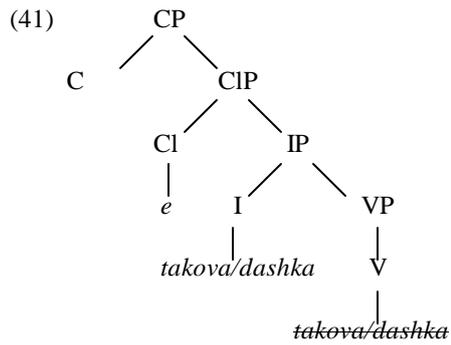
In future (40a) and conditional (40b) clauses, clitics, as we already saw in (38), appear after the mood particles, whereas the negation precedes them.

- (40) a. Nuk/s' do të **na** takojë nesër.  
Neg FUT M° us see-3s tomorrow  
'He will not see us tomorrow'  
b. Nuk/s' do të **na** takonte nesër.  
Neg COND M° us see-3s tomorrow  
'He would not see us tomorrow'  
c. \*Do nuk/s' të **na** takojë/takonte nesër.  
d. \*Do të nuk/s' **na** takojë/takonte nesër

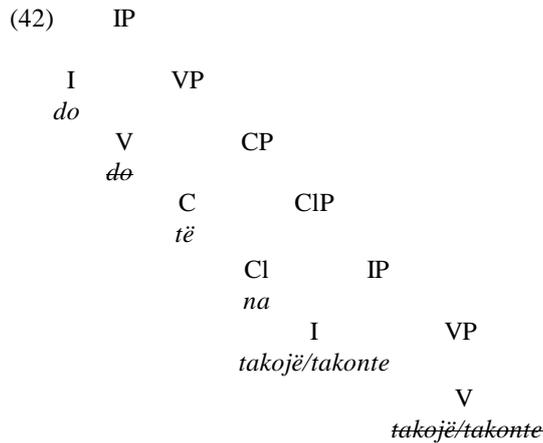
With respect to the position of clitics, I will assume that clitics realize the head position of an autonomous clitic projection. In Kayne (1975), it is assumed that clitics are generated in argumental positions. Clitics are then moved and left-adjoined to the verb<sup>17</sup>. A different approach to the cliticization is proposed by Sportiche (1992), who assumes that clitics are base generated in the position where they surface. In Sportiche's view, clitics are inflectional heads which appear in an autonomous functional head, positioned between I and C. A similar view is taken by Manzini & Savoia (in press a, in press b) and Savoia & Manzini (forthcoming). The basic idea of their analysis is that clitics are base generated in inflectional-like positions, rigidly fixed in the sentence skeleton. In particular, clitics realize inflectional positions specialized for Person, Number and Gender features or for aspectual properties. Manzini & Savoia (in press a, in press b) and Savoia & Manzini (forthcoming) also argue that there are two clitic strings: one in the I domain and the other in the C domain. The first clitic string is projected when the verb is in I. The second one is projected when the verb raises to C. I will follow Manzini & Savoia (in press a, in press b) and Savoia & Manzini (forthcoming) in assuming that clitics are asso-

<sup>17</sup> In subsequent works (Kayne 1989, 1991, 1994), it is assumed that clitics left-adjoin to functional heads.

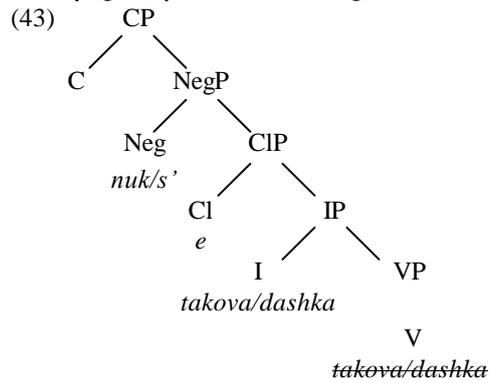
ciated with their own functional head, base generated within the I domain, when the verb is in I. Hence, the sentences illustrated in (37) have a structure like (41). The object clitic is realized under the clitic node, whereas the verb appears under I:



Sentences in (38) illustrate the distribution of clitics in future and conditional constructions, which are attributed a biclausal structure. Clitics, in these constructions, appear between the mood particles and the inflected verb. Their position indicates that the clitic node is projected above the lower I node. Hence, the structure of (38) will be that in (42):



In negative sentences, the negative elements *nuk* and *s'* precede clitics. If we add a



Neg position to the structure given in (41) we obtain a structure in which NegP dominates CIP:

(43) corresponds to Albanian negative sentences illustrated in (39a) and (39c). In future and conditional examples in (40), NegP dominates the higher I node in the schema in (42).

## 2.2. The position of *mos*

Consider now the position of *mos*, which is associated with the following moods:

- (44) a. subjunctive: Të mos vish

|

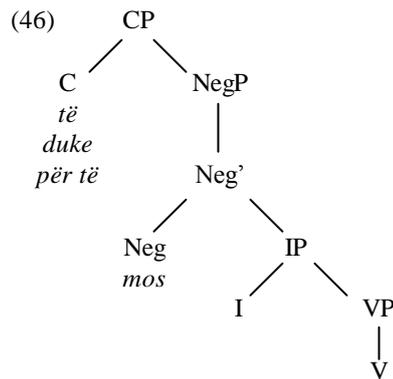
- |                |                          |
|----------------|--------------------------|
|                | M° Neg come-2s           |
|                | ‘Don’t come!’            |
| b. gerund:     | Duke mos punuar mo,....  |
|                | GER Neg worked more      |
|                | ‘Not working anymore...’ |
| c. infinitive: | Për të mos bërë gabime   |
|                | INF Neg done mistakes    |
|                | ‘For not doing mistakes’ |
| d. optative:   | Mos vdeksh kurrë         |
|                | Neg die-2sOPT never      |
|                | ‘May you never die’      |
| e. imperative: | Mos lexo!                |
|                | Neg read                 |
|                | ‘Don’t read!’            |

In subjunctives, gerunds and infinitives, *mos* is located between the mood particle and the inflected verb. In optatives and imperatives, *mos* appears to the left of the verb. Like *nuk* and *s’*, *mos* corresponds to the head of the maximal projection NegP. As for the mood markers they are currently assumed to be heads of a maximal projection MP which dominates IP (Motapanyane 1991; Terzi 1992; Turano 1993, 1995; Rivero 1994a). An alternative hypothesis can be envisaged: mood markers would be generated in C. This assumption is possible under the recent hypothesis that there is more than one projection within the C domain. According to Rizzi (1995), Poletto (1997), and Savoia & Manzini (forthcoming), in Italian the C system is constituted by multiple layers hosting elements such as topic, focus phrases, Wh-phrases. The lower C is endowed with modal features as indicated by the fact that it is the target slot for V movement in imperatives, gerunds or infinitives. The hypothesis that imperative, gerund or infinitive verbs are in C is supported by the distribution of clitics which follow the verb:

- (45) a. Fallo!  
do-IMP+it  
‘Do it!’
- b. Vedendolo  
seeing-GER+it
- c. Leggerlo  
to read-INF+it

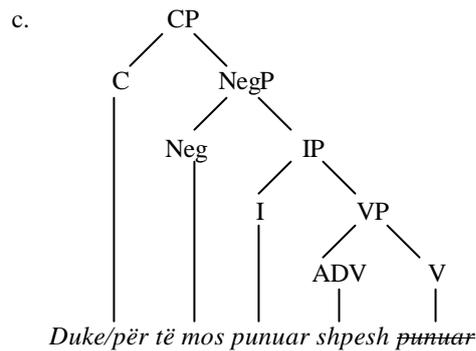
If we assume that clitics occupy the head position of a Cl projection located between I and C, then the word order verb+ clitic in the paradigm in (45) is obtained by the rule of V-to-C movement that moves the verb from I to C, leaving the clitic behind.

In what follows, I will assume that Albanian particles, characteristic of subjunctives, gerunds and infinitives, occupy the lower C position of an articulated C domain. Omitting the optative and the imperative clauses, (44a), (44b) and (44c) have the basic structure in (46):

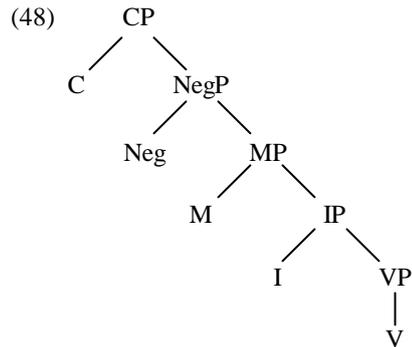


Unlike the subjunctive, formed by a mood particle which precedes an inflected verb, in gerunds and infinitives, mood particles are followed by a past participle which behaves like main verbs. In fact it moves to Infl leaving VP adverbs behind:

- (47) a. Duke mos punuar shpesh  
 GER Neg worked often  
 ‘Not working often’  
 b. Për të mos punuar shpesh  
 INF Neg worker often  
 ‘For not working often’



The structure in (46) differs from the one proposed by Rivero (1994a) who places the mood markers under a M node, governed by Neg. According to Rivero, in fact, all Balkan clauses have the hierarchical configuration in (48):



The structure in (48) correctly accounts for the linear order characteristic of indicative future (49a) and conditional clauses (49b) where the negation precedes the mood particles:

- (49) a. Nuk do    të vijë.  
           Neg FUT    come-3s  
           ‘He will not come’  
       b. Nuk do    të vinte.  
           Neg COND come-3s  
           ‘He would not come’

However, the structure in (48) cannot account for the linear order displayed by subjunctive, gerund and infinitive clauses, where the mood markers precede the negation. To derive the sequence ‘M + Neg + inflected verb’, characteristic of negative subjunctives, gerunds and infinitives, Rivero resorts to incorporation of the mood particle to the negation. Under this view, it seems that subjunctive, gerund and infinitive particles behave differently from future and conditional particles, in spite of the fact that Rivero treats mood particles introducing Balkan future and conditional on a par with the ones introducing the subjunctive, the gerund or the infinitive. Such asymmetry does not arise given our analysis: if the mood markers stay in C (cf. (46)), they are expected to precede the negation without extra assumptions. In brief, I take (46) as the basic structure of Albanian sentences negated by *mos*.

2.2.1. *Mos and clitics*

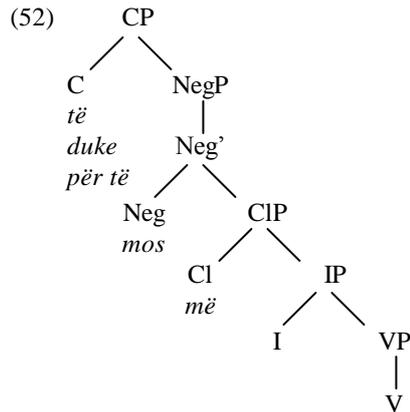
Consider now the position of clitics in subjunctive (50a), gerundive (50b) and infinitive (50c) clauses.

- (50) a. Ai mund të **më** takojë nesër.  
He can M° me meet-3sSUBJ tomorrow  
'He can meet me tomorrow'
- b. Iku duke **më** lënë atje  
Went away GER me left there  
'He went away leaving me there'
- c. Erdhi për të **më** dhënë një libër.  
Came-3s INF me given a book  
'He came to give me a book'

Clitics are placed immediately after the mood particle, in a position preceding the inflected verb. In negative sentences, clitics appear between the negation and the inflected verb (51):

- (51) a. Maria u urdhëroi që të mos **më** ftoj.  
Mary them asked-3s that M° Neg me invite-3plSUBJ  
'Mary asked them not to invite me'
- b. Iku duke mos **më** përshëndetur  
Went away GER NEG me saying goodbye  
'He went away without saying goodbye'
- c. Iku për të mos **më** takuar.  
Went away INF Neg me met  
'He went away for not to meet me'

The linear order found in (51) relies on the hierarchical configuration in (52):



The object clitic is associated with its own functional head which is base generated above I (cf. Sportiche (1992); Manzini & Savoia (in press a), (in press b), Savoia & Manzini (forthcoming)).

### 2.3. Imperative forms

In this section, I will explore the morphological and syntactical properties of Albanian imperatives. Albanian imperative has peculiar forms of its own only for the second person singular. In the second person plural, Albanian imperative has the same form as that of the second person plural of the present indicative. In most cases, Albanian imperative second person singular form is obtained by taking away the ending *-ni* to the second person plural form.

- (53) a. Lexo!  
 read-IMP  
 'Read!'  
 b. Lexoni!  
 read-2plIND  
 'You read!'

Zanuttini (1991, 1995, 1997) and Rivero (1994a, 1994b) introduce a distinction between forms which are unique to the paradigm of the imperative and forms which are identical in morphology to the same person of another tense. Zanuttini (1991, 1995, 1997) and Rivero (1994a, 1994b) call the former 'true imperatives' and the latter 'surro-

gate imperatives'. According to Zanuttini (1991, 1995) and Rivero (1994a, 1994b) such a distinctive morphology correlates with a distinctive syntax, since true imperative forms cannot be negated, whereas surrogate imperatives can always be negated. For Zanuttini (1991, 1995) true imperatives cannot be negated because they lack a TP projection. According to Zanuttini, indeed, in negative imperative clauses NegP selects TP. In the absence of a TP projection, NegP cannot appear otherwise a violation of selectional properties of TP would arise<sup>18</sup>. According to Zanuttini (1997), instead, the presence of the negation in imperative structures depends on the presence of a mood category. When a mood category is missing, NegP cannot occur since its selectional requirements are not met. Thus, pre-verbal negative markers, which can negate a clause alone, are incompatible with true imperatives, since they lack mood marking<sup>19</sup>. This generalization holds for all Romance languages. As Zanuttini herself notes, her analysis is problematic for at least two Northern Italian dialects: the variety spoken in Cortina d'Ampezzo (Veneto) and Romagnolo. In these dialects, true imperative verbs can be negated by a pre-verbal negative marker. Zanuttini also mentions the case of Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian, discussed in Rivero (1994b). In these languages as well, true imperative forms can be negated. Zanuttini leaves open the question of what exactly happens in these cases. For Rivero (1994a, 1994b) the negation is incompatible with true imperatives because the negation constitutes a barrier which blocks the movement of the verb to C. Rivero, in fact, assumes that true imperative verbs must move to C in order to check a strong imperative feature in C.

Coming back to Albanian imperative, although the second person singular is morphologically unique to the imperative paradigm, whereas the second person plural is identical to the corresponding form of the present indicative, there is no evidence, in this language, for the distinction between true and surrogate imperatives, since both of them can be negated:

- (54) a. Mos lexo!  
Neg read-IMP  
'Don't read!'  
b. Mos lexoni!  
Neg read-2plIND  
'You don't read!'

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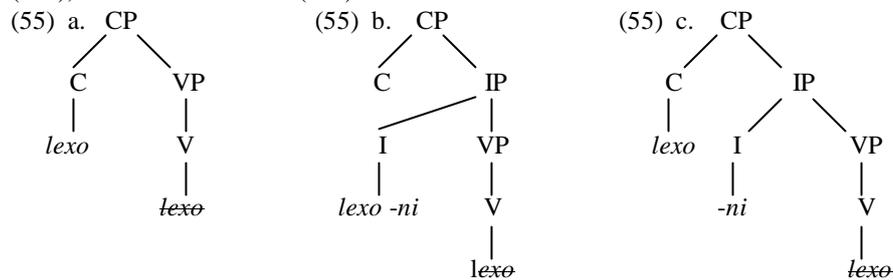
<sup>18</sup> So, for example, in Italian, the true imperative cannot be negated because, according to Zanuttini (1991, 1995), it lacks the TP projection. Thus, the imperative negative is expressed by means of a suppletive form involving a TP projection.

<sup>19</sup> Under the standard assumption that it is a head which selects its complement, the relevant generalization only holds for the pre-verbal negative markers which can negate a clause alone. In fact, only these elements are the head of a Neg projection.

The data in (54) show that a different morphology does not necessarily involve a distinctive syntax. Since the distinction between true and surrogate imperative forms seems to be irrelevant, in this paper I will not adopt it.

2.3.1. *The structure of the imperative*

As to Albanian imperative verbs I will assume that they are in C<sup>20</sup>. In particular, I will assume that the imperative verb illustrated in (53a) has the basic structure in (55a), whereas the imperative verb illustrated in (53b) has the basic structure in (55b) or that in (55c), which is a variant of (55a):



Adverb placement can be taken as evidence that the imperative verb is out of the VP:

- (56) a. Lexo gjithmonë me kujdes!  
       Read always with care  
       ‘Read always carefully’  
       b. \*Gjithmonë lexo me kujdes!  
       c. Lexoni gjithmonë me kujdes!  
       Read-2pl always with care  
       ‘You read always carefully’  
       d. \*Gjithmonë lexoni me kujdes!

Enclisis, illustrated in (57), can be taken as evidence that the imperative verb is in C, whereas the clitic is within the I domain:

- (57) Dëgjomë  
       listen+me  
       ‘Listen to me!’

<sup>20</sup> The hypothesis that the imperative verb may be in C has been advanced by Rivero (1994a, 1994b), Rivero & Terzi (1994), Graffi (1995), Zanuttini (1997) and Savoia & Manzini (forthcoming).

In the next sections, I will use the distribution of clitics and their position with respect to the negation as evidence in favour of the hypothesis that the structures in (55) are the correct underlying structures of Albanian imperative constructions.

2.3.2. *The distribution of clitics in imperative constructions*

In imperative clauses, proclisis, enclisis and endocclisis are allowed. In particular, clitics distribute in the following way: in second person singular imperatives, first and second person clitics may appear both preverbally and postverbally, whereas third-person clitics are obligatorily postverbal. The situation is exemplified in (58) and (59). Examples in (58) show that first-person clitics may appear in two different positions, whereas examples in (59) show the distribution of third-person clitics:

- (58) a. **Më** trego!  
me tell  
'Tell me'  
b. Trego**më**!  
c. **Na** trego!  
us tell  
'Tell us!'  
d. Trego**na**!
- (59) a. Lexo-j-**e**<sup>21</sup>!  
read+it  
'Read it!'  
b. \***E** lexo!  
c. Jepu librin!  
give+them the book  
'Give them the book!'  
e. \***U** jep librin!

Notice that only in imperative clauses, third-person pronouns appear postverbally and incorporated into V. With the other types of verbal moods, third-person clitics only appear preverbally, as the indicative clauses in (60) show. Then, the fact that they merge with the verb in imperative clauses is not due to morphological reasons.

- (60) a. **E** shikova.  
him saw-1sIND  
'I saw him'

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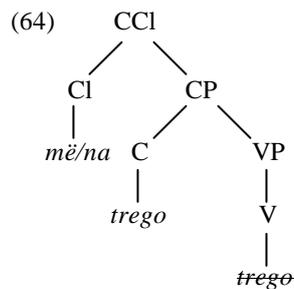
<sup>21</sup> -J- is an epenthetic element.

- b. \*Shikova-j-e.
- c. **U**       jap librin.  
To them give-1s the book  
'I give them the book'
- d. \*Japu librin.

In second person plural imperatives, all pronouns may be proclitic (61) or endoclititic (62). In instances of endoclitisis, the clitic follows the verbal stem but precedes agreement morphology. Enclisis, on the other hand, is disallowed (63):

- (61) a. **Më** ndihmoni!  
me help-2pl  
'You help me!'
- b. **E** lexoni!  
It read-2pl  
'You read it!'
- (62) a. Dëgj**më**ni!  
listen-me-INFL  
'You listen to me'
- b. Lid**heni**!  
tie-it-INFL  
'You tie it!'
- (63) a. \*Dëgjon**më**!  
listen-2pl-me
- b. \*Sill**niu**       librat!  
take-2pl+them the book  
'You take them the book'

As for the proclisis in the structures illustrated in (58a) and (58c), I will assume that the imperative verb is in C and the clitic is in a clitic projection higher than C. Manzini & Savoia (1997, in press a, in press b) and Savoia & Manzini (forthcoming), discussing data from Northern Italian dialects, give evidence in favour of the existence of a clitic string in the C domain. Essentially, they argue that when clitics precede a verb which is in I, clitics are realized within the I domain. When clitics precede a verb which is in C, on the other hand, clitics are realized within the C domain. Thus, the examples (58a) and (58c) are represented by the structure in (64):



The enclisis in (58b), (58d) and (59) involves movement of the verb to C, whereas the

- (65) CP
- |                 |              |
|-----------------|--------------|
| C               | CIP          |
| <i>trego</i> Cl | VP           |
| <i>më/na</i>    | V            |
|                 | <i>trego</i> |

clitic is realized within the I domain:

The clitic structures illustrated in (58) and (59) show the split between first-/second-person and third-person. Northern Italian dialects, discussed by Manzini & Savoia (1997, in press a, in press b) and Savoia & Manzini (forthcoming), provide evidence in favour of the existence of two separate positions for first-/second-person and third-person clitics. Manzini & Savoia (1997, in press a, in press b) call these positions respectively CL<sub>P</sub> and CL<sub>D</sub>. CL<sub>P</sub> is the position hosting first-/second-person clitics, which correspond to forms specified for the Person feature. CL<sub>D</sub> is the position hosting third-person clitics, i.e. forms specified for Number and Gender features. Moreover, third-person clitics have an aspectual characterization, namely they realize the thematic role corresponding to the Theme<sup>22</sup>. The third-person clitic, in fact, is the only one which displays accusative morphology. The clitic positions are rigidly fixed. In the hierarchical structure of the clitic string, first-/second-person clitics precede third-person clitics. This is illustrated in the following example from Italian:

- (66) Te        lo    porto    domani  
       to-you it take-1sg tomorrow  
       'I take it to you tomorrow'

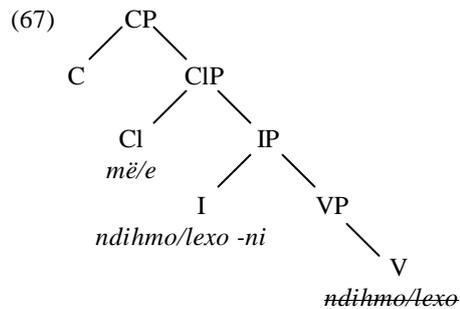
Albanian constructions in (58) and (59) constitute interesting evidence in favour of the split between first-/second-person and third-person. How can we explain the different distribution of clitics in (58) and (59)? As we have already observed, all examples in (58) and (59) involve V movement to C. In sentences displaying proclisis (cf. (58a) and (58c)), the clitic is realized within the C domain. In sentences displaying enclisis (cf. (58b), (58d)

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<sup>22</sup> In Manzini & Savoia (1997, in press a, in press b) thematic roles are characterized in aspectual terms, whereby thematic roles such as Agent, Theme and Goal are interpreted as Originator, Measure and Delimiter of the event (see Borer 1994, Tenny 1994, Arad 1996).

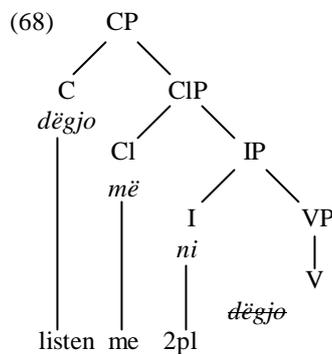
and (59)), the clitic is realized within the I domain. Enclisis is due to V movement to C. The lack of proclisis in presence of third-person clitics (cf. (59b) and (59d)) can be analyzed as being due to the fact that inflectional clitics, i.e. clitics which bear Person features can be realized both in I or in C, whereas aspectual clitics can only be realized in I. Hence, third-person clitics can only be realized in the I domain. Third-person clitics appear preverbally with the other types of verbal mood, as for instance in indicative clauses (see (60)) because these constructions do not involve V movement to C. Hence, the raising of the verb to C is the only way for the third-person clitic to appear postverbally. But this strategy is only available in imperative constructions.

As for the proclisis in imperative constructions exemplified in (61), I will assume that the clitic occupies the Cl position realized within the I domain, whereas the verb is in I. The examples in (61) are represented by the structure in (67), which is identical to (55b):



I exclude that in (61) the imperative verb is in C since if it were in C the only way to derive the proclisis would be to realize the clitic in C (see (64)). But, since aspectual clitics can only be realized in I, the preverbal position of the aspectual clitic in (61b) indicates that the verb, too, is in I. Thus, the only structural possibility is that in (67) where both the clitic and the verb are in I.

It remains to be explained what is the movement deriving endocclisis in (62). I will assume that in instances of endocclisis the verbal stem raises from V to C leaving behind both the clitic, which is realized within the I domain and the agreement morphemes, which are realized under I:



Such an analysis is similar to the one adopted by Manzini and Savoia (forthcoming) and Savoia & Manzini (forthcoming) for instances of endocclisis in imperative clauses found in some Southern Italian dialects. According to Manzini and Savoia and Savoia & Manzini the endocclisis is obtained by a rule of syntax that moves the imperative verb to C leaving both the clitic and the plural specification of the verb behind<sup>23</sup>.

The impossibility of enclisis (cf. (63)) depends on the fact that the verbal stem and the agreement morphemes occur in two separate heads, so they cannot move as a whole to C.

### 2.3.3. *Negative imperative*

Let us now examine the position of the negation and the distribution of clitics in negative imperative clauses. Consider, first, the data. (69) illustrates the negative imperative constructions:

- (69) a. Mos lexo!  
Neg read-IMP  
'Don't read!'  
b. Mos lexoni!  
Neg read-2plIND  
'You don't read!'

The paradigm in (70) illustrates the distribution of clitics in negative imperative clauses: only proclisis is allowed:

- (70) a. Mos **më** ndihmo!  
Neg me help-IMP  
'Don't help me'  
b. \*Mos ndihmom**ë**!  
c. Mos **e** lexo!  
Neg it read-IMP  
'Don't read it!'  
d. \*Mos lexo**je**!  
e. Mos **e** mbyllni!  
Neg it close-2pl  
'You don't close it!'

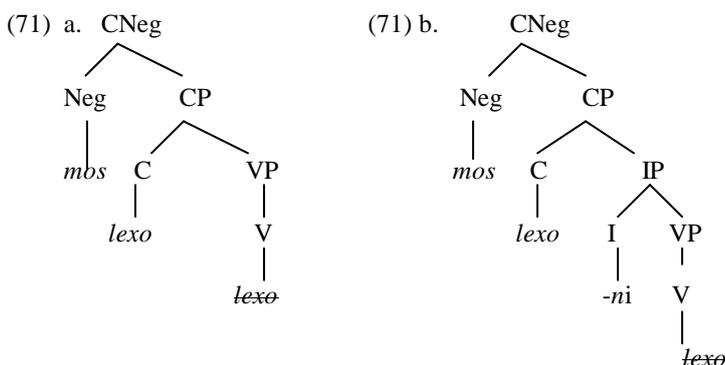
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<sup>23</sup> Manzini and Savoia (forthcoming) and Savoia & Manzini (forthcoming) argue against a morphological treatment of endocclisis as proposed by Halle & Marantz (1993), who derive endocclisis by adopting both a syntactic and a morphological process. Halle & Marantz, in fact, assume that, first the clitic right-adjoins to I in syntax and, then, the clitic left-adjoins to the plural suffix of the verb in the morphological component.

f. \*Mos mbylleni derën!

g. \*Mos mbyllnie!

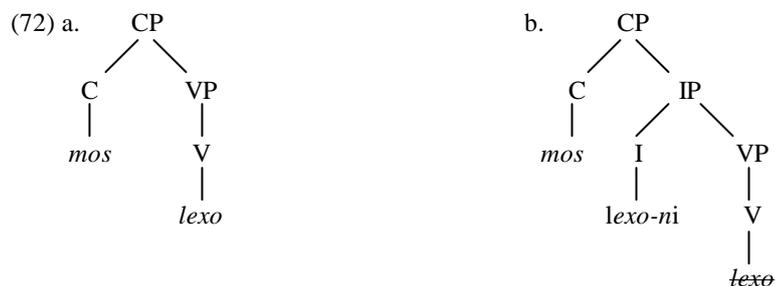
(70b) and (70d) show that enclisis is excluded when second person singular imperatives are negated. (70f) and (70g), on the other hand, show that neither endocclisis or enclisis are possible in structures in which second person plural imperatives are negated. Coming back to the negation, let us now specify the position it occupies in negative imperative clauses. Structures in (69) show that the negation precedes the imperative verbs. Since the imperative verb is realized under the C position (see (55a) and (55c)), in order to account for the word order in (69) we must assume that the negative element is realized in the C domain. There are at least two possibilities. The first possibility would be to assume that the negative element *mos* is projected in the C domain, in a position higher than the C position which hosts the verb. This hypothesis is compatible with the assumptions made by Manzini & Savoia (in press a) and Savoia & Manzini (forthcoming) in the context of Northern Italian dialects. According to Manzini & Savoia (in press a), when the verb is realized in I, the negation is projected within the I domain. When the verb moves to C, on the other hand, the negation is projected in the C domain. Assuming this analysis, the sentences in (69) would have the following structures:



But the distribution of clitics illustrated in (70) clearly indicates that the structures in (71) are not adequate for negative imperatives: they cannot capture the fact that neither enclisis or endocclisis are possible in Albanian negative imperative clauses. Given the analysis that enclisis and endocclisis derive from V movement to C, if we assume that the negation is projected in a position higher than the C position which hosts the verb, it becomes difficult to understand why enclisis and endocclisis are blocked. We are then led to the conclusion that the structures in (71) are not the correct underlying structures of negative imperatives.

The second possibility would be to assume that in negative imperative clauses the negation occupy the C position which hosts the imperative verb in positive imperatives. The

idea that the negation can occupy the C position has been already suggested in the literature. Cheng, Huang & Tang (1996), for instance, use this proposal in their treatment of Taiwanese, Cantonese and Mandarin questions. In particular, Cheng, Huang & Tang (1996) assume that Taiwanese and Cantonese negative markers are base-generated under C since they are at the same time negative markers and question particles, i.e. they carry both [Q] and [Neg] features. Mandarin negative markers, on the other hand, are base-generated under a Neg node but they move to C in order to check the [Neg] features of C<sup>24</sup>. The view that the negation can check the Q features of C in interrogative sentences is also taken by Manzini & Savoia (in press a) and Savoia & Manzini (forthcoming). According to the authors, Neg and Q belong to the class of Focus elements, i.e. they can be subsumed under the Focus properties of the sentence. Thus, both Neg and Q can occur within the C domain since the C domain hosts Focus. Manzini & Savoia (in press a) and Savoia & Manzini (forthcoming) extend this analysis to infinitive constructions. In infinitives, the negation in C can check the modal features of C. Zanuttini (1997) makes a similar claim, with respect to the imperative clauses. She assumes that the negative marker can satisfy the features of C in negative imperative sentences. Thus, in these constructions, the negative marker raises to C, making V movement unnecessary<sup>25</sup>. According to this analysis, the sentences in (69) would have the following structures:

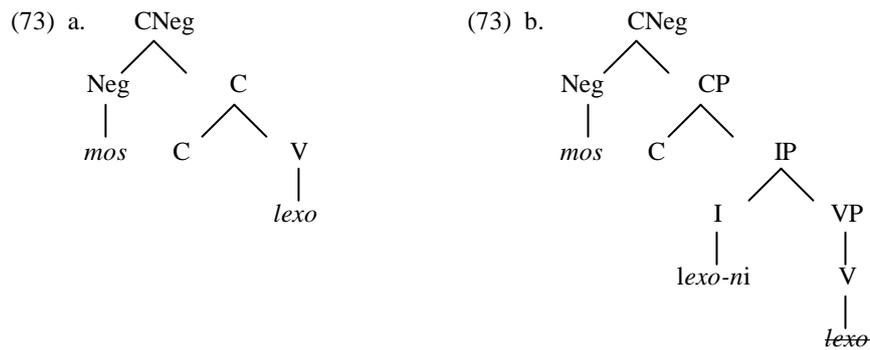


This analysis captures correctly the Albanian data in (70): by assuming that enclisis and endocclisis result from movement of the verb to C, if in negative imperatives the C position is filled by the negative element *mos*, then, it follows that both enclisis (70b), (70d), (70g) and endocclisis (70f) are blocked, since there is no landing site for the move-

<sup>24</sup> Cheng, Huang & Tang (1996) assume that in Mandarin the C position has [Neg] features.

<sup>25</sup> The idea that the imperative verb and the negation can be realized in the same structural position is closer in spirit to the proposal advanced for Spanish negative imperatives by Laka (1990), who assumes that negation and imperative belong to the same category, labelled  $\Sigma$ P by Laka. Kallulli (1995) follows Laka in assuming that in Albanian the imperative verb and the negation are generated in the same  $\Sigma$  position.

ment of the verb. However, the same result can be obtained by assuming the hypothesis of Manzini & Savoia (in press a) that a negative element realized within the C domain can check the features of C, blocking V movement to C, under Last Resort (Chomsky 1995)<sup>26</sup>. Under this analysis, the sentences in (69) would have the following structures:



In brief, we can derive the properties of the negative imperative constructions by assuming either (72) or (73).

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<sup>26</sup> For Manzini & Savoia (in press a) and Savoia & Manzini forthcoming), (71) is possible in languages where Neg in the C domain is not sufficient to check the properties of C. In this case the verb must move to C to check them.

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