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ROMANIAN IMPERATIVES
FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF GENERATIVE GRAMMAR

© by Rodica Constanta Diaconescu

a M.A. Thesis
under the supervision of Prof. María Luisa Rivero
submitted to the School of Graduate Studies and Research
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Abstract

This thesis aims to answer the question why the Imperative has uses in Romanian not found in other Romance languages.

This thesis will argue that Romanian has a mixed Imperative paradigm, combining characteristics of Romance languages (e.g., Italian, Italian dialects, and Spanish) - since Romanian itself is a Romance language - and Balkan languages (Albanian, Bulgarian, Greek, and Serbo-Croatian). I will argue that some differences are historical, since Romanian is genetically related to the former, and geographically, hence typologically, to the latter.

In the first chapter, I will focus on the Romanian verbal paradigm, introducing some data about the Romanian verb with some diachronic references. I will describe the Imperative Mood from the perspective of traditional grammar. In the second chapter, I will review the most recent studies of generative grammar that have explored Romance and Balkan Imperatives. In the last chapter, I will try to establish the correct syntactic analysis of the Romanian Imperative. I will argue that Romanian can be included within the class of languages with distinct morphology and syntax for the Imperative Mood, but I will present the contrasting elements that allow us to call Romanian a language with a "mixed" Imperative syntax.

The supporting examples will be taken from standard Romanian and from the Romanian classic literature that I have consulted.

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"Torna, torna, fratre..."
'Come back, come back, brother...'
(Théophilacte Symmocatta,
byzantin chronicler, 6th century)

Introduction

This thesis will study some aspects of the syntax of Imperatives in Modern Romanian.

I think that it will be very interesting to examine Romanian Imperatives, as their predecessors constitute the earliest sample of Romanian ever attested as shown in the motto. I will concentrate on the generative grammar perspective, while drawing on traditional grammar's analyses.

In establishing the characteristics of Romanian Imperatives, I will look at their morphology, dividing them in two classes (following Rivero (1994), Zanuttini (1997), and Han (1998), among others). I will study the behavior of these two classes with respect to negation and clitics:

- i) 'true' Imperatives, which are identifiable by a morphology *not shared* by the same person in any other tense in the system, and
- ii) 'surrogate' Imperatives, which *borrow* their form from the same person of other Mood (Subjunctive or Indicative), or from Infinitive.

This thesis will claim that the Romanian Imperative paradigm is mixed, since its syntax is sometimes rather ambiguous. Although Romanian Imperatives behave mostly like all other

Modern Romance Imperatives, they have similarities with their counterparts in Old Romance, and in Balkan languages.

In my opinion, the reasons for the ambiguity are as follows. First, Romanian true Imperatives exhibit a distinctive morphology only for the 2nd person singular:

(1) a. Cântă!

IMP.sing.2.Sg

'Sing!'

b. Cântați!

(PRESENT INDICATIVE: *cântați*)

sing.IMP..2.PI

'Sing!'

Second, there are true Imperatives that can be negated.

(2) Nu du!

NEG IMP.sing.2.Sg

'Do not bring!'

Third, pronominal clitics can precede the Imperative true form (3a), and precede the negated Imperative (both true (3b) and surrogate (3c)).

(3) a. Le fã!

them.CL IMP.do.2.Sg

'Do them!'

b. Nu le fã!

NEG them.CL IMP.do.2.Sg

'Don't do them!'

c. Nu le faceți!

NEG them.CL IMP.do.2.PI

'Don't do them!'

This thesis will be organized in three chapters, as follows. In the first chapter, 'The Traditional Perspective', I will present an overview of the Romanian Imperative Mood as it is analyzed by traditional grammar. In this chapter I will introduce the conjugation system of Romanian verbs beginning with the view of descriptive grammar, mainly from the morphological perspective. I will present some data about the Romanian verb with diachronic references, then I will present a description of the Imperative Mood.

Chapter 2, 'Generative Grammar and (Romanian) Imperatives', will provide a general survey of the most recent generative grammar analyses of this particular Mood for Romance, including Romanian, and for Balkan languages. First I will present proposals of Rivero (1994-1998) and Rivero & Terzi (1995). These authors argue for an Imperative operator in C⁰ and for different syntactic representations for 'true' and 'surrogate' Imperatives in Balkan and Romance languages.

I will continue with a review of proposals by Zanuttini (1997) and Han (1998). The former author argues that both 'suppletive'/'surrogate' and 'true' Imperatives must check features in C^0 , where illocutionary force is located. For negated Imperatives, MoodP is claimed to be the complement of a higher NegP. In Han's (1998) dissertation, the Imperative operator in C^0 combines a directive illocutionary force feature and an irrealis feature. Depending on the language, an Imperative verb can check Imperativity by adjoining to C^0 either before Spell-Out, in overt syntax, or after Spell-out, namely at LF.

In chapter 3, 'A Proposal for the Syntax of Romanian Imperatives', I will explore the syntax of Romanian Imperatives. I will take the proposals reviewed in chapter 2 as a point of departure to argue that Romanian can be included within the class of languages with distinct morphology and syntax for the Imperative Mood. I will present the contrasting elements that allow us to call Romanian a language with a "mixed" Imperative syntax. The work will discuss the similarities displayed by the Romanian Imperatives and its Romance counterparts and the cases where Romanian behaves like Balkan languages.

Chapter 1

The traditional perspective

1.1 Romanian verb classes

In this section I will introduce the Romanian conjugation system following the view of descriptive grammar, mainly from the morphological perspective.

The Romanian language bears the imprint of the turbulent history of its people. Being geographically isolated from its parent Latin stock, this language has been heavily influenced by neighboring non-Romance languages: Greek, Hungarian, Bulgarian, Russian, Serbo-Croatian, Turkish, as well as by (non) genetically or geographically related French, German, Italian, and Learned Latin. Romanian was not attested until the late 16th century, but its grammar is entirely Romance and so are most of the basic words of everyday speech.

Romanian verbs are marked for a variety of syntactic categories with distinct inflected forms for person, number, tense or mood. As in Latin, the Romanian verb is organized in conjugation classes according to the thematic vowel that links the root with the inflection (in Latin: *-ā*, *-ē*, *-ē* and *-ī*). In Romanian they are *-a*, *-ea*, *-e*, *-i/-î*. As it can be observed, the thematic vowels are the same as in Latin, except for the 4th conjugation, where *-î* comes from the stressed Slavic *-i*.

As in Latin, the Romanian verb has four conjugations:

(4) Romanian Verb Classes (the 4 Conjugations)

CONJUGATION	THEMATIC VOWEL	ROMANIAN INFINITIVE FORM	LATIN/SLAVIC INFINITIVE FORM	
1.	-a	a cânt-a	< Latin <i>cant-āre</i>	'sing' (392 basic verbs)
2.	-ea	a ved-ea	< Latin <i>vid-ēre</i>	'see' (19 basic verbs)
3.	-e	a duc-e	< Latin <i>duc-ĕre</i>	'take' (129 basic verbs)
4.	{ -i -î	a dorm-i a omor-î	< Latin <i>dorm-īre</i> < Slavic <i>umor-iti</i>	{ 'sleep' 'kill' } (263 basic verbs)

The 1st and 4th conjugations are the most regular verb classes, as Juilland & Edwards (1971) observe, and also the most productive ones. As shown in bold face in (4), half of the total inventory of Romanian verbs belongs to the 1st conjugation.

Taking into account average occurrences within the language, the 2nd and the 3rd conjugation, which consist predominantly of popular elements of Latin origin, rank first. The lowest frequency rate is exhibited by the verbs from the 4th class, which has assimilated a considerable number of French and Slavonic borrowings.

The basic infinitival form of the Romanian verb consists of a root and a theme (or thematic) vowel, dubbed the 'vowel of the conjugation class', namely -a, -ea, -e, -i/-î, to which inflectional morphemes are added.

Mallinson (1986) and Irimia (1997) suggest 5 verbal conjugations - according to the 5 thematic vowels enumerated before, but the Academy Grammar of the Romanian Language (G.L.R. 1972) assumes 4 verb conjugations (collapsing the 4th and 5th conjugations together).

As for verbal derivation, all the works cited in this section take into account 8 verbal moods in Romanian, namely 4 'personal' moods (Indicative, Subjunctive, Conditional-Optative and Imperative), and four "impersonal" moods (Infinitive, (Past) Participle, Gerund and Supine).

The most significant paradigms for the 'regular' verbs are as follows.

(5)	<u>INFINITIVE: INDICATIVE:</u>			<u>SUBJUNCTIVE:</u>	<u>IMPERATIVE:</u>	<u>PAST</u>	<u>GERUND:</u>
	PRESENT	IMPERFECT	PLU- PERFECT	<u>PARTICIPLE:</u>			
1 Cg: a cânta:	1.Sg cânt	cântam	cântasem	să cânt	-	cântat	cântând
'sing'	2.Sg cânți	cântai	cântaseși	să cânți	cântă!	cântată	
	3.Sg cântă	cânta	cântase	să cânte	-		
	1.PI cântăm	cântam	cântaserăm	să cântăm	-		
	2PI cântați	cântați	cântaserăți	să cântați	cântați!		
	3PI cântă	cântau	cântaseră	să cânte	-		

	<u>INFINITIVE</u> :	<u>INDICATIVE</u> :			<u>SUBJUNCTIVE</u> :	<u>IMPERATIVE</u> :	<u>PAST</u>	<u>GERUND</u> :
		PRESENT	IMPERFECT	PLU- PERFECT			<u>PARTICIPLE</u> :	
2 Cg: a vedea:	1Sg vād	vedeam	văzusem	să vād	-	văzut	văzând	
'see'	2Sg vezi	vedeai	văzuseși	să vezi	vezi!	văzută		
	3Sg vede	vedea	văzuse	să vadă	-			
	1Pl vedem	vedeam	văzuserăm	să vedem	-			
	2Pl vedeți	vedeați	văzuserăți	să vedeți	vedeți!			
	3Pl vād	vedeau	văzuseră	să vadă	-			
3 Cg: a cere:	1Sg cer	ceream	cerusem	să cer	-	cerut	cerând	
'ask'	2Sg ceri	cereai	ceruseși	să ceri	cere!	cerută		
	3Sg cere	cerea	ceruse	să ceară	-			
	1Pl cerem	ceream	ceruserăm	să cerem	-			
	2Pl cereți	cereați	ceruserăți	să cereți	cereți!			
	3Pl cer	cereau	ceruseră	să ceară	-			
4 Cg: a oferi:	1Sg ofer	ofeream	oferisem	să ofer	-	oferit	oferind	
'offer'	2Sg oferi	ofereai	oferiseși	să oferi	oferă!	oferită		
	3Sg oferă	oferea	oferise	să ofere	-			
	1Pl oferim	ofeream	oferiserăm	să oferim	-			
	2Pl oferiți	ofereați	oferiserăți	să oferiți	oferiți!			
	3Pl oferă	ofereau	oferiseră	să ofere	-			

	<u>INFINITIVE INDICATIVE</u>			<u>SUBJUNCTIVE</u>	<u>IMPERATIVE</u>	<u>PAST PARTICIPLE</u>	<u>GERUND</u>
	PRESENT	IMPERFECT	PLU- PERFECT				
4Cg: a urî. 1Sg	urăsc	uram	urăsem	să urăsc	-	urât	urând
'hate' 2Sg	urăști	urai	urăseși	să urăști	urăște!	urâtă	
3Sg	urăște	ura	urăse	să urăști	-		
1Pl	urâm	uram	urăserăm	să urâm	-		
2Pl	urâți	urați	urăserăți	să urâți	urâți!		
3Pl	urăsc	urau	urăseră	să urăscă	-		

As can be observed, and as all the cited authors argue, the verbal agreement affixes are rich in Romanian. The Present Tense affixes are: \emptyset , *-i*, *ă*, *-m*, *-ți*, and *-ă(\emptyset)*. Romanian verbs distinguish 3 persons X 2 numbers for all finite non-Imperative verbal forms. Non-finite verbal forms do not have distinct forms for person and number, but the Past Participle, which has distinct forms for gender.

In conclusion, the Romanian verb is organized, as traditional grammar argues, in four conjugations. Its inflection is rich for Indicative, Conditional-Optative, and Subjunctive. The Romanian Imperative has distinct forms for the 2nd person singular, usually homophonous with the 3rd person Present Indicative and is situated between finite verbal forms with rich inflection and non-finite verbal forms, with a 'poor' inflection.

1.2 Romanian Imperatives

1.2.1 Definition and Origin

This section will discuss Romanian Imperatives in more detail.

Imperativity exhibits specific pragmatics, as reflected by the Latin term *imperare* 'command'. On the formal side, Imperativity determines a verbal category, and by extension a sentence type.

G.L.R. (1963), Baciu (1978), Lombard (1982), Mallinson (1986), and Irimia (1997), among others, assume that the Imperative Mood expresses an order, a request, or a command (to complete or block an action).

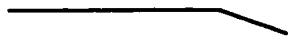
Elcock (1960) and Anderson & Rochet (1979) argue that the Present Imperative was generally retained in old Romance from Vulgar Latin, as in other Romance languages:

(6)	IMPERATIVE 2Sg	IMPERATIVE 2.PI
(VULGAR LATIN)	canta! vendi! dormi!	cantate! vendite! dormite!
(ITALIAN)	canta! vendi! dormi!	cantate! vendite! dormite!
(SPANISH)	canta! vende ! duerme!	cantad! vended! dormid!
(ROMANIAN)	cântă! vinde! dormi!	cântați! vindeți! dormiți!

Elcock (1960) and Rosetti (1986) state that in 16th century Romanian, the Latin monosyllabic Imperative seems still normal for the spoken language: from Latin *dic, fac, duc, sta* >Old-Romanian *zi* 'say', *fă* 'do', *du* 'bring', *stă* 'stay'.

Romanian exhibits, like all other Romance languages, an Imperative Mood expressing an order, a request or a demand, and it is restricted to two person forms: 2nd singular and 2nd plural. Its origin can be traced back to Latin from where the Romanian Imperative develops its paradigm.

As for the prosodic characteristics of the language, Mallinson (1986) and in a recent study Irimia (1997) note that the Imperative is opposed to Indicative by employing a falling intonation contour, as the broken versus even lines below indicate.



(7) a. Pune nucile într-însul!

put.IMP.2.Sg nuts.the in it.the'

'Put the nuts in it!'



b. Pui nucile într-însul.

put.IND.2.S nuts.the in it.the

'Put the nuts in it.'

1.2.2 Singular Imperatives

1.2.2.1 Positive Imperatives

Traditional grammars (G.L.R., 1963; Edwards & Juilland, 1973; Baciú, 1978; Irimia, 1997, among others), agree that for the most transitive verbs from the 1st, 3rd, and 4th conjugation, the 2nd person singular Imperative form is homophonous with the form of the 3rd person singular Present Indicative form, as shown below. Imperative affixes are underlined.

(8) CONJUGATION (INFINITIVE)	IMPERATIVE 2Sg	INDICATIVE 3Sg	INDICATIVE 2Sg
1. <i>-a</i> (<i>a cânta</i>) 'sing'	cânt <u>ă</u> !	cântă	cânți
2. <i>-ea</i> (<i>a plăcea</i>) 'like'	plac <u>e</u> !	place	placi
3. <i>-e</i> (<i>a spune</i>) 'say'	spun <u>e</u> !	spune	spui
4. <i>-i</i> (<i>a citi</i>) 'read'	citeș <u>te</u> !	citește	citești
<i>-î</i> (<i>a omori</i>) 'kill'	omoa <u>ră</u> !	omoară	omori

As an exception to the rule, there are singular Romanian Imperatives which have 'irregular' affixes. The Imperative form of 25 Romanian verbs from the 2nd (*-ea*), 3rd (*-e*), and 4th (*-i*) conjugation is marked only by the palatalization of the final consonant (in orthography an *-i* is added to the root). For these verbs, the normal Imperative affix *-e* (as for the 3rd person Present Indicative) is replaced with *-i*, since Romanian has a tendency to palatalize the final consonant (G.L.R., 1963; Baciú 1978, and Irimia, 1997, among others).

It is suggested that the replacement of the normal Imperative affix *-e* with *-i* is due to Latin, where most of the verbs listed in this class are state verbs.

Juilland & Edwards (1971) provide a complete list of the 28 verbs that exhibit this 'irregular' affixation (i.e., an *-i* Imperative affix, which denotes the palatalization of the preceding consonant, instead of the 'regular' *-e*). The underlined 9 verbs exhibit the normal *-e* ending for the transitive Imperative and the *-i* affix for the transitive one:

(9) *-ea* verbs (2nd Cg): *a apărea*, , *a cădea*, *a dispărea*, *a părea*, *a reapărea*, *a șede*,

'show', 'fall', 'disappear', 'seem', 'reappear', 'sit',

a tăcea, *a vedea*, *a zăcea*;

'be silent', 'see', 'lie';

-e verbs (3rd Cg): *a arde*, *a curge*, *a merge*, *a plânge*, *a rămâne*, *a râde*,

'burn', 'flow', 'go', 'cry', 'remain', 'laugh',

a suge, *a trece*;

'suck', 'pass';

-i verbs (4th Cg): *a auzi*, *a adormi*, *a dormi*, *a fugi*, *a ieși*, *a minți*, *a muri*, *a pieri*,

'hear', 'fall asleep', 'sleep', 'run', 'go out', 'lie', 'die', 'perish',

a răsări, *a sări*, *a tresări*.

'rise', 'jump', 'sip', 'jiggle'

There is a weak correlation between the *-i*, versus *-e* marking for the Imperative Mood and the (in)transitivity of the verb for these 28 verbs:

1) only transitive Romanian verbs have the regular Imperative affixes *-ă* or *-e*,

(except for *a vedea* 'see' (2nd Cg) and *a auzi* 'hear' (4th Cg), for which the Imperative affix is *-i*, similar to the 2nd person present indicative: *vezi!* 'see' and *auzi!* 'hear');

- 2) only intransitive verbs have the Imperative affix *-i* invariably;
- 3) verbs which are either transitive or intransitive have *-e* when transitive and *-i* when intransitive.

G.L.R. (1963), Juilland & Edwards (1971), and Irimia (1997) state that for the 2nd, 3rd and 4th conjugation, the Imperative singular form ends in *-e* when transitive, and in a palatalized consonant when intransitive. In the cases where the normal affix *-e* for Imperative followed by a consonant, such as a pronominal clitic, and the verb is transitive, the affix is preserved:

(10) a. Arde -i!

burn.IMP.2Sg it.CL

'Burn it!'

b. Arzi în foc!

burn.IMP.2Sg in fire

'Burn in the fire!'

The Romanian irregular verbs *a avea* 'have' and *a fi* 'be' also have an 'irregular' Imperative paradigm: *ai!* (*aibi!*) 'have!' and *fii!* 'be!', and not the expected forms *are!*, *este!*, which are similar to the 3rd person Present Indicative.

Elcock (1960) claims that in old Romanian there occurred a confusion of the singular Imperative form with the second person singular Present Indicative form, since the

person who accomplishes the action expressed by the Imperative is always the addressee (you).

This issue is important for the morphosyntactic analyses of Pirvulescu & Roberge (1998a, b), which I will review in section 2.5. I suggest in section 3.3 that it is a question of a vowel alternation, following Zanuttini's (1997) proposal for the same alternation in Italian.

Another 'irregular' pattern appears with the verb *a veni* 'come' and its compounds: *a reveni* 'come back' (*vino!* 'come', *revino!* 'come back'). Feminine vocatives used with this verb end in *-o* or *-ă* and influence the Imperative affix (G.L.R., 1963; Rosetti, 1986).

(11) Vină,	fată!	/	Fată,	vină!	(OLD ROMANIAN)
Vino,	fato!	/	Fato,	vino!	(MODERN ROMANIAN)
come.IMP.2Sg	girl.VOCATIVE	/	girl.VOCATIVE,	come.IMP.2Sg	
'Come, girl!'					

In sum, Romanian Imperatives have a 'regular' Imperative form ending in *-ă* or *-e*.

They exhibit 'irregular' paradigms for:

- (i) intransitive verbs from the 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th conjugation;
- (ii) 2 transitive verbs (*a auzi* 'hear' and *a veni* 'come');
- (iii) the auxiliaries *a avea* 'be' and *a fi* 'be'.

The 'irregular' affixes are explained through phonological reasons by traditional grammar.

1.2.2.2 Negative Forms

When negated, 2nd person singular Imperatives, (as described in G.L.R. (1963) and elsewhere), use the Infinitive preceded by the sentential negation *nu* 'not':

(12) Nu cânta!

(INFINITIVE: *a cânta* 'sing')

NEG sing.INF.2Sg

'Do not sing!'

In their discussion of Infinitives-as-Imperatives, Rosetti (1986) and Anderson & Rochet (1979) argue that the form is in Romanian an Infinitive interpreted as an Imperative and has its origin in Latin. The Latin negated infinitive *non cantāre* loses its end morpheme *-re* and gives rise to the Romanian *nu cânta!* 'do not sing!'.

Interestingly, the monosyllabic singular Imperatives *zi!* 'say', *fă!* 'do', *du!* 'bring', which are derived directly from Latin, can be easily negated: *nu zi!* 'do not say', *nu fă!* 'do not do', *nu du!* 'do not bring'. The 'normal' forms, which use the infinitive after the negation (*nu duce!* 'do not bring!', *nu zice!* 'do not say!', and *nu face!* 'do not do!') coexist with the monosyllabic forms listed above, and are recommended as 'standard' Romanian by Guțu Romalo (1970).

Thus, it can be concluded that, in the traditional grammar's view, the Romanian Imperative exhibits only 2 person forms: the 2nd person singular and the 2nd person plural. The singular paradigm is homophonous to the 3rd person singular Indicative for the transitive verbs of all conjugations. The singular Imperative exhibits 'irregular' forms, too:

- (i) these similar to the 2nd person singular present indicative for intransitive verbs belonging to the 2nd, 3rd and 4th conjugation;
- (ii) the monosyllabic forms that can be negated;
- (iii) the ones ended in *-o*.

Traditional grammars describe these forms in phonetic terms:

- (i) the palatalization of the last consonant for 2nd, 3rd, and 4th conjugation;
- (ii) by Latin heritage (the monosyllabic forms);
- (iii) by morphological-phonetic reasons, such as the influence of the VOCATIVE noun ending *-o* (as for the verb *a veni* 'come' and its compounds).

When negated, the Imperative 2nd person singular places the negation before the infinitive form. The exceptions to this pattern are explained by traditional grammars either phonologically, or through the influence of the other verbal forms, and are not considered standard Romanian.

1.2.3 Plural Imperatives

1.2.3.1 Positive Forms

The Romanian plural Imperative paradigm exists only for the 2nd person analogously to the singular form. It is homophonous to the 2nd person plural form of Indicatives, which also ends in a palatalized *-ts^j*, indicated by a not realized phonetically *i*.

Once again, the Imperative form is differentiated from the Indicative by intonation.

As G. L. R. (1963), Rosetti (1986) and Irimia (1997), among others, note, verbal forms combine the Present theme with the the 2nd person plural agreement affix *-fi*. The two forms can be differentiated only by the intonation, as shown in (7) for the singular forms. The plural form bears the same intonation as the singular one.

Some examples of plural Romanian Imperatives are listed below.

(13) CONJUGATION:	1 (-a)	2. (-ea)	3.(-e)	4. (-i/-î)
<u>IMPERATIVE</u>				
2.PI AFFIXES:	-fi	-fi	-fi	-fi
FORMS:	cântați	tăceți	mergeți	dormiți
	lucrați	beți	treceți	zidiți
				urâți

PRESENT INDICATIVE

2.PI AFFIXES:	-fi	-fi	-fi	-fi	-fi
FORMS:	cântați	tăceți	mergeți	dormiți	omorâți
	lucrați	beți	treceți	zidiți	urâți

For the 2nd conjugation, the thematic vowel reduces from the diphtong *-ea* to the monophthong *-e*.

Elcock (1960), Anderson & Rochet (1979) argue that in Romanian and in French, the plural Imperative forms were assimilated to those of Present Indicative: *chantez!* 'sing!' (French), and *cântați* 'sing!' (Romanian).

Traditional grammars agree that Romanian has a plural Imperative paradigm only for the 2nd person, which is the same as to the Present Indicative form for the same person.

Opinions vary only as to whether this form is borrowed from Indicative Present or assimilated with the Indicative Present paradigm.

1.2.3.2 Negative Forms

When negated, Romanian plural Imperative form place the negation *nu* 'not' before the verb:

(14) a. Nu cântați!

NEG sing.IMP.2PI

'Do not sing!'

b. (Voi) nu cântați acum.

(you) NEG sing.IND.2PI now

'(You) do not sing now.'

Negated plural Imperatives (14a) are identical to negated plural Present Indicative forms (14b).

In discussing the Romanian Imperative plural form, all the cited authors agree that in modern Romanian it is analogous to the present Indicative plural paradigm and it can be negated by placing the negation before the verb form.

1.2.4 A Historical View

The origin of Romanian Imperatives can be traced back to Latin. Diachronically, Romanian developed the Imperative Mood without Tense alternation.

For singular positive forms, Elcock (1960) claims confusion in Old Romanian of the singular Imperative form with the second person Present Indicative form. For plural forms, the author suggests that its similarity to 2nd person Present Indicative is due to the same confusion of forms within the period of Vulgar (Common) Latin.

Rosetti (1986) argues that negated singular and plural Imperatives are derived within the Romanian language of the 16th century through an analogy with the negated Latin infinitive form. The author presents a way of expressing negative Imperatives that is no longer in use (see 15), with a negated Imperative compound archaic form which uses the auxiliary *a avea* 'have' in the subjunctive plus the infinitive form of the verb.

(15) Nimeni să n -aibă a băntui... (ROMANIAN, 16TH CENTURY)

nobody CONJ NEG have.SUBJ.3.Sg INF. travel.INF.

'Nobody is allowed to travel'

The Romanian Imperative has its origin in the Latin bare verbal forms, as all the cited authors suggest.

1.2.4 Romanian Imperatives and Pronominal Clitics

1.2.4.1 Romanian Pronominal Clitics

Defined by the G.L.R. as the unstressed forms of the Accusative and Dative personal pronouns, Romanian pronominal clitics alternate according to Number and Case. As in other Romance languages, Romanian pronominal clitics can be proclitic or enclitic vis-à-vis the verb complex:

(16) a. L- am văzut ieri. (PROCLITIC POSITION)

him.CL PERF.1.Sg seen yesterday

'(I) saw him yesterday.'

b. Ai văzut -o ieri. (ENCLITIC POSITION)

PERF.1.S seen her.CL yesterday

'(You) saw her yesterday.'

They can vary as to their position relative to the verb, and can appear outside the verbal complex (17a), or within it (17b):

(17) a. Arde -l -ar focul!

burn.OPT.3.Sg him.CL OPT.3.Sg fire.the

'Let the fire burn it!'

b. Să -mi scrii!

CONJ me.CL write.SUBJ.3.Sg

'Write to me!'

Pronominal clitics can be used in pairs, but in this case, the Dative clitic always precedes the Accusative clitic:

(18) a. Mi l -a dat.

CL.me.Dat it.CL.Acc PERF.3.Sg given

'(He) gave it to me'

Diachronically, De Kok (1986, 47) argues that contemporary Romanian shows many instances of enclisis of the clitic pronouns, but the general path is to abandon the Proto-Romance original enclisis in favor of proclisis. Before the 17th century, as Rosetti (1973) assumes, citing *Codex Voronetiensis*, 16th century, enclitic pronominals occur frequently, as in (19a) - instead of proclitic forms as in (19b):

(19) a. ...ruga -i Pavelu toți să premească hrană... (16TH CENTURY)

begged them.CL Pavel all CONJ receive.SUBJ.3.PI food

'Pavel was begging all to receive food.'

b. ...îi ruga Pavel pe toți să primească hrană

them.CL begged Pavel on all CONJ receive.SUBJ.3.PI food

Romanian pronominal clitics can be enclitic or proclitic with respect to the non-Imperative verb, or they can occur within a compound verbal form. Diachronically, the original enclisis is abandoned in favor of proclisis, with the exception of the feminine *-o*, which is deemed to be a phonological clitic, and it remains enclitic.

1.2.4.2 Pronominal Clitics and Positive Imperatives

Traditional grammars agree that Romanian Imperative forms may be followed by pronominal clitics. Irimia (1997) argues that Imperatives and pronominal clitics (when unstressed) consist of one phonological word. With positive Imperatives, Romanian unstressed pronouns are enclitics. When they bear focus (stress), they can precede the verb, a use which may be perceived as archaic.

(20) Cântă -I!

sing.IMP.2.Sg it.CL

'Sing it!'

(21) Acum mă ascultați și pe mine / acum ascultați -mă și pe mine.

now me.CL listen up.IMP.2.PI too on me/ now listen.IMP.2.PI me.CL too on me

'Now listen to me, too!'

Romanian clitics usually follow positive Imperatives, even when there are two co-ordinated Imperatives:

(22) Citește -le și păstrează -le!

read.IMP.2.Sg them.CL and keep.IMP.2.Sg them.CL

'Read and keep them!'

The constructions with the pre-verbal clitic are less common and archaic (cf. Rosetti 1986, 697: *Codex Voronetiensis*, 16th century):

- (23) Ce te scoală și stă în picioarele tale. (16TH CENTURY)
PART YOU.CL stand up.IMP.2.Sg and stay.IMP.2.Sg on feet.the yours
'Stand up and stay on your feet!'

In modern Romanian, there are forms used interchangeably, with the clitic placed pre-verbally or post-verbally, both correct.

- (24) Scuzați -mă! / mă scuzați!
excuse.IMP.2.PI me CL./ me.CL excuse.IMP.2.PI
'Excuse-me!'

With an object placed initially, the clitics can be pre-verbal or post-verbal, but as above (see 23), the pre-verbal pronominal clitic construction seems more archaic, or bearing focus on the pronominal clitic:

- (25) a. Cărțile, citește -mi -le!
books.the, read.IMP.2.Sg me.CL them.CL

b. Cărțile, mi le citește!

books.the, me.CL them.CL read.IMP.2.Sg

'The books, read them to me!'

As a rule, clitics, if present, follow Romanian Imperatives. When they precede the Imperative form, they could be instances of focalization, or they get an archaic reading.

1.2.4.3 Pronominal Clitics and Negated Imperatives

When negated, both singular = Infinitives (26a), and plural = Present Indicative (26b) 2nd person Imperatives must be preceded by clitics.

(26) a. Nu -(i)l cânta! [nul] [kɨn.tá] (INFINITIVE FORM)

NEG it.CL sing.INF

'Do not sing it!'

b. Nu -(i)l cântați! [nul] [kɨn.tátsj] (INDICATIVE FORM)

NEG. it.CL sing.IMP.2.PI

'Do not sing it!'

c. *Nu cânta -l!

NEG. sing.IMP.2.Sg it.CL

This is the case of all finite verbal forms:

(27) Nu -(i)l cântăm. [nul] [kɨn.təm]

(INDICATIVE)

NEG. it.CL sing.IND.1.PL

'(We) do not sing it.'

For the negated paradigm, the negation particle + pronominal clitic form one phonological word (26a, b,c and 27).

In sum, pronominal clitics usually follow positive Imperatives. However, there are situations where the clitics can precede Romanian Imperatives, as in old Romanian and some other particular cases (e.g., focused). Negated Romanian Imperatives are usually preceded by pronominal clitics.

1.2.5 Romanian Imperatives and their Subject

Irimia (1997) observes that for Romanian Imperatives, the subject is not expressed, being included in the morphological suffix attached to the verb.

In Romanian the subject is optional (28a), but for Imperatives, the subject is always, but not unambiguously included in the verbal affix (28b). The unmarked option for Imperatives is not to express subjects.

(28) a. (Ion) vine.

Ion come.IND.PRES.3.Sg

'Ion comes.'

b. (Tu), cântă!

you, sing.IMP.2.Sg

'(You), sing!'

Imperatives have a semantically realized subject in the presence of a vocative (a 2nd person pronoun or an animate noun).

(29) Vină, fată! / Fată, vină!

Vino, fato! / Fato, vino!

come.IMP.2.Sg VOCATIVE.girl / VOCATIVE.girl, come.IMP.2.Sg

It should be noted, however, that a lexical subject in Imperatives is possible, in which case it is licensed by focus, as in (30).

(30) (Voi), veniți!

you, come.IMP.2.PI

'(You), come!'

The sentence in (30) can be associated with the reading 'you come (not them)', where the personal pronoun bears stress.

1.3 Other Verbal Forms with Imperative Value

In Romanian, present subjunctives can be used with an Imperative value. This particular use of subjunctives can be traced back to Latin. It is possible with all persons/numbers, except for the 1st person singular.

(31) a. ...să vorbim o vorbă! (CARAGIALE, O. I. 122)

CONJ talk.SUBJ.1.PI one word (IMPERATIVE VALUE)

'Let's talk one word!'

b. Să părăsești casa mea! (REBREANU, O.I. 331)

CONJ. leave.SUBJ.2.Sg house.the my (IMPERATIVE VALUE)

'Leave my house!'

c. Dumnezeu să- l ierte! (CREANGA. O. I. 57)

God CONJ. him.CI forgive.SUBJ. 3.Sg (IMPERATIVE VALUE)

'God forgive him!'

d. Să pună rănițile! (BRAESCU. O. 109)

CONJ put.SUBJ.3.PI saks.the (IMPERATIVE VALUE)

'Let them put the sacks on!'

'Imperative' subjunctives are more common with the 2nd person, with which they are used as an alternative to the true Imperative. As for the other persons, they can be thought of as complementing the 'true' 2nd person Imperatives (cf. Irimia, 1997).

Subjunctives with an Imperative value express a wish. Most forms take the conjunction *să*, except for the 3rd person (singular and plural), depending on the lexical verb.

(32) a. Trăiască România!

long live.SUBJ.3.Sg Romania

'Long live Romania!'

b. Ducă -se de aici!

go.SUBJ.3.Sg REFL from here

'Let him go from here!'

When negated, Romanian subjunctives with an Imperative value are preceded by pronominal clitics, as other finite verbs.

(33) Să nu le citești!

CONJ. NEG them.CL read.SUBJ.2.Sg

'Do not read them!'

Romanian 'Imperative' subjunctives display a subject in the same way as all other finite verbal forms. The subject of the Subjunctives can be lexically realized by a noun or pronoun, or deduced from the verbal suffix:

(34) (Tu) să le citești! / Să le citești (tu)!
you CONJ. them.CL read.SUBJ.2.Sg / CONJ. them.CL read.SUBJ.2.Sg you
'You read them!'

The Imperative use of Romanian subjunctives expresses a forceful wish, rather than a command or an order. Their behavior with respect to negation, and pronominal clitics, and the expression of their subjects mirrors that of other Romanian finite verbal forms.

1.4 Summary

Romanian Imperatives, which like their crosslinguistic counterparts express an order, a request or a command, have two forms: the 2nd person singular and the 2nd person plural.

Traditional grammars (G.L.R., 1963; Mallinson, 1986; Baciu, 1978; Lombard, 1982, and Irimia 1997, among others), assume that the Imperative Mood expresses an order, a request, or a command (to complete or block an action). It has two person forms: 2nd person singular and plural. The singular paradigm is homophonous with the 3rd person singular Present Indicative for transitive verbs. Whenever the singular form coincides with the 2nd singular Present Indicative form, this is correlated with phonological factors (palatalization of the final consonant).

When negated, the Romanian Imperative 2nd person singular places the negation before the infinitive form. The exceptions to this pattern are explained by traditional

grammars through the influence of the other Imperative patterns (such as Latin), and are not considered standard Romanian.

With regard to the Romanian Imperative plural form, all the cited authors agree that in modern Romanian it is analogous to the Present Indicative plural form, and can be negated by placing the negation before the verbal form. There are different views concerning the configuration of this particular form, but there is an overall agreement that Romanian plural Imperatives derive from Latin.

Pronominal clitics can follow or, when focused, precede the Romanian Imperative forms.

The subject of Romanian Imperatives is indicated by the verbal affix. Vocative animate nouns (2nd person pronouns or nouns) are linked semantically with the subject of Imperatives.

Subjunctives can be used in Romanian with an Imperative value with or without the conjunction *să*. Other than their pragmatics, they do not exhibit similarities with Imperative forms.

Chapter 2

The Generative Grammar and (Romanian) Imperatives

2.1 Introduction

Within this chapter I will review the most recent analyses of Romance and Balkan Imperatives.

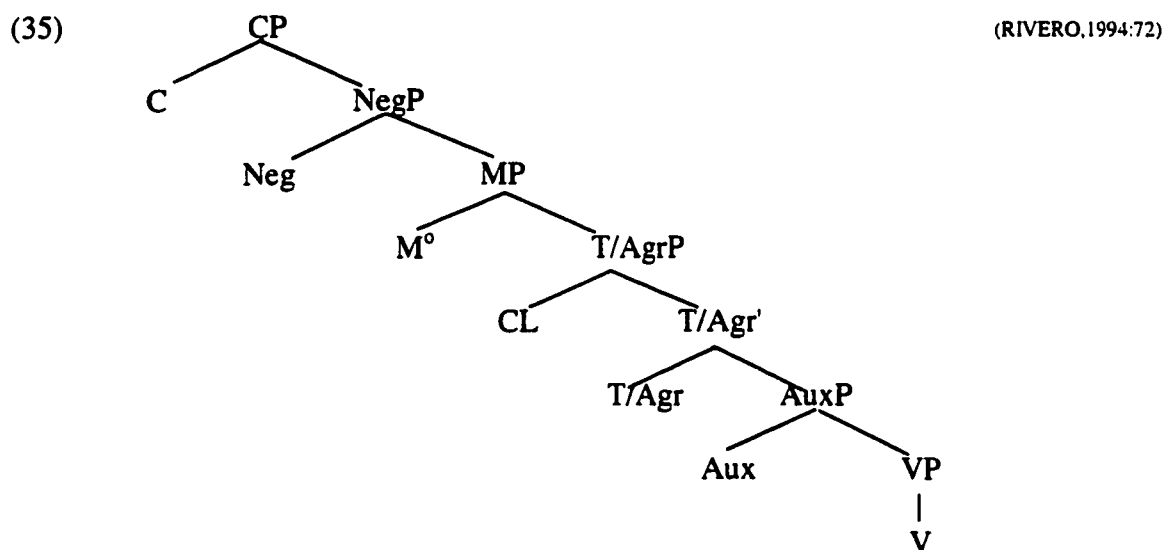
Imperatives are considered interesting for their special properties that include:

- 1) a distinct meaning (an order, a request, or a command),
- 2) the use of other verbal forms versus the real Imperative form for expressing negation,
- 3) a distinct position in relation with pronominal clitics, and
- 4) a special relation with their subject.

In this chapter, I will discuss previous studies that deal with Balkan, Romance and Romanian Imperatives (Rivero, 1994; Rivero & Terzi, 1995; Rivero, 1998), with other Romance Imperatives (Zanuttini, 1997), and a dissertation investigating the structure and interpretation of Imperatives and related constructions across languages (Han, 1998). Subsequently, I will present data about Romanian Imperatives taken either from generative grammar studies dedicated to Romanian syntax (Dobrovie-Sorin, 1994), or from papers analyzing the morphosyntax of Romanian Imperatives (Pirvulescu & Roberge, 1998).

2.2 The Syntax of Romanian and Balkan Imperatives

Examining verb movement in Balkan clauses, Rivero (1994) proposes an identical clause structure for Albanian, Modern Greek and Romanian, with a Complementizer Phrase (CP), which dominates a Modal Phrase (MP). The MP dominates the Tense/Agreement Phrase (T/Agr), which in turn dominates an AuxP, whenever present. The latter takes either an AuxP' or a VP as complement. The position of the NegP is identical in all Balkan clauses, namely immediately under CP, taking MP as a complement, as shown below for compound tenses:



As for the distinctive syntax of Imperative clauses, Rivero (1994) and Rivero and Terzi (1995) argue for a strong Imperative operator feature in the C⁰ position. In languages with distinct Imperative syntax (e.g., Spanish, Modern Greek, and Romanian), true

Imperatives check the illocutionary force by moving overtly to C⁰, which is the designated site for the logical mood intrinsic to the morphology of these verbs.

Due to Imperative verb movement to C⁰, true Imperatives exhibit special properties:

- 1) they are restricted to root clauses,
- 2) they cannot be negated, since the preverbal negative marker creates a minimality effect that blocks verb movement to C⁰,
- 3) they precede pronominal clitics.

True Imperatives are restricted to the 2nd person and are identifiable by a morphology *not shared* by the same person in any other tense in the system, as Rivero (1994) argues:

(36) a. Ghrápse!

(MODERN GREEK; RIVERO, 1994: 103)

write.IMP.2.Sg

'Write!'

b. Cântă!

(ROMANIAN; RIVERO, 1994: 103)

sing.IMP.2.Sg

'Sing!'

1) Rivero (1994) and Rivero & Terzi (1995) argue that true Imperatives cannot be embedded (37), since C⁰ is the site where their illocutionary force feature is located:

(37) *Ți -am spus să cântă.

(ROMANIAN; RIVERO 1994: 104)

you.CL PERF. told CONJ. sing.IMP.2.Sg

2) The presence of a preverbal negative marker with operator features on their path creates a minimality effect that yields ungrammaticality (Rivero & Terzi, 1995) and true Imperatives can not be negated (e.g., in Spanish, Romanian and Modern Greek):

(38) a. *No lee!

(SPANISH; RIVERO & TERZI, 1995: 304)

NEG read.IMP.2.Sg

b. *Dhen grápse!

(MODERN GREEK; RIVERO, 1994: 104)

NEG write.IMP.2.Sg

c. *Nu cântă!

(ROMANIAN)

NEG sing.IMP.2.Sg

Negative true Imperatives are therefore unavailable in these languages because Neg^o blocks the movement of the Imperative verb to C^o.

3) Pronominal clitics follow true Imperatives in Spanish, Modern Greek and Romanian, as Rivero (1994) and Rivero & Terzi (1995) observe:

(39) a. Léelo.

(SPANISH; RIVERO & TERZI, 1995: 304)

read.IMP.2Sg-it.ci

b. Diavase to!

(MODERN GREEK; RIVERO & TERZI 1995: 304)

read.IMP.2.Sg it.ci

Rivero (1994) and Rivero & Terzi (1995) establish different syntactic representations for 'true' and 'surrogate' Imperatives in Balkan and Romance languages. Surrogate Imperatives are used to express the negated Imperative form (40a), or to express an Imperative meaning (40b). Surrogate Imperatives borrow their form from infinitive, subjunctive, or indicative moods. Surrogate Imperatives are not restricted to a person, and they are identical in morphology to the same person of another tense: an infinitive (40a), or a present tense of indicative (40b) or subjunctive (40c) as shown below (Rivero, 1994:103-104):

- (40) a. Nu cânta! (ROMANIAN; RIVERO, 1994: 104)
 NEG. sing.INF. (SUPPLETIVE IMPERATIVE FORM)
 'Do not sing!'
- b. Să cânți! (ROMANIAN; RIVERO, 1994: 103)
 CONJ sing.SUBJ.2.Sg (SUPPLETIVE IMPERATIVE FORM)
 'Sing!'
- c. Na grápsete! (MODERN GREEK; RIVERO, 1994: 103)
 PART sing.PRES.2.Sg (SUPPLETIVE IMPERATIVE FORM)
 'Sing!'

Surrogate Imperatives move to a lower position, namely I⁰ (T/Agr). Contrary to their 'true' counterparts, they can be embedded (41a), can be negated by the preverbal negative marker (41b), and are followed by pronominal clitics (41c), as shown in Rivero (1994: 104-105).

(41) a. *Ţi -am spus să cânti.* (SURROGATE IMPERATIVE FORM)

CL.you PERF. told CONJ. sing.SUBJ.2.Sg

'I told you to sing.'

b. *Să nu cânti! / Nu cânta!* (SURROGATE IMPERATIVE FORMS)

CONJ. NEG sing.SUBJ.2.S / NEG sing.INF.2.Sg

'Do not sing!' / 'Do not sing!'

c. *Să -mi dai cartea!* (SURROGATE IMPERATIVE FORM)

CONJ. CL.you give.SUBJ.2.Sg book.the

'Give me the book!'

Considering other Balkan languages, Rivero (1994) argues that in Albanian, Imperatives move optionally to C^o, when no barriers intervene in the movement path (42a). Rivero (1994:106-108) argues that Albanian Imperative affixes are generated in T/Agr, since true Imperatives can be negated (42b), and when negated, they appear with preverbal pronominal clitics (42b).

(42) a. *Digj -e!* (ALBANIAN; RIVERO, 1994: 107)

burn.IMP it.CL

'Burn it!'

b. *Mos e digj!* (ALBANIAN; RIVERO, 1994: 108)

NEG it.CL burn.IMP

'Do not burn it!'

Rivero (1994) and Rivero & Terzi (1995) argue there are two groups of languages with respect to Imperative verb movement:

- 1) languages which have a distinctive syntax for Imperatives (Modern Greek, Romanian and Spanish), and
- 2) languages which lack a distinctive syntax for Imperatives (Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian, and Ancient Greek).

The contrast is due to the properties of the root C° . For Imperative constructions in Modern Greek, Spanish, and Romanian, C° is the site of a strong Imperative mood feature that must be checked by the verb before Spell-out. In those languages, Imperatives move overtly to C° .

In Ancient Greek, Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian, the strong Imperative Mood features are located in I° , hence Imperative verbs move to I° .

- (43) a. *Knige im čitajte!* (SERBO-CROATIAN; RIVERO & TERZI 1995: 311)
books CL.it read.IMP.2.PI
'Books, (you) read it!'
- b. *Ta men poiei, ta de mē poiei.* (ANCIENT GREEK; RIVERO & TERZI 1995: 314)
these PART DO.IMP.2.Sg, these PART NEG. DO.IMP.2.Sg
'Do this, but do not do that.'

Rivero & Terzi (1995) assume that in Bulgarian and Ancient Greek, Imperatives move to C° in the event that no other constituents precede pronominal clitics, as a last resort device to prevent the clitics from appearing in a sentence-initial position:

(44) a. Cheti ja!

(BULGARIAN; RIVERO 1997: 10)

read.IMP.2.Sg it.CL

'Read it!'

Further, Rivero (1997) focuses on differences between languages where the Imperative verb movement is obligatory and applies in the syntax (such as Modern Greek), and languages where Imperative verb movement is optional and applies in PF. Rivero (1998) assumes that in Modern Greek, verb movement to C^0 is restricted to Imperatives and obligatory, and that it applies in the syntax, before Spell-out, to check formal features. In the computational system, 'Move' raises V to the checking domain of C^0 , (regarded as an abstract functional category), which contains a strong (-interpretable) formal feature.

(45) Diavase to!

(MODERN GREEK; RIVERO 1997: 20)

read.IMP.2.Sg CL.it

'Read it!'

In contrast, Bulgarian Imperative verb movement to C^0 is optional (see 40), and applies in the PF branch to satisfy external requirements, since it is triggered by external factors, such as the PF condition of clitic pronoun, which must not appear clause-initially). Bulgarian Imperatives can also be negated, and then the clitic is located between the negation and the Imperative verb (46):

(46) Ne ja cheti!

(BULGARIAN; RIVERO 1998: 10)

NEG CL.it read.IMP.2.S

'Do not read it!'

Interestingly, if the history of Imperative verb movement in Greek is considered, Old Greek exhibits similarities of clitic pronouns and discourse particles with those of Bulgarian. In Ancient Greek, New Testament Greek, and Medieval Greek, the raised Imperative verbs satisfy an external requirement of the discourse particle in PF. Imperative verbs can be negated (47a), and can be preceded by particles/pronouns if no other constituent occupies first position (47b).

(47) a. Ta men poiei, ta de mé poiei.

(ANCIENT GREEK; RIVERO 1997: 23)

these PART do.IMP.2Sg, these PART NEG do.IMP.2.Sg

'Do this, but not do that!'

b. Esethe oun umeis teleioi.

(NEW TESTAMENT GREEK; RIVERO 1997: 24)

be.IMP.2.Sg thus you perfect

'Therefore, be perfect!'

However, in Modern Greek, as Rivero (1997) assumes, Imperative verbs must obligatorily rise past the clitics, guided by the Last Resort Principle (Chomsky, 1995). This condition requires that movement checks the formal features of a functional item against the features of a lexical item that raises.

In a recent paper, Rivero (1998) develops her proposal for stylistic PF verb movement in Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, Old Greek and Old Romance. The movement of Imperative verbs to C^o is attracted by clitic pronouns, which are assumed to adjoin to an empty functional head (following Kayne, 1991; 1994).

(48) a. Cheti ja! (BULGARIAN; RIVERO 1998: 7)

read.IMP.2.Sg it.CL

'Read it!'

b. Ela i ja cheti! (BULGARIAN; RIVERO 1998: 7)

come.IMP.2.Sg and CLit read.IMP.2.Sg

'Come and read it!'

Rivero (1998) assumes that in Castilian Spanish and Modern Greek, Imperatives check formal features of the verb against features of a functional head specified for logical mood or force, located in C^o. Castilian Spanish and Modern Greek rules apply before Spell-out (contrary to Bulgarian, where the rules apply in PF).

(49) Leed -lo! (CASTILIAN SPANISH; RIVERO 1998: 7)

read.IMP.2.S CLit

'Read it!'

Rivero (1997, 1998) assumes that Bulgarian Imperative verb movement is a stylistic verb fronting with clitic pronouns as attractor, and applies in PF. This is in contrast with

Modern Greek and Spanish, where Imperatives check in the syntax the formal features of the verb against features of a functional head standing for logical mood or force, (or illocutionary force), located in C^0 .

In conclusion, Rivero (1994-1998), and Rivero & Terzi (1995) propose a distinction between true and surrogate Imperatives, which may be crosslinguistic (e.g., Modern Greek versus Bulgarian), or diachronic (e.g., Old Greek and Modern Greek). True Imperatives move overtly to C^0 (as in Spanish, Modern Greek and Romanian) to check the features of an Imperative operator, whereas surrogate Imperatives raise only to I^0 . There are two classes of languages for Rivero (1994-1998):

- 1) languages in which the Imperative obligatorily moves to check strong features of the Imperative logical mood in C^0 (e.g., Castilian Spanish, Modern Greek, Romanian), and
- 2) languages where the Imperative features are located in I^0 , and Imperatives do not obligatorily move to C^0 (e.g., Albanian, Old Greek, Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian). In minimalist terms, Imperative verb movement to C^0 in those languages is a stylistic verb movement (Rivero, 1998), triggered by functional categories (such as clitics), and it applies after Spell-out, in PF.

Interestingly, there are languages, such as Greek, where Imperative verb movement has evolved from a stylistic rule, not triggered by feature checking, to a syntactic operation, hence triggered by feature checking.

2.3 The Syntax of Romance Imperatives

In her work, Zanuttini (1997) examines Romance sentential negation closely and proposes three main strategies for negating a clause:

- 1) the use of pre-verbal negative markers,
- 2) the use of post-verbal negative markers, and
- 3) the use of both pre-verbal and post-verbal negative markers.

1) Negative markers in pre-verbal position precede the main verb, as in Standard Italian, Spanish, Catalan, Portuguese, Romanian, Galician, and dialects from Central, Southern and Northern Italy (Zanuttini, 1997: 3):

(50) a. Gianni non ha telefonato a sua madre. (ITALIAN)

b. Juan no ha llamado a su madre. (SPANISH)

c. Ion nu-i telefona mamei lui (ROMANIAN)

'John hasn't called his mother.'

2) Negative markers follow the main verb as in other Romance languages, such as Occitan, Valdotain, Piedmontese, Sursilvan and Surmeiran (Zanuttini, 1997: 4):

(51) Maria a mangia nen. (PIEDMONTESE)

Maria SUB.CL eats NEG

'Mary doesn't eat.'

3) A pre-verbal and a post-verbal negative marker may cooccur, as in standard French, some Rhaeto-Romance languages, and Wallon, spoken in Belgium (Zanuttini, 1997: 5).

(52) Je n'ai pas parlé de toi. (FRENCH)

I NEG'have NEG spoken of you

'I didn't talk about you.'

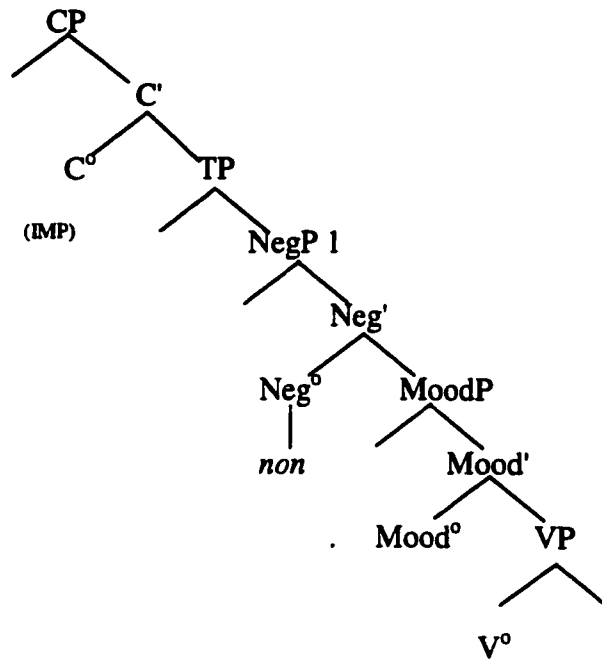
Zanuttini suggests that there are two negative markers in Italian:

- (i) one found in clauses with the illocutionary force of an Imperative that requires marking for mood in the clause (in verbal morphology or in the presence of a functional element expressing mood), and
- (ii) another negative marker that does not require the presence of mood marking in the clause and is found in clauses that lack the illocutionary force of an Imperative.

She argues further that the pre-verbal negative markers that can negate a clause by themselves head the syntactic projection NegP in which they appear. This projection is structurally higher than the projection hosting the complement clitics and the verb, since negation precedes them both. Following Cinque's (1998) proposal about different classes of adverbs that occur in the specifier of different functional heads, Zanuttini (1997) assumes that the phrase structure of Italian has TP higher than MoodP.

According to Zanuttini (1997), Imperative negative sentences in Italian have the following structure (Zanuttini, 1997:147):

(53)



Temporal adverbs such as *oggi* 'today' appear in the specifier of TP (which is higher than NegP), and adverbs such as *forse* 'perhaps' are in the specifier of MoodP (54a). Preverbal negation, Zanuttini (1997) assumes, is located between TP and MoodP (54b).

- (54) a. Gianni non ha forse voluto restare. (ITALIAN; ZANUTTINI, 1997: 137)
Gianni NEG has perhaps wanted to-stay
'Gianni didn't perhaps want to stay.'
- b. Gianni oggi non si sente bene. (ITALIAN; ZANUTTINI, 1997: 138)
Gianni today NEG self feels good
'Gianni isn't feeling good today.'

Zanuttini (1997) follows Rivero's (1994) proposal about Imperative clauses as referring to 'true' and 'suppletive' (dubbed 'surrogate' by Rivero, 1994) Imperative forms.

Examining Rivero's proposal on Imperative clauses, Zanuttini does not adopt the view that true and suppletive Imperatives differ radically in their syntactic representation, and does not agree that a feature is in C^0 for true Imperatives, and in $I^0(T/Agr)$ for indicative or subjunctive Imperatives. The difference between true and suppletive Imperative verbs does not reside in the possibility of embedding of the latter, but not the former, as Rivero argues. Zanuttini (1997) provides data to show that suppletive Imperatives can resist embedding as well.

(55) a. *Ti ordino (di/che) fatelo!

(ITALIAN; ZANUTTINI, 1997: 131)

you order (of/that) do-it.IND.2.PI

(SUPPLETIVE IMPERATIVE)

In Zanuttini's proposal, suppletive Imperatives expressed by subjunctives in embedded clauses take their illocutionary force from the matrix verb.

(56) Le ordino che lo faccia subito!!

(ITALIAN; ZANUTTINI, 1997: 132)

her order that it do.SUBJ.2.S now

'I order you to make it now!'

Zanuttini (1997) assumes that the verbal form of true Imperatives consists of the verbal root, the thematic vowel (found immediately following the verbal stem in Italian for infinitives, past and present participles, gerunds, present and imperfect indicative) and some other affix - in some cases an agreement morpheme. In order to form the Imperative paradigm, the thematic vowel is attached to the verbal root by default and does not

correspond to tense, agreement or aspect morphology. She considers the second person singular familiar Imperative to be a true form for verbs from the 1st conjugation (*parlare*: 'talk'):

(57) Parla!

(ITALIAN; ZANUTTINI, 1997: 109)

talk.IMP.2.Sg

'Talk!'

The fact that for 2 Italian verbal classes (consisting of verbs with the thematic vowels *-e* and *-i*) exhibit the affix *-i* instead of 'normal' *-e* for their Imperative 2nd person singular Imperative form, is due to an oscillation between the two vowels present in this class. So, she argues that the Imperative singular forms (which are formally identical to the Present Indicative forms for the same person) are also true Imperatives:

(58) a. Batti! (from *battere*, *-e* verb)

(ITALIAN; ZANUTTINI, 1997: 115)

hit.IMP.2.Sg

'Hit!'

b. Parti! (from *partire*, *-i* verb)

leave.IMP.2.Sg

'Leave!'

Hence, she assumes that in Italian true Imperatives are restricted to the second person familiar form. They are incompatible with a preverbal negative marker that can negate a

clause by itself:

(59) *Non telefona!

(ITALIAN; ZANUTTINI, 1997: 108)

NEG call.IMP.2.Sg

(TRUE IMPERATIVE)

Zanuttini claims that, in Romance languages, negated Imperatives borrow suppletive forms from: 1) indicative, 2) subjunctive, and 3) infinitive paradigms.

1) Italian employs a form of the Present Indicative for the 2nd person plural Imperative form and forms the negative Imperative by negating the Indicative:

(60) a. Telefonate!

(ITALIAN; ZANUTTINI, 1997: 106)

call.IND.2.PI

(SUPPLETIVE IMPERATIVE)

'Call!

b. Non fatelo!

(ITALIAN; ZANUTTINI, 1997: 116)

NEG. do.IND.2.PI-it.CL

(SUPPLETIVE IMPERATIVE)

'Don't do it!'

2) Catalan, Spanish and Sardinian form a negative singular Imperative from the subjunctive form:

(61) a. Habla!

(SPANISH; ZANUTTINI, 1997: 118)

talk.IMP.2.Sg

(TRUE IMPERATIVE)

'Talk!'

b. *No habla! (SPANISH; ZANUTTINI, 1997: 118)

NEG talk.IMP.2.Sg (TRUE IMPERATIVE)

c. No hables! (SPANISH; ZANUTTINI, 1997: 118)

NEG talk.SUBJ.2.Sg (SUPPLETIVE IMPERATIVE)

'Don't talk!'

3) Italian, Romanian and many varieties of Central and Southern Italy form the 2nd person singular negated form by using an infinitive form that follows the pre-verbal negative marker:

(62) Non parlare! (ITALIAN; ZANUTTINI, 1997: 118)

NEG talk.INF.2.Sg (SUPPLETIVE IMPERATIVE)

'Don't talk!'

Due to the poor morphological specification of the main verbs from the Imperative form, when negated by pre-verbal negation, Imperatives cannot check Mood features (see (53)). On the other hand, overt or non-overt auxiliary verbs from the Imperative suppletive paradigm and main verbs from the indicative paradigm that borrow forms to suppletive Imperative can. Examining Romance Imperatives, Zanuttini's conclusion is that a pre-verbal negative marker is incompatible with true Imperative forms of main verbs, but compatible with true Imperative forms that function as auxiliaries. As for this account, she gives examples from Italian dialects (such as Trentino, and Emiliano), where the auxiliary *star* 'stay' is either a true Imperative (63a), or an infinitival (63b):

(63) a. No stá móverte! (TRENTINO; ZANUTTINI, 1997: 122)

NEG stay.IMP.2.Sg move.INF.-YOU Acc

'Don't move!'

b. En te star móverte! (EMILIANO; ZANUTTINI, 1997: 122)

NEG CL.YOU AUX.stay.INF move.INF.YOU-CLAcc.

'Don't move!'

Both true and suppletive Imperatives are restricted to root clauses, Zanuttini (1997) assumes, and the order of the verb and clitics is not relevant for verb movement to C^0 . In Zanuttini's opinion, the only difference between suppletive and true Imperatives is the incompatibility with the preverbal negative marker of the latter. When the negative marker is not present, the head of the MoodP does not have features that need to be checked for Imperatives. Hence, moving directly to C^0 , the positive Imperative verb, either true or suppletive, checks Imperative features in C^0 .

Zanuttini (1997) assumes that, in Imperative sentences, the pre-verbal negative markers that can negate a clause by themselves make verb movement unnecessary, differing from the view that treats them as blocking verb movement to C^0 by creating a minimality effect (Rivero 1994, 1998; Rivero & Terzi 1995). Her approach intends to provide support for the view that certain types of movement are motivated by the properties of the target, and not of the element that moves.

Zanuttini (1997) argues that all clauses with illocutionary force of an Imperative must check features in C^0 , either suppletive or true Imperatives. Additionally, Imperative clauses with a pre-verbal negative marker must check the features of the head MoodP.

Examples from Italian are given as evidence that in both types of Imperatives, the verb precedes the adverb *di sicuro* 'definitely', which (following Cinque, 1998), is assumed to occupy the specifier of MoodP.

(64) a. Fallo di sicuro!

(ITALIAN; ZANUTTINI, 1997: 140)

doIMP.2.Sg -it.CL of sure

'Definitely do it!'

In sum, Zanuttini's (1997) proposal is that all Imperative clauses (with suppletive or true forms) have illocutionary force, and must check the Imperative feature in C°. Both suppletive and true Imperatives move over MoodP to C, regardless of the verbal form that expresses them. In Zanuttini's (1997) opinion, the only difference between suppletive and true Imperatives is the incompatibility with the preverbal negative marker of the latter. Since Imperatives have a 'poor' functional structure, when the preverbal negative marker is present in Imperative clauses, the verb must check the features of the head of MoodP. Subsequently, the negative marker that heads NegP satisfies the features of C°. Hence, the verb itself need not and cannot move to C°. The author argues that her proposal offers a uniform treatment of negative and non-negative Imperative clauses.

2.4 A Cross-Linguistic Interpretation of Imperatives

In her dissertation, Han (1998) identifies the general morphosyntactic characteristics of the Imperative clause type across languages in order to explain cross-linguistic variation in its realization as a result of the interaction between general principles and language-particular morphosyntactic systems. Subsequently, Han (1998) develops a model for the interpretation of Imperatives.

Han (1998) argues that the syntax of Imperatives across languages includes an Imperative operator in C^0 , that is a set of morphosyntactic features. The Imperative verb assumes the role of the Imperative operator as it adjoins to C^0 . Han (1998) claims that the feature content of this operator includes both:

- 1) a [directive] feature that encodes illocutionary force, and
- 2) an [irrealis] feature that encodes modality of unrealized interpretation.

This *irrealis* feature of the Imperative operator is necessary to derive subjunctives or infinitivals. The idea of an Imperative operator in C^0 is not new (see Rivero, 1994, 1997, 1998; Rivero & Terzi 1995, and Zanuttini, 1997).

On the one hand, for Modern Greek, Spanish and Italian, the situation is clear for Han (1998). The Imperative verb adjoins to C^0 , it inherits all the features of the Imperative operator in C^0 . Negative Imperatives are not available in those languages, since, as Han (1998) assumes, the directive force of an Imperative cannot be negated by a preverbal negative marker.

- (65) a. *Mi grapse to! (MODERN GREEK; HAN, 1998: 13)
 NEG write.IMP.2.Sg it
- b. *No lee lo! (SPANISH; HAN, 1998: 14)
 NEG write.IMP.2.Sg it
- c. *Non telefona le! (ITALIAN; HAN, 1998: 14)
 NEG phone.IMP.2.Sg her

Han (1998) does not agree with the proposal that negation heads a phrase (e.g., Rivero 1994; 1995;1998, or Zanuttini 1997, among others), and takes negation to have the morphosyntactic properties of a clitic, since it always precedes the V in overt syntax.

Imperatives cannot be negated in some languages since negation does not operate on illocutionary force, and cannot take scope over the directive force. The languages where negated 'true' Imperatives (labelled as such by Rivero (1994, 1995), and Zanuttini (1997), among others) are not available (e.g., Modern Greek, Spanish, and Italian) select an operator whose features are in a proper subset relation with that of the imperative operator: the subjunctive/infinitival operator. Usually, subjunctives or infinitivals have an operator content that includes only an *irrealis* feature. When used with illocutionary force, (e.g., prohibition in negated suppletive Imperatives in Modern Greek and Spanish, or subjunctives with Imperative value in Modern Greek and Romanian), the feature content of the subjunctive/infinitival operator is a proper set of the feature content in the Imperative operator.

(66) a. Na mi to grapsis.

(MODERN GREEK; HAN, 1998: 13)

NA NEG it.CL write.SUBJ.2.Sg

'Don't write it.'

b. No me deis el libro!

(SPANISH; HAN, 1998: 54)

NEG me.CL give.SUBJ.2.Sg the book

'Don't give me the book!'

Han argues that the place of this subjunctive/infinitival operator is also in C^0 . This operator does not encode illocutionary force, but encodes *irrealis* interpretation, and its features are a proper subset of the features of the Imperative operator.

On the other hand, in Bulgarian (67b) and Serbo-Croatian (68b) negated Imperatives are available, observes Han (1998):

(67) a. Četi ja!

(BULGARIAN; HAN, 1998: 46)

read.IMP.2.Sg it.CL

'Read it!'

b. Ne ja četi!

(BULGARIAN; HAN, 1998: 46)

NEG it.CL read.IMP.2.Sg

'Don't read it!'

(68) a. Čitaj je!

(SERBO-CROATIAN; HAN, 1998: 46)

read.IMP.2.Sg it.CL

'Read it!'

b. Ne čitaj je !

(SERBO-CROATIAN; HAN, 1998: 46)

NEG read.IMP.2.S CL.it

'Don't read it!'

Han's (1998) explanation is that, in Bulgarian or Serbo-Croatian, the Imperative verb is not in C⁰ in overt syntax, but it moves and adjoins to C⁰ at LF. As evidence for the fact that the locus of the Imperative operator is also in C⁰ in those languages, she further observes that neither Bulgarian (69b), nor Serbo-Croatian (70b) allows Imperatives to occur in embedded clauses:

(69) a. Ivan nastojava (ti) da govoriš.

(BULGARIAN; HAN, 1998: 47)

Ivan insists (you) da speak.SUBJ.2.Sg

'Ivan insists that you speak.'

b. *Ivan nastojava (ti) govoriš.

(BULGARIAN; HAN, 1998: 47)

Ivan insists (you) speak.IMP.2.Sg

(70) a. Ivan insistira da to čitaš.

(SERBO-CROATIAN; HAN, 1998: 47)

Ivan insists that it.CL SUBJ.speak.2.Sg

'Ivan insists that you read it.'

b. *Ivan insistira da to čitaj.

(SERBO-CROATIAN; HAN, 1998: 47)

Ivan insists that it.CL read.IMP.2.Sg

The Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian Imperative verb moves alone and adjoins to C⁰ at LF, stranding the clitic-like preverbal negation (e.g., 67b and 68b).

In conclusion, Han (1998) adopts Rivero's and Zanuttini's (among others) idea of an Imperative operator in C⁰. This operator includes a [directive] feature that encodes illocutionary force, and an [irrealis] feature that encodes modality that contributes the interpretation that a certain state is not realized. She adds that the infinitival/subjunctive operator includes also an [irrealis] feature, hence a proper subset of the Imperative operator. The directive force contributed by the imperative operator is responsible for driving verb movement to C⁰, either before Spell-Out (in the syntax), or at LF, depending on the language.

2.5 Other Opinions about Romanian Imperatives

In a study dedicated to Romanian syntax, Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) assumes that Romance Imperative verb movement is an instance of "V-preposing", which moves the inflected verb to C and strands clitics. Romanian Imperative verbs can bypass two pronominal clitics. In her opinion, a Romanian Imperative, like:

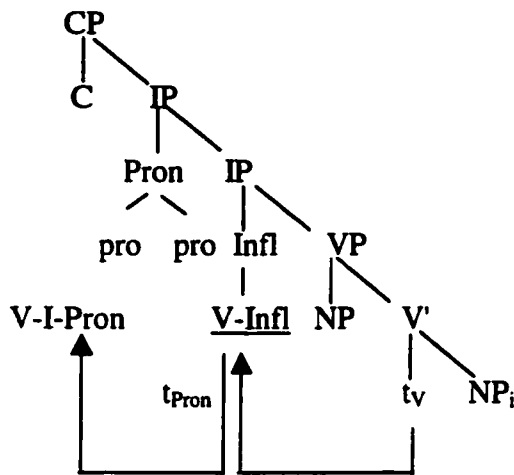
(71) Dă -i -!
(DOBROVIE-SORIN, 1994: 60)

give.IMP.2.Sg him.CL.Dat. it.CL Acc.

'Give it to him!'

has the following syntactic structure:

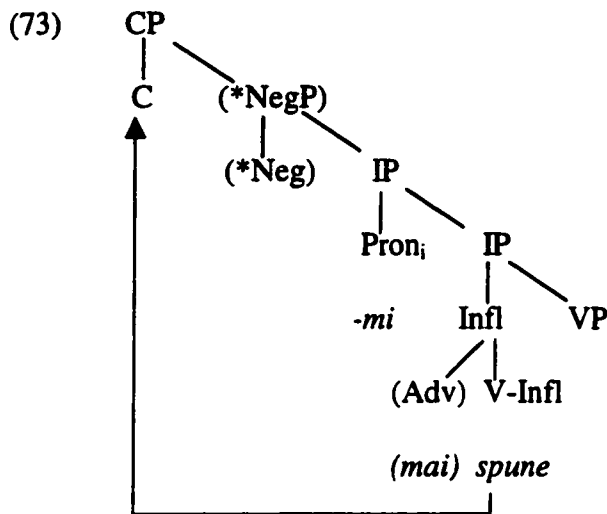
(72) (DOBROVIE-SORIN, 1994: 60)



dă-i-l

'give -him-it'

Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) assumes that the Romanian pronominal clitics adjoin to Inflection, by adjoining to it in Imperative constructions. The author assumes that the strings of pronominal clitics are flat structures, dominated by a single node that adjoins to IP. Dobrovie-Sorin argues that Imperative V-preposing bypasses just one clitic position, the string of 'him_{Dat.}-it_{Acc.}' (see 68). For Dobrovie-Sorin, Romanian adverbial clitics (e. g., *mai* 'more', *iar* 'again', *și* 'still') are not binding any trace, hence are free to adjoin to Inflection itself, and not to V itself (see 69). For Romanian Imperatives, V-preposing moves inflected Imperatives with adverbial clitics to C⁰, leaving the pronominal clitics behind. Dobrovie-Sorin's position differs from Rivero's (1994), in that, in the structure of subjunctive sentences with Imperative meaning, there is no Mood position, and the Romanian conjunction *să* lands directly in C⁰.



(DOBROVIE-SORIN, 1994: 67)

- (74) Mai spune- mi! t_{Adv} V--Infl
 again tell.IMP.2Sg me.CL
 'Tell me again!'

(DOBROVIE-SORIN, 1994: 67)

For Rivero (1994) the Mood layer exists in all Balkan languages (Romanian included), and is headed by an uninflected particle (e.g., Romanian *să*).

Dobrovie-Sorin (1994) assumes that Romanian negated Imperatives are ungrammatical since NegP blocks the V-preposing, as shown in (73).

In conclusion, in Dobrovie-Sorin's (1994) account, the position of Romanian Imperatives with respect to pronominal and adverbial clitics is due to a V-preposing rule that strands aside pronominal clitics.

In an analysis of Romanian sentential negation, Isac (1994) assumes that the sentential Romanian negation *nu* 'not' is a head rather than a specifier of the NegP. In her

opinion, since (positive) true Romanian Imperatives are incompatible with a lexicalized complementizer (e.g., *că* or *să*), they move to C^0 .

(74) a. **că* vino!

(ISAC, 1994: 380)

COMP. COME.IMP.2.Sg

b. **să* pleacă!

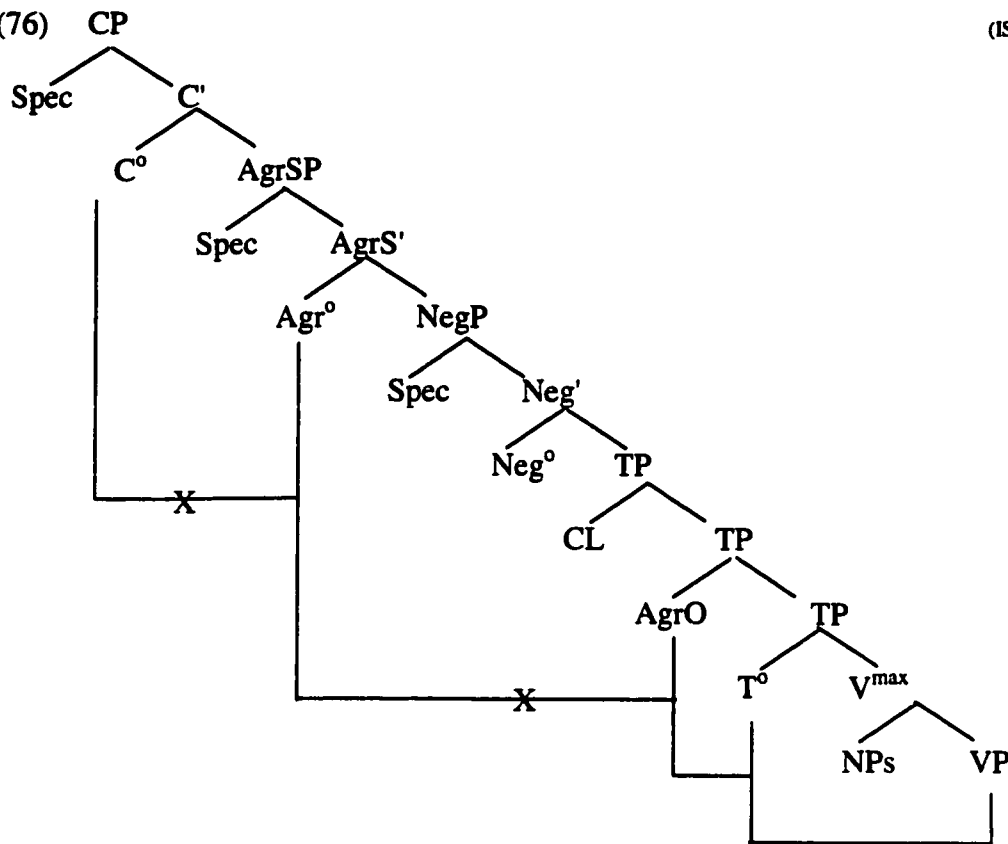
(ISAC, 1994: 380)

COMP. GO.IMP.2.Sg

Due to their lack of Tense projection, True Imperatives cannot be negated, since NegP subcategorizes for Tense, which is an idea adopted from Zanuttini (1991). Zanuttini (1997) does not pursue this proposal, since it is rather problematic for the position of infinitives vis-à-vis negation. For Romanian negated Imperatives, Isac (1994) proposes the following structure:

(76)

(ISAC,1994: 382)

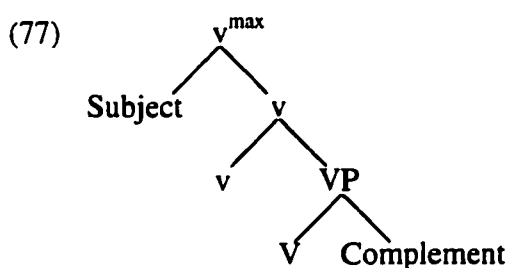


Isac (1994) argues that the Romanian sentential negation *nu* 'not' is a head in Imperative sentences that subcategorizes for TP and blocks Imperative verb movement to C°, following Zanuttini (1991).

Other opinions about Romanian Imperatives are stated in Pirvulescu & Roberge (1998 a, b) papers. These authors offer an analysis of the verbal morphology of Romanian Imperatives, and then consider the syntax of Imperative construction in the Minimalist framework (Chomsky, 1995). Adopting Zanuttini's (1997) proposal with respect to the poor morphological marking of Imperatives, they argue that the morphosyntactic properties of the Romanian Imperatives follow from Tense considerations. The authors consider that the homophony between Romanian 2nd singular Imperative and 3rd singular Indicative present

is due to Imperative realization as a default marking in the Phonological Component, Imperatives being non-marked for Tense. They have the same explanation for the 2nd plural Romanian Imperative paradigm, which is similar to the 2nd plural Present Indicative.

According to Pirvulescu & Roberge, lack of Tense projection in Imperative constructions prevents the assignment of a θ -role to the external argument by the lexical verb, hence the subject of Imperatives is the subject of the light verb and not of the lexical verb. The Imperative structure is the same for lexical intransitive and transitive verbs, since Imperative constructions need not project an internal argument. The Imperative structure proposed by Pirvulescu & Roberge (1998, b: 14) is as follows.



Pirvulescu & Roberge assume that the alternation of the affixes *-e/-i* for Romanian Imperatives 2nd person singular form (78a and 78b) is due to the sensitivity of the endings to the contents of the complement position. According to Pirvulescu & Roberge, these alternating endings approximate the object verb agreement.

(78) a. Fierbi!

(PIRVULESCU & ROBERGE, 1998b: 14)

boil.IMP.2.Sg

'(You) boil !'

b. Fierbe macaroane!

(PIRVULESCU & ROBERGE, 1998b: 14)

boil.IMP.2.Sg pasta.the

'Boil the pasta!'

In Pirvulescu & Roberge's (1998a,b) proposal, the Imperative endings do not correspond to subject/verb agreement and Tense, and are default realizations. Hence, these endings are sensitive to the content of the complement position, which is reflected in the *-e/-i* alternation found in certain Romanian Imperative forms. In my opinion, their explanation is not very convincing, since they "do not claim" (P&R, 1998b: 16) that the alternating *-e/-i* endings approximate the object-verb agreement. The case of the 2 Romanian transitive verbs which have the Imperative endings *-i*, (i.e., *vezi!* 'see!' and *auzi!* 'hear!') is a counterexample to their proposal.

2.6 Summary and Further Considerations

As can be observed, the analysis offered by generative grammar relies mostly on the existence of an Imperative operator, located in C^0 (Rivero 1994-1998; Zanuttini 1997; Han 1998). In Rivero's opinion, all the properties exhibited by Imperatives follow from the verb movement to C^0 to check the Imperative feature. The above analyses differ as to the treatment of negated Imperatives. For Rivero (1994, 1995, 1998), negation creates a minimality effect for the movement of Imperatives to C, hence Imperatives cannot be negated. In the following chapter, I will mainly follow Rivero's (1994-1998) analysis of the

(Romanian) Imperative verb movement to C⁰ in order to check its Imperative feature located there. Romanian Imperatives do not fit always with the special properties assumed by Rivero (1994-1998) for languages where the Imperative verb movement is obligatory and applies in the syntax. Subsequently, I will assume that Romanian Imperatives have a 'regular' pattern, and an 'irregular' pattern.

For Zanuttini (1997), Imperatives have a 'poor' functional structure, and when negated, the verb must check the features of the head MoodP. The negative marker that heads NegP satisfies the features of C⁰. Hence, the Imperative verb itself need not and cannot move to C⁰. Both authors make the distinction between true (verbal paradigms which cannot be negated) and surrogate (dubbed suppletive by Zanuttini 1997, and deemed to be verbal forms that can be easily negated) Imperatives. In the next chapter, I will use Zanuttini's (1997) proposal about negated Imperatives which must check the features of the head of MoodP to develop a possible explanation of true negated Romanian Imperatives. Her explanation for the *-el-i* alternation for singular Imperatives will be adopted as a possible explanation for the same alternation in Romanian.

Han's (1998) proposal adopts Rivero's and Zanuttini's (among others) idea of an Imperative operator in C⁰, which includes a [directive] feature that encodes directive illocutionary force, and an [irrealis] feature that encodes modality force. Additionally, she proposes the infinitival/subjunctive operator, is located also in C⁰. The directive force of the imperative operator drives the verb movement to C⁰ to check Imperative features. Depending on the language, movement is done either before Spell-Out (in the syntax), or at LF (covertly). Han (1998) considers that negation cannot take scope over the directive force of the Imperative operator, hence Imperatives cannot be negated. Han's (1998)

proposal about the movement of the Imperative verb to C^0 , either overtly or covertly, depending on the language, seems to be an attractive point of view, also.

A variant of the above approaches is Dobrovie-Sorin's (1994) analysis. It considers positive Imperatives as a construction due to a V-preposing rule. Romanian Imperatives are V-preposed verbs, which strand clitics. This seems to be another way to analyze Imperatives as a result of Head-movement, hence I will not adopt it.

Isac's (1994) proposal adopts Zanuttini's (1991) position, and I will not consider it further.

Pirvulescu & Roberge's (1998a, b) analyses of Romanian Imperatives hinge on the morphology of Imperatives. The subject of Imperatives is the subject of a light verb, not of the lexical verb, and the Imperative affixes are assigned by default. Both transitive and intransitive Imperatives must have a projection of an internal argument position, and the alternation of the Imperative affixes is sensitive to the content of the complement position. In spite of the fact that Pirvulescu & Roberge's (1998a,b) proposal differs from all other proposals and investigates Imperatives in minimalist terms, since it does not assume a CP structure for the Imperative clause, and does not apply to all Romanian verbs, I will not adopt it.

Chapter 3

A Proposal for the Syntax of Romanian Imperatives

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss similarities displayed by the Romanian Imperatives and their counterparts in other Romance languages (Italian, Italian dialects, and Spanish), and the cases where Romanian behaves like Balkan languages (Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, Albanian or Greek). In this chapter, I will take the proposals reviewed in chapter 2 as a point of departure to argue that Romanian can be included within the class of languages with distinct morphology and syntax for the Imperative Mood. Also, I will present the contrasting elements that allow us to call Romanian a language with a 'mixed' Imperative syntax, meaning that Imperativity is licensed in different syntactic positions.

Romanian is a mixed language as to Imperative syntax with respect to morphology, compatibility with negation, and position with respect to clitics.

In the following section, I will make a proposal for the syntax of Romanian Imperatives. I will assume a CP structure for Imperatives, and I will adopt the dichotomy between 'true' and 'surrogate' Imperatives. True Imperatives check the Imperative feature located in C⁰, surrogate Imperatives move to T/Agr, where their Imperative feature is located. In section 3.4 I will present some morphophonological considerations, and I will argue that the homophony of 2nd person Present Indicative forms with singular Imperative forms is due to a phonological alternation. In section 3.4, I will analyze the position of the adverbs vis-à-vis Imperatives as an argument for the fact that true Imperatives move to C⁰,

versus surrogate Imperatives, which move lower, to T/Agr. In the same section, I will propose that Imperatives usually lack an overt subject, and when the subject is realized by a vocative, it occupies the SpecCP position. In section 3.5, I will explore the 'regular option', i.e., Imperatives that behave like their Romance counterparts. I will argue that 2nd person singular Imperative form is a true Imperative, and 2nd person plural, negated and subjunctive Imperatives are surrogate forms. In section 3.6, I will investigate the mixed/ambiguous character of Romanian Imperatives (the 'irregular' option, where Romanian may pattern like Balkan languages). Subsequently, I will assume that the explanation for the negated true Romanian Imperatives can be found in various proposals of generative grammar, or in the history of Romanian. As for the 'irregular' clitic-verb order vis-à-vis true Romanian Imperatives, I will argue that this is due to the topicalized position of the pronominal clitic.

3.2 The syntactic structure of Romanian Imperatives (Proposal)

In the following section, adopting Rivero's (1994-1998), Zanuttini's (1997) and Han's (1998) proposals (among others), I argue that Romanian true Imperatives have a CP structure (like Italian, Spanish, Modern Greek), and that C^0 is the site of the Imperative operator. Thus, I will not adopt Pirvulescu & Roberge's (1998) proposal that Imperatives are VP-like. Subsequently, I follow Rivero (1994-1998) and Zanuttini (1997) as to the distinction between 'true' and 'surrogate' Imperatives. True Imperative verbs move overtly to C^0 , because C^0 has a strong feature that the verb must check when it raises to that

position, in overt syntax, i.e., before Spell-out. They have a morphological form not shared by the same person in any other tense for the 2nd singular Imperative, with the exception of 28 verbs, where phonological factors play a role, as I will propose in section 3.3.

Following Rivero's (1994) proposal about the Imperative clause structure, I assume that Negation, as a head of a functional category, blocks Imperative verb raising to C^o. Romanian uses 'surrogate' verb forms, borrowed from the Infinitive or Indicative paradigms to express negated Imperatives. These surrogate forms cannot move to C^o, hence they move to a lower position, i.e., T/Agr. Their morphology is borrowed from the same person of another Mood (Present Indicative), or just from another Mood (Infinitive). Other Romanian verbal forms with Imperative value are the Subjunctive/surrogate Imperatives. Their morphology cannot be restricted as to person, they can be embedded, and are easily negated. These subjunctive/surrogate Imperatives differ semantically from their true counterparts, since what they express is closer to a request than to a 'command'.

The behavior of Romanian Imperatives can be judged 'ambiguous' with respect to:

- 1) (non)distinctive versus distinctive morphology;
- 2) compatibility of 'true' Imperatives with Negation;
- 3) position of clitics vis-à-vis the Imperative verb in positive and negative paradigms.

As for 1), unlike languages with distinctive morphology for both 2nd singular and 2nd plural (e.g., Spanish, see (79)), Romanian has special forms only for the former (80).

(79) a. Habla!

(SPANISH; ZANUTTINI, 1997: 109)

talk.IMP.2.Sg

(TRUE IMPERATIVE)

b. Hablad!

(SPANISH; ZANUTTINI, 1997: 109)

talk.IMP.2.PI

(TRUE IMPERATIVE)

'Talk!'

(80) a. Vorbește!

(ROMANIAN)

talk.IMP.2.Sg

(TRUE IMPERATIVE)

b. Vorbiți!

(ROMANIAN)

talk.IMP.2.PI

(SURROGATE IMPERATIVE)

'Talk!'

Going on to 2), even if the Romanian Imperative as a rule rejects Negation, (similar to Italian and Spanish), there are 3 verbs which tolerate Negation in positive contexts apart from the expected verb-clitic order.

As for 3), Romanian Imperatives allow clitic-verb pattern for stylistic and perhaps historical reasons. In negative contexts, as in other representatives of Romance, and in Balkan languages, the order is negation-clitic-verb.

In my opinion, Romanian evolved from being a language with an optional Imperative verb movement to C⁰, to the stage of being a language with obligatory Imperative verb movement to C⁰.

In sum, Imperative verbs that have a specific morphology, or are homophonous with 2nd person singular Present Indicative, raise to C⁰. Those that are surrogate forms homophonous with Subjunctive, Infinitive or plural Present Indicative rise no higher than T/Agr.

3.3 Some Morphophonological Considerations

I consider it necessary first to present some notions of morphophonology of the Romanian Imperative paradigm. In the following section I will present the general morphological structure of Romanian verbs, then I will focus on the morphophonological structure of Imperative forms. I will investigate the most important morphological rules used to construct Imperatives, in order to argue that the homophony of 2nd person singular Imperative forms with Present Indicative for 28 Romanian verbs is due to a phonological process.

In Chitoran's (1997) opinion, the morphophonological structure of the Romanian verb consists of a stem and inflectional material, where 'V' stands for a thematic vowel.

(81) Morphological structure of the verb

(CHITORAN, 1997: 69)

- a. SINGULAR : $[[\text{root} \pm \text{infix}]_{\text{stem}} \text{infl}]_{\text{morphological word}}$
- b. PLURAL: $[[\text{root} + \text{V}]_{\text{stem}} \text{infl}]_{\text{morphological word}}$

The morphological structure used by Romanian to construct singular Imperatives is illustrated as follows.

(82)	CONJUGATION		ROOT	INFIX	INFLECTIONAL AFFIX	IMPERATIVE FORM	
(i)	<u>1st</u>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} a \text{ cânt-}\underline{a} \\ a \text{ lucr-}\underline{a} \end{array} \right.$	'sing'	<i>cânt-</i>	\emptyset	<i>-ă</i>	<i>cântă!</i>
(ii)			'work'	<i>lucr-</i>	<i>-ez-</i>	<i>-ă</i>	<i>lucrează!</i>
(iii)	<u>2nd</u>	<i>a scād-<u>ea</u></i>	'diminish'	<i>scad-</i>	\emptyset	<i>-e</i>	<i>scade!</i>
(iv)	<u>3rd</u>	<i>a ascund-<u>e</u></i>	'hide'	<i>ascund-</i>	\emptyset	<i>-e</i>	<i>ascunde!</i>
(v)	<u>4th</u>	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} a \text{ biru-}\underline{i} \\ a \text{ dor-}\underline{i} \\ a \text{ omor-}\underline{\hat{i}} \\ a \text{ ur-}\underline{\hat{i}} \end{array} \right.$	'conquer'	<i>biru-</i>	\emptyset	<i>-e</i>	<i>biruie!</i>
(vi)			'wish'	<i>dor-</i>	<i>-esc-</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>dorește!</i>
(vii)			'kill'	<i>omor-</i>	\emptyset	<i>-e</i>	<i>omoară!</i>
(viii)			'hate'	<i>ur-</i>	<i>-esc-</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>urăște!</i>

As a rule, Romanian uses the same affixes for singular Imperatives as for the 3rd person singular Present Indicative forms, as stated in section 1.2.2.1 (cf. (8)).

For the non-infixed verbs from the 1st conjugation, the inflectional affix *-ă* is added to the verbal root (see (i)).

As for (ii), following Ruhlen (1973), the phonological derivation is as follows.

(83)	UNDERLYING REPRESENTATION	#lukr+ez+ə#	
	STRESS PLACEMENT	lukr+éz+ə	
	DIPHTEGIZATION	lukr+eáz+ə	é, ó → eá, oá / __ C(e, ə)
	PHONETIC LEVEL	[lukreázə]	

Regarding (v), the phonological rules are illustrated below (Ruhlen 1973:94; Chitoran, 1997:125).

(84) UNDERLYING REPRESENTATION	#biru+e#	
STRESS PLACEMENT	bíru+e	
YOD INSERTING (EPENTHESIS)	bíru+je	∅ → j / V__ [e,i]
PHONETIC LEVEL	[bíruje]	

To account for (vi), Ruhlen (1973:170) proposes the following rules:

(85) UNDERLYING REPRESENTATION	#dor+esk+e#	
STRESS PLACEMENT	dor+ésk+e	
VELAR PALATALIZATION	dor+ésč+e	k, g → č, j / __i, e #
SIBILANT PALATALIZATION	dor+ěšč+e	s, z → š, ž / __ (t (r)) $\left. \begin{array}{l} +\text{high} \\ -\text{back} \end{array} \right\}$
STRIDENT DISSIMILATION	dor+ěšt+e	č, t ^s → t / __ š
PHONETIC LEVEL	[dorěšte]	

As for (vii), the derivation is as follows, following Ruhlen (1973:141).

(86) UNDERLYING REPRESENTATION	#omor+e#	
STRESS PLACEMENT	omór+e	
DIPHTEGIZATION	omoár+e	é, ó → eá, oá / __ C(e, ə)
'R' BACKING VOWEL	omoár+e	i, e → i, ə / r__
PHONETIC LEVEL	[omoáre]	

Going on to (viii), the phonological rules are as follows (Ruhlen 1973:172).

(87)	UNDERLYING REPRESENTATION	#ur+esk+e#	
	STRESS PLACEMENT	ur+ésk+e	
	VELAR PALATALIZATION	ur+ésč+e	k, g → č, j / __i, e #
	SIBILANT PALATALIZATION	ur+éšč+e	s, z → š, ž / __ (t (r)) + +high -back
	STRIDENT DISSIMILATION	ur+éšt+e	č, t ^s → t / __ š
	'R' BACKING VOWEL	ur+əšt+e	i, e → i, ə / r __
	PHONETIC LEVEL	[urəšte]	

For intransitive verbs which add the 'irregular' affix *-i* instead of *-e*, the phonological rules used for obtaining *mergi!* 'go!' are illustrated below (Ruhlen, 1973:42;97-99). I assume that the vowel alternation is due to the feature [+coronal] of the preceding consonant.

(88)	UNDERLYING REPRESENTATION	#merg+e#	
	STRESS PLACEMENT	mérg+e	
	VELAR PALATALIZATION	mérj+i	k, g → č, j / __i, e #
	VOWEL RAISING	mérg+i	e → i / C __ # [-ATR -high] [+high] [+cor]
	HIGH VOWEL REDUCTION	mérj+j	i, u → j, w / * b+l __ #
	PHONETIC LEVEL	[mérj]	

The phonological process of 'Vowel Raising' was very productive in the history of Romanian, as Ruhlen (1973:93) assumes. In his opinion, this process is restricted now in

Modern Romanian, and I assume that the vowel alternation *-e/-i* for the Imperative affix is a characteristic of verbs inherited from Latin. For most Romanian verbs (2nd, 3rd and 4th conjugation), the singular Imperative affixes are either *-ă* or *-e*. 28 intransitive Romanian verbs of the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th conjugation exhibit the inflectional Imperative affix *-i* instead of *-e*, being homophonous to the 2nd singular form of present indicative, to which the Imperative *stai!* 'stay!', from the 1st conjugation verb *a sta* can be added, as Pirvulescu & Roberge (1998b) note. Zanuttini (1997) notes the same alternation for Italian Imperatives, due, in her opinion to an oscillation between the vowels *-e* and *-i*. As for the form *stai!* 'stay!', it is derived from the Old Romanian Imperative form *stă* (see (23)) because of a process of vowel assimilation with the form for 2nd person singular Present Indicative, which coincide with the addressee, as proposed by Elcock (1961).

Plural Imperatives consist of verbal root, the thematic vowel, and inflectional material, that is the agreement affix *-Ń* added invariably to the verbal stem (which consists of the verbal root and the thematic vowel). Plural Imperatives do not use infixes and are homophonous with 2nd person plural Present Indicatives, as stated in section 1.2.3.1 (cf. ex.(13)).

(89) UNDERLYING REPRESENTATION	#kinta+t ^s +i#	
STRESS PLACEMENT	kintá+t ^s +i	
HIGH VOWEL REDUCTION	kintá+t ^s +j	i, u → j, w / * b+l __ #
PHONETIC LEVEL	[kintát ^s j]	

In sum, Romanian singular Imperatives add the inflectional material to the stem (the vowels *-ă*, *-e*, or *-i*). The stem consists of the verbal root and, in some cases, the inchoative suffixes *-ez-* for the 1st conjugation or *-esc-* for the 4th conjugation. The singular Imperatives ended in *-i* (which are homophonous with the 2nd singular Present Indicative) can be explained as phonological alternations. This proposal represents a criticism of Pirvulescu & Roberge's (1998a, b) proposal, since they do not provide an explanation for the *-i* ending exhibited by transitive verbs as *a vedea* 'see' and *a auzi* 'hear'. For 'irregular' singular Imperatives like *du!* 'bring!', *fă!* 'do!', *zi!* 'say!', and *vino!* 'come!', the explanation was presented in section 1.2.2.2.

Romanian plural Imperatives add the inflectional material (the syllable *-fi*) to the stem (consisting of the root and the theme vowel) and are homophonous with the 2nd plural Present Indicative.

3.4 The Locus of the Imperative Operator

In this section I will propose, following Rivero (1994), that the locus of the Imperative operator is in C^0 for true Romanian Imperatives, and in T/Agr for surrogate Romanian Imperatives. As a diagnostic for the existence of an Imperative operator in C for Romanian, I will present the position of adverbs with regard to Imperatives.

3.4.1 Romanian Imperatives and Adverbs

I will examine in this section the behavior of Romanian Imperatives with adverbs. The position of the adverbs with respect to the Romanian Imperatives will be a test for the raising of true Romanian Imperatives to C⁰.

Despite the fact that Romanian is a 'free word order' language, 'bona fide' (authentic, or usual) adverbs cannot intervene between the subject and the main verb:

(90) a. Ion pleacă azi /repede /acolo.

Ion go.IND.PRES.3.Sg today/quickly /there

'Ion goes today/quickly/there.'

b. *Ion azi /repede /acolo pleacă.

Ion today/quickly /there go.IND.PRES.3.Sg

With respect to Imperatives, 'bona fide' adverbs appear mostly after both positive and negative Imperatives (91a, b). Only 'bona fide' time adverbs can precede Imperatives (91c,d), and they are left dislocated in this case.

(91) a. Citește aici/acum/repede!

read.IMP.2.Sg here/now/quickly

'Read here/now/quickly!'

b. Nu citi aici/acum/repede!

NEG read.IMP.2.Sg here/now/quickly

'Do not read here/now/quickly!'

c. Acum, citește!

now read.IMP.2.Sg

'Now read!'

d. Acum, nu citi!

now NEG read.IMP.2.Sg

'Now do not read!'

In line with Cinque's (1997) proposal that adverbs occur in the specifier of a functional head with which they share semantic context, the position occupied by the Imperative with respect to the adverbs reveals the position to which the verb has moved. Considering adverbs which appear in the higher part of the clause, both true (e.g., 92a), and surrogate (92b), positive Imperatives precede the adverb *sigur* 'sure' (the equivalent of *sicuro* in Italian). This adverb is considered to be the head of the MoodP by Zanuttini (1997). On this analysis, Imperatives cannot be just VPs as Pirvulescu & Roberge (1998) claim. If the Imperatives were VPs, it should have been impossible for them to rise in the first position, bypassing the adverb *sigur* 'sure', as in (92).

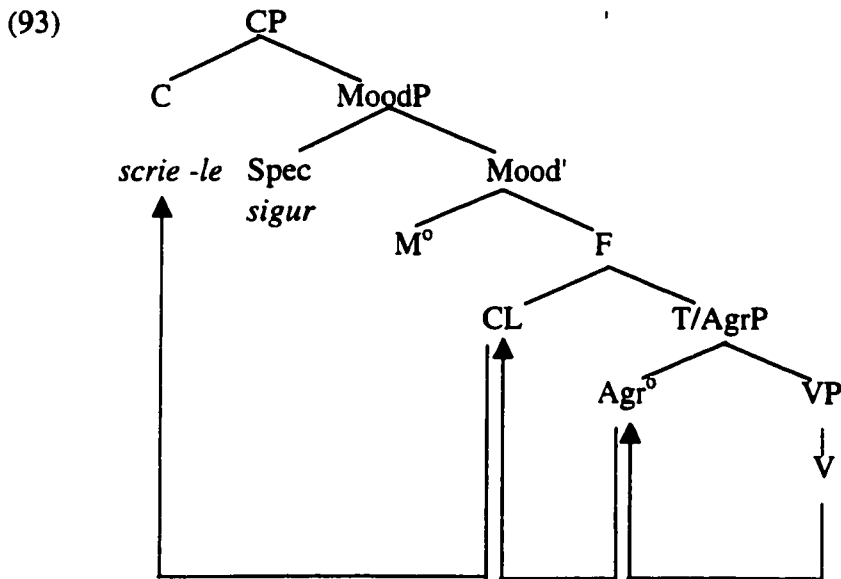
(92) a. Scrie -i sigur!

write.IMP.2.Sg him.CL surely

'Write him for sure!'

b. Scrieți -le sigur!
 write.IMP.2.PI them.CL surely
 'Write them for sure!'

In (92a and b), the Imperative verb picks up its person feature from T/Agr, then raises to the clitic position, where it picks the clitic up. The verb-clitic raises to C⁰ for checking its Imperative feature located there, bypassing the adverb *sigur* 'sure', which is in the specifier of MoodP (see 93).



There are in Romanian 'special' adverbs, which can intervene between the auxiliary and the Past Participle of the main verb (94a), thus they contrast with 'bona fide' adverbs

(94b). These 'special' adverbs are the monosyllabic 'intensifiers' *mai* 'more', *tot* 'still', *iar* 'again', *și* 'still', and the monosyllabic restrictive *cam* 'approximately'. These adverbs are labelled 'clitic adverbs' by Rivero (1994: 80).

(94) a. Ion a mai și scris.

Ion PERF. 3.Sg more still written

'Ion has written this too.'

b. *Ion a acum/aici/repede scris.

Ion PERF. 3.Sg now/here/quickly written

In Rivero's (1994:80-85) analysis, which we adopt here, these monosyllabic intensifiers are not full-fledged X^{\max} which precede a verb, heading a functional projection (namely F_2) in the same way pronominal clitics do. These 'clitic adverbs' form a V^0 with the V.

As to their position vis-à-vis Imperatives, they precede the positive Imperatives, as they adjoin to the Imperative verb in its movement to C^0 (95a). As for the negated Imperatives, the order is Negation-clitic adverb-Imperative (95b).

(95) a Mai citește -!

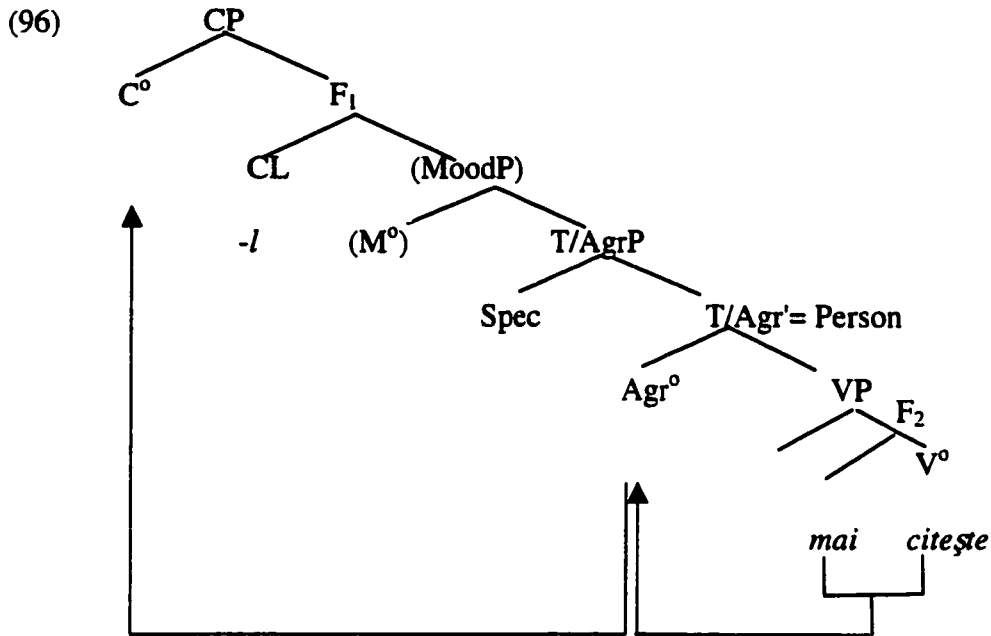
more write.IMP.2.Sg it.CL

'Write it more!'

When Imperatives are followed by pronominal clitics, the order is clitic adverb-Imperative-pronominal clitic (95). Following Rivero's (1994:87) analysis, the syntactic structure for

(95a) has the clitic adverb adjoined to the main verb, heading a functional projection (namely F_2). Pronominal clitics adjoin to an empty head of a functional projection (namely F_1), which projects above T/Agr (cf. Kayne 1991, 1994).

The structure for (95) is as follows.



The verb V^0 to which the clitic adverb is attached (Rivero, 1994:80) moves to T/Agr in order to check Person, and then moves to C^0 , leaving the pronominal clitic behind.

Whenever present, the Negation blocks the Imperative verb movement to C, and the order is Negation-clitic adverb(s)-Imperative verb, as in (97), with the negated Imperative verb (to which the clitic adverb is adjoined) in T/Agr.

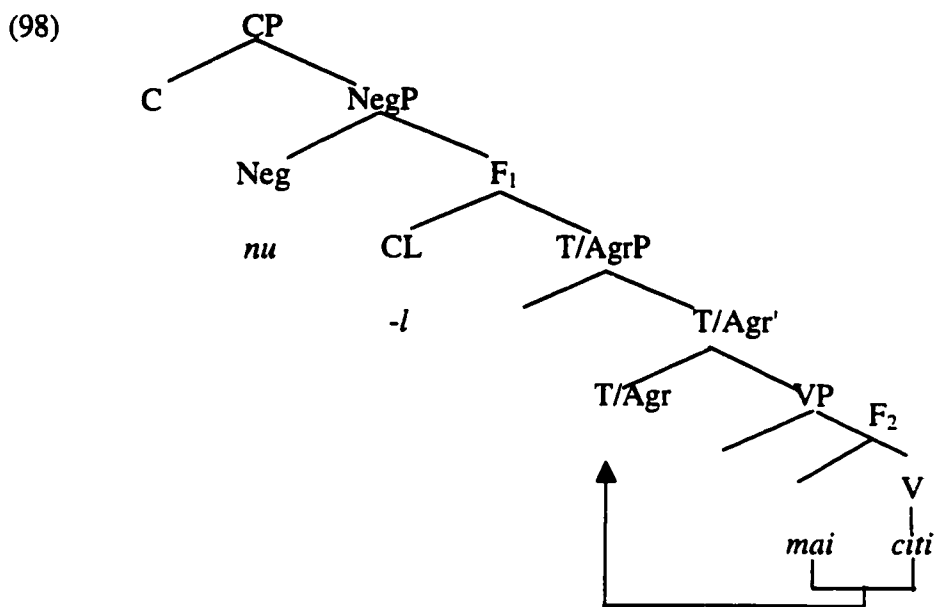
(97) Nu -l mai citi!

(NEGATED/INFINITIVE IMPERATIVE)

NEG it.CL more read.IMP.2.Sg

'Do not read it!'

Following Rivero (1994:72;87), the structure for (97) is as follows.



Going on to subjunctives with Imperative value, when positive, the order is subjunctive particle - clitic adverb - subjunctive/Imperative verb form (99a). When negated, the Negation precedes the subjunctive/Imperative verb form (98b), as follows.

(99) a. Să mai scrii!

(SUBJUNCTIVE IMPERATIVE)

SUBJ.PART more write.SUBJ.2.Sg

'Write more!'

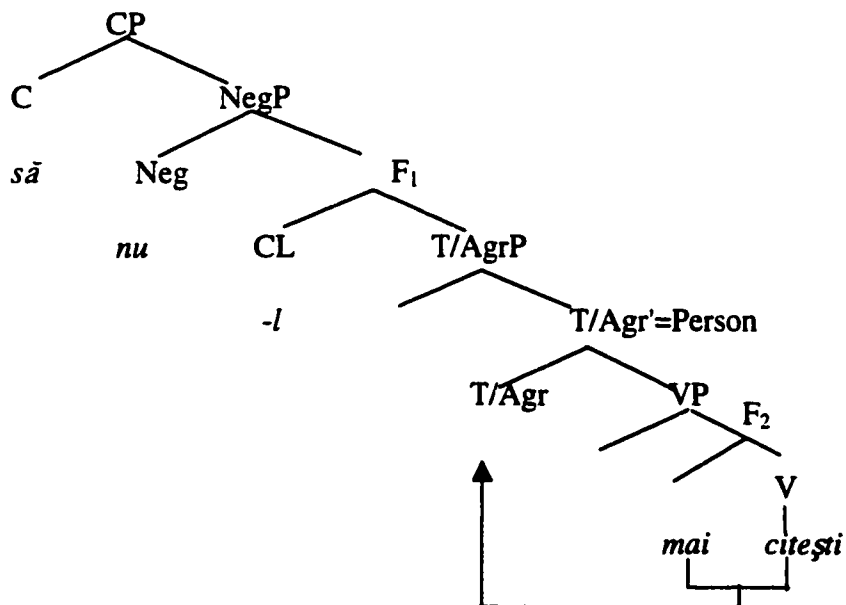
b. Să nu mai scrii!

SUBJ.PART NEG more write.SUBJ.2.Sg

'Do not write anymore!'

If we adopt the idea that the subjunctive particle *să* moved to C or is in M^0 above Neg (see Rivero, 1994:87), then the structure for (99a) has the V^0 (i.e., the subjunctive/Imperative verb and the clitic adverb) in T/Agr. The same explanation holds for (99b), with the Negation heading the NegP, which takes T/Agr, where the Subjunctive verb moved, as a complement. When pronominal clitics are attached, subjunctive/Imperatives have the same path (100).

(100)



In sum, the position of Romanian adverbs is relevant for the movement of true Romanian Imperatives to C° in order to check the Imperative feature located there, as well as for the movement of surrogate Romanian Imperatives to T/Agr, for checking their Imperative feature.

3.4.2 The Subject of Romanian Imperatives

The subject of Romanian Imperatives is not necessarily expressed, being the included in the verbal affix, as in (30), which I will repeat in (101)). As generally assumed, since Romanian is a *pro-drop* language, the subject of Romanian Imperative verb is usually *pro*, and is licensed in Spec IP (T/Agr) position (see Montapanyane, 1994; Posner, 1996, among others).

(101) (Voi), veniți!

you, come.IMP.2.PL

'(You), come!

Following Zubizaretta (1998), the Imperative vocative subject in (101) is the personal pronoun which receives emphatic focus, since can be associated with the reading from (102).

- (102) (Voi), veniți! (nu ei!)
you, come.IMP.2.PI (not them!)
'(You), come!(not them!)

In Romanian, only Imperatives (both positive and negated), and subjunctives with Imperative value can be associated with vocative nouns, which are generated in the specifier of CP. No other finite verbs can be associated with a vocative proper noun, which have distinct morphology for this case in Romanian, being associated with the vocative affixes *-e* for masculine, and *-o* for feminine.

- (103) a. Ioane, vino!

Ion, come.IMP.2.Sg

'Ion, come!

- b. Mario, vino!

Maria, come.IMP.2.S

'Come, Maria!'

- c. Ioane, nu veni!

Ion, NEG come.IMP.2.Sg

'Ion, do not come!'

- d. Ioane, să vii!

Ion, CONJ. come.SUBJ.2.Sg

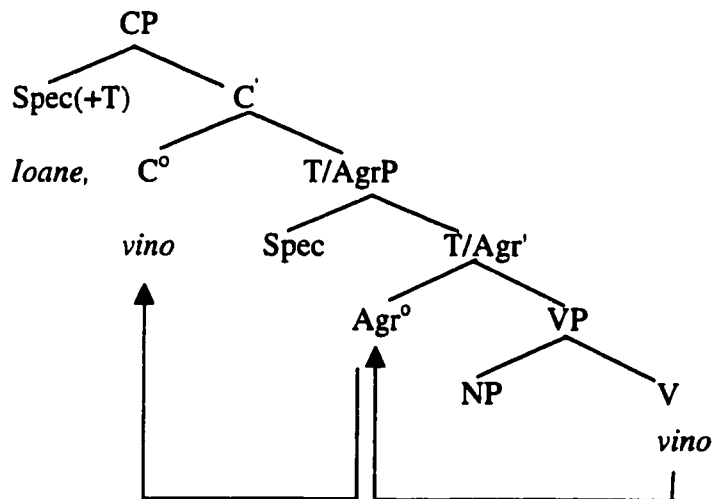
'Ion, come!'

e.**Ioane, veneai.*

Ion, (you) were coming

The initial position of Romanian vocatives can be explained by a Topic position, as assumed by Montapanyane (1994). In her opinion, there are two distinct hierarchical positions for topic and focus in Romanian. Topic phrases adjoin to CP, whereas focus phrases adjoin to IP. For Montapanyane, focus adds new information and bears the main sentence stress, and topic carries old information and bears little stress. Adopting her proposal for focus and topic in Romanian, the subjects of Romanian Imperatives in (103) are topicalized (+T), being located in SpecCP, as follows.

(104)



In sum, I assume that Romanian Imperatives usually lack an overt subject. When the subject of Imperatives is realized by a VOCATIVE, it occupies the slot of SpecCP, as it is topicalized.

3.5 The 'Regular' Pattern

3.5.1 True Romanian Imperatives

Following Rivero (1994:103), Romanian has a 'true' Imperative form for the 2nd singular paradigm (105), homophonous with the 3rd person singular of Present Indicative.

(105) a. Cântă!

sing.IMP.2.Sg

'Sing!'

According to Rivero (1994:104-105), most true Romanian Imperatives exhibit typical Imperative behavior:

1) cannot be embedded (106):

(106) *Ți-am spus să cântă!

(RIVERO,1994:104)

(I) told you IMP.sing.2.Sg

2) cannot be negated (107):

(107) *Nu cântă!

NEG. sing.IMP.2.Sg

3) take postverbal pronominal clitics (108):

- (108) Cântă -mi!
 sing.IMP.2.Sg me.CL
 'Sing to me!'

While most 2nd person singular Imperatives coinciding with 3rd person singular Present Indicative always have the above properties, the singular Imperative paradigms that end in *-i* instead of *-e*, and coincide with 3rd person singular Present Indicative do not have all the properties. They may be embedded (109), and the explanation may lie in the fact that they homophonous with the Subjunctive paradigm (Romanian subjunctives: *să stai/vezi /arzi /mori*).

- (109) Ți- am spus să stai / vezi / arzi / mori ...
 YOU.CL PERF told SUBJ.PART stay.SUBJ.2.Sg/see.SUBJ.2.Sg/ burn.SUBJ.2.Sg/ die.SUBJ.2.Sg
 'I told you to stay / see / burn / die...'

I follow Zanuttini's (1997:115) proposal that Italian *-i* Imperative verbs are in fact true Imperatives (i.e., (110)). Their homophony with subjunctives can be seen as a result of parallel phonological transformations, and I adopt it for Romanian.

- (110) Batti! (from *battere* 'hit', second class verb) (ITALIAN)
 hit.IMP.2.Sg
 'Hit!'

It cannot be assumed that these Imperatives are subjunctives with Imperative reading, since these Romanian *-i* Imperatives cannot be negated (111). Thus, I assume that they are in fact true Imperatives, like their Italian counterparts.

- (111) *Nu stai / vezi / arzi / mori!
NEG stay.IMP.2.Sg/ see.IMP.2.Sg/ burn.IMP.2.S / die.IMP.2.Sg

The possibility of being followed by pronominal clitics can be checked only with respect to *vezi!* 'see' (112a) and *auzi!* 'hear' (112b), since those are the only transitive ones. As for the verbs which have both *-e* and *-i* endings, when transitive, the order is verb-clitic (112c):

- (112) a. Vezi -!
see.IMP.2.Sg it.CL
'See it!'
- b. Auzi -!
hear.IMP.2.Sg it.CL
'Hear it!'
- c. Arde -!
burn.IMP.2.Sg it.CL
'Burn it!'

The explanation for the 'irregular' affix *-i* may also lie in the history of Romanian, as stated in 1.2.2.1. In Old Romanian there was confusion between the Imperative form and the 2nd person singular present Indicative, since the addressee is 2nd person (Elcock, 1960).

The other 'irregular' true Imperatives *du!* 'bring', *fă!* 'do', *zi!* 'say') resist embedding:

(113) a. * *Ți -am spus să vino /du / fă /zi !*

CL.YOU PERF tell SUBJ.PART COME.IMP.2.Sg /take.IMP.2.Sg/ DO.IMP.2.S /say.IMP.2.S

As stated in section 1.2.2.2, while they can be negated, these 'irregular' Romanian Imperative forms are usually followed by pronominal clitics:

(114) a. *Du -l de aici!*

take.IMP.2.Sg it.CL from here

'Take it from here!'

b. *Fă -l repede!*

do.IMP.2.Sg it.CL quickly

'Do it quickly!'

d. *Zi -le acum!*

say.IMP.2.Sg them.CL now

'Say them now!'

The irregular Imperative *vino!* 'come!' can not be embedded (115a), or negated (115b), and is followed by pronominal clitics (115c)

(115) a. *Ți -am spus să vino!
you.CL PERF.1.Sg told CONJ come.IMP.2.Sg

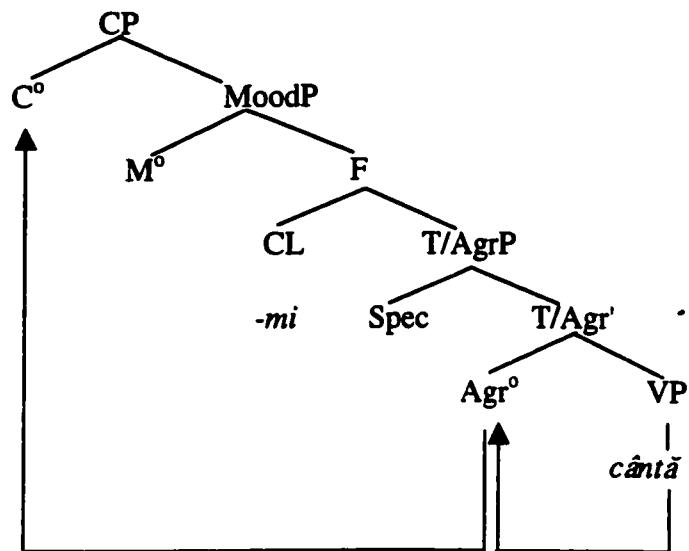
b. *Nu vino!
NEG come.IMP.2.Sg

c. Vino -ți în fire!
come.IMP.2.Sg you.CL in mind

'Make up your mind!'

Following Rivero's (1994-1998), Zanuttini's (1997), and Han's (1998) proposals for an Imperative operator located in C^0 , I consider that 2nd person singular positive Romanian Imperatives move to check the Imperative feature located in C^0 in overt syntax. Hence, they can be dubbed 'true Imperatives', since this is where they get their [+Imperative] value. The syntactic structure for (108) is as follows.

(116)



The true Romanian Imperative verb moves overtly to C°, the site of the Imperative operator, bypassing the clitic(s).

3.5.2 Surrogate Romanian Imperatives

3.5.2.1 Plural Imperatives

The forms of Romanian Imperatives used for the 2nd person positive plural paradigm are homophonous with the Present Indicative plural forms for this person, hence 'surrogate' Imperatives, (as in Italian and the varieties from southern Italy and Catalan (Zanuttini, 1997):

(117) a. Cântați!

(ROMANIAN)

sing.IMP.2.PL

(INDICATIVE/SURROGATE FORM)

'Sing!'

- b. **Fatelo!** (ITALIAN;ZANUTTINI, 1997: 143)
do.IMP.2.PI-it.CL (INDICATIVE/SURROGATE FORM)
'Call it!'
- c. **Parleu!** (CATALAN;ZANUTTINI, 1997: 108)
talk.IMP.2.PI (INDICATIVE/SURROGATE FORM)
'Talk!'

The same situation exists in Italian (Zanuttini, 1997:106) and Albanian (Rivero, 1994:108), which share the morphology of the 2nd plural Indicative for the plural form of the Imperative, as Romanian does.

- (118) a. **Telefonate!** (ITALIAN)
IMP.call.2.PI (INDICATIVE/SURROGATE FORM)
'Call!'
- b. **Trego-ni!** (ALBANIAN)
IMP.tell.2.PI (INDICATIVE/SURROGATE FORM)
'Tell!'

The 2nd person plural Imperative paradigm is deemed to be a surrogate pattern (since it is the same as to the Present Indicative 2nd person plural). This plural form can also be negated, as in Italian and Albanian:

- (119) a. Nu cântați! (ROMANIAN)
 NEG sing.IMP.2.PI (INDICATIVE/SURROGATE FORM)
 'Do not sing!'
- b. Non telefonate! (ITALIAN;ZANUTTINI,1997:108)
 NEG call.IMP.2.PI (INDICATIVE/SURROGATE FORM)
 'Do not call!'
- c. Mos i trego-ni! (ALBANIAN;RIVERO, 1994:108)
 NEG him tell.IMP.2.PI (INDICATIVE/SURROGATE FORM)
 'Don't tell him!'

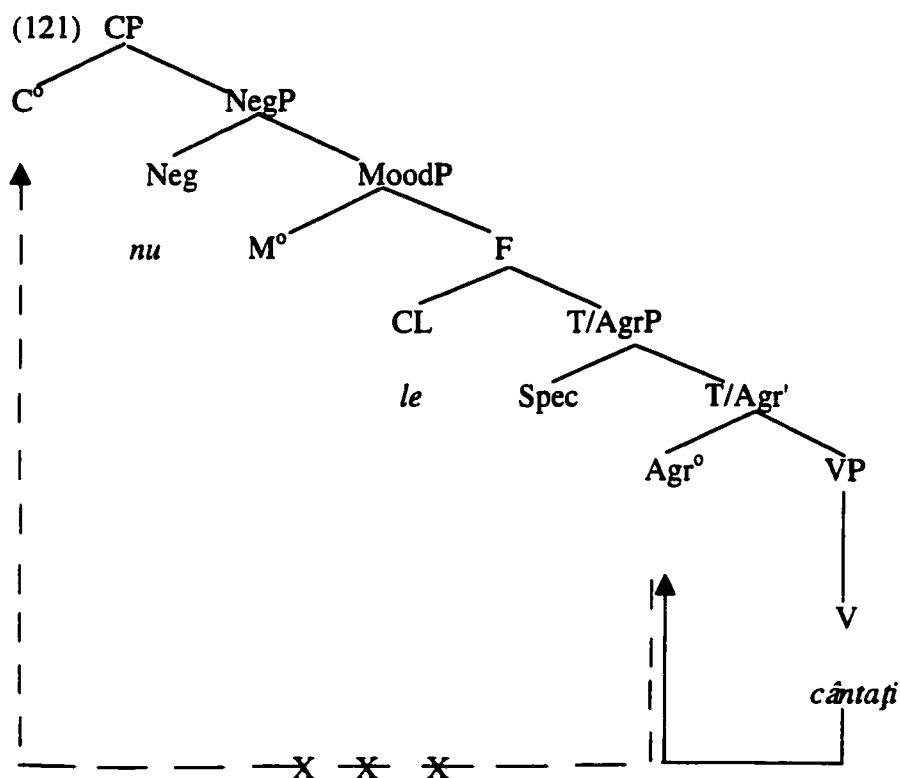
Interestingly, when positive, surrogate Romanian plural Imperatives are followed by pronominal clitics, as true Imperatives are:

- (120) Cântați -le! (PRESENT INDICATIVE: *cântați*)
 sing.IMP.2.PI them.CL
 'Sing them!'

This could confirm Zanuttini's (1997) opinion, that the position of pronominal clitics is not relevant for the distinction between true and surrogate Imperatives.

Han's (1998) proposal, that Imperatives, both true and surrogate, move to C^o in overt or covert syntax for checking the feature of the Imperative operator located there seems to be consistent with this situation, as well.

In my opinion, following Rivero (1994), these (surrogate) plural Imperatives raise to T/Agr to check their agreement features and their Imperative feature located there. When negation is present, it creates a minimality effect, and plural Imperatives remain in T/Agr. When Negation is not present, surrogate/plural Romanian Imperatives move further to C⁰, as in Bulgarian, as a stylistic fronting, in PF (see Rivero, 1998).



Romanian plural Imperatives are surrogate Imperatives, with specific properties stipulated by Rivero (1994): they borrow a present indicative form, can be embedded, and can be negated.

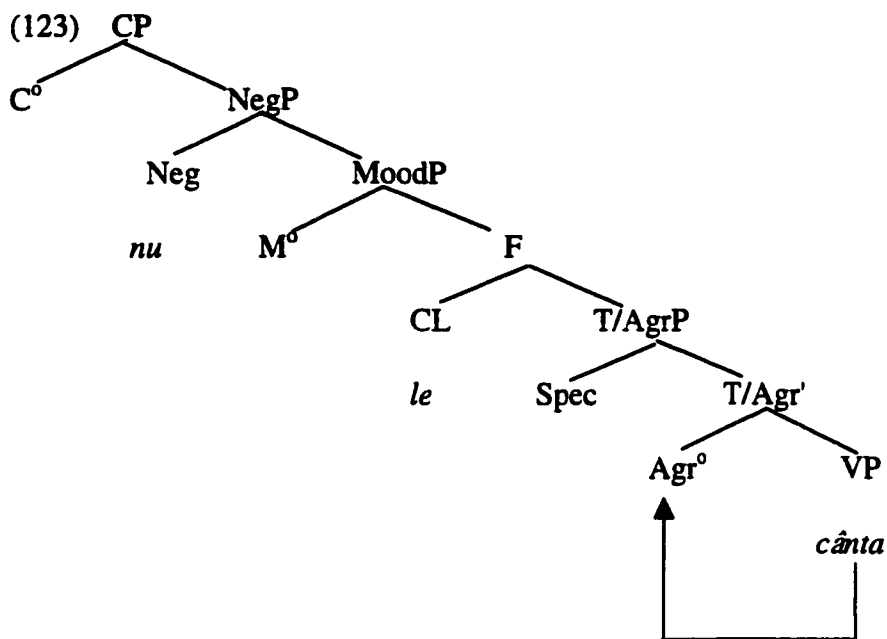
3.5.2.2 Singular Negated Imperatives

Other surrogate Romanian Imperatives are identical in morphology to an infinitive (used in for negating the singular paradigm (122a,b).

- (122) a. Nu cânta! (INFINITIVE: *a cânta*)
NEG sing.IMP.2.Sg (SURROGATE FORM)
'Do not sing!'
- b. Nu le cânta! (INFINITIVE: *a cânta*)
NEG them.CL sing.IMP.2.Sg (SURROGATE FORM)
'Do not sing to them!'

The surrogate paradigm used to negate 2nd singular Imperatives borrows its form from infinitive (122a,b), can obviously be negated (122a), and is always preceded by pronominal clitics (122b). Its inability to be embedded is due to the fact that in Romanian, embedded infinitives are replaced by subjunctives, (see Dobrovie-Sorin, 1994, among others).

The structure of those surrogate paradigms (e.g., 122b) can be derived, following Rivero (1994) as below.



The surrogate Romanian Imperative will rise overtly to Agr/T, in order to check its Imperative feature located there.

Negated singular Romanian Imperatives are surrogate Imperatives, with the Imperative feature located in T/Agr (I^0). Thus, they can be easily negated, and are preceded by pronominal clitics.

3.5.2.3 Romanian Subjunctives with Imperative Value

As stated in section 1.3, Romanian subjunctives may have an Imperative value (124a). These Subjunctive/surrogate Imperatives have a politeness flavor, but they can easily substitute for real Imperatives. They can be embedded (124b), can be negated (124c), and are preceded by pronominal clitics (124d), as shown below:

- (124) a. Să cânti! (IMPERATIVE VALUE)
 SUBJ.PART sing.SUBJ.2.Sg
 'Sing!'
- b. Am spus să cânti. (IMPERATIVE VALUE)
 IPERF.told SUBJ.PART sing.SUBJ.2.Sg
 'I told you to sing!'
- c. Să nu cânti! (IMPERATIVE VALUE)
 SUBJ.PART NEG sing.SUBJ.2.Sg
 'Do not sing!'
- d. Să le cânti! (IMPERATIVE VALUE)
 SUBJ.PART them.CL sing.SUBJ.2.Sg
 'Sing them!'

As for other languages that use a subjunctive paradigm as 'surrogate' Imperative, Catalan forms the negative Imperative by negating the subjunctive form of the 2nd person. singular (see 117c). Spanish and Sardinian (Zanuttini, 1997:109-111) use the subjunctive form for negating both singular and plural Imperative forms as shown below.

- (125) a. No parlis! (CATALAN)
 NEG talk.IMP.2.Sg (SUBJUNCTIVE FORM)
- b. No hables! (SPANISH)
 NEG talk.IMP.2.Sg (SUBJUNCTIVE FORM)

c. No hablad!

(SPANISH)

NEG talk.IMP.2.PI

(SUBJUNCTIVE FORM)

'Do not talk!'

(126) a. Non kántes!

(SARDINIAN)

NEG sing.IMP.2.Sg

(SUBJUNCTIVE FORM)

b. Non kantétas!

(SARDINIAN)

NEG sing.IMP.2.PI

(SUBJUNCTIVE FORM)

'Do not sing!'

Surrogate Romanian Imperatives that use the subjunctive paradigm are not restricted to the 2nd person, and they can be used for all the persons with an Imperative value. In Romanian, Subjunctive is used as a surrogate Imperative without the Subjunctive particle/complementizer *să* (127a, b), and can even be inverted (127b):

(127) a. Trăiască România!

long live.SUBJ.3.Sg Romania

'Long live Romania!'

b. Ducă -se de aici!

GO.SUBJ.3.Sg REFL from here

'Let him go from here!'

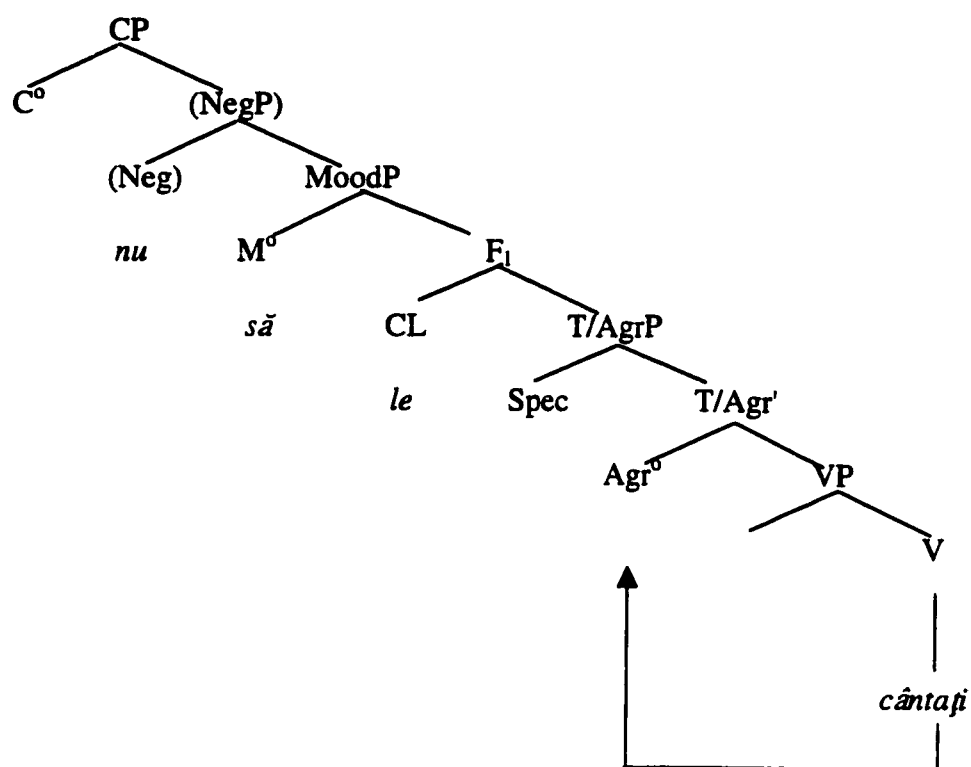
Romanian does not select subjunctive to express only negated Imperatives, as other languages (such as Catalan, Spanish, and Sardinian) do. The pattern for Romanian

subjunctive/surrogate Imperatives is explained by Rivero (1994:105) by the position of the subjunctive particle *să* in the head of Mood phrase, and by the raising of the verb to T/Agr position, where the Imperative feature for Subjunctive/surrogate Imperatives are located.

The negated Imperative compound archaic form that uses the auxiliary *a avea* 'have' in the subjunctive plus the infinitive form of the verb *nimeni să n-aibă a băntui...* 'nobody is allowed to travel' in (15) could be explained by the same surrogate/subjunctive Imperative verb movement to T/Agr, then to Mood, or by the existence of a Modal as a complement for NegP, as Zanuttini(1997) proposes.

Adopting Rivero's (1994) proposal that Romanian subjunctive/surrogate Imperatives move to T/Agr in order to check their Imperative feature located there, I assume the following structure for the Romanian Subjunctive/surrogate Imperatives:

(128)



The Subjunctive Imperative verb checks its Imperative feature in T/Agr, then, if *să* is absent, continues to raise to MoodP (since M⁰ is lexically empty). When negated, Subjunctive/surrogate Imperatives remain in T/Agr. In this case, the conjunction *să* left-adjoins to the negation head, or raises to C⁰, in order to receive the illocutionary force from there.

Han's (1998) proposal that all Imperatives (both surrogate and true) raise to C⁰ in order to check the Imperative operator located there seems to be attractive as well. In her opinion, true Imperatives move to C⁰ in overt syntax, before Spell-out, and suppletive Imperatives move covertly, in LF. Her proposal does carry over to completely, in my opinion, with Romanian Subjunctive Imperatives, since they exhibit a slight semantic

distinction with respect to true Imperatives (in that they express more a request than a command).

3.6 The 'Irregular' Pattern

In this section I will investigate the contrasting elements that allow us to call Romanian a language with a 'mixed' Imperative syntax.

First, Romanian has a 'true' Imperative form only for the 2nd person singular form, while second plural is a surrogate form. Second, there are in Romanian negated true Imperatives. Third, the pronominal clitics can both follow or precede Romanian Imperatives.

3.6.1 Negated True Romanian Imperatives

The mixed character of Romanian negated Imperatives can be observed by taking into account the singular true forms that can be negated:

- (129) a. TRUE NEGATED IMPERATIVES: *nu du!* 'do not bring!' (ROMANIAN)
nu zi! 'do not say!'
nu fă! 'do not do!'

b. Ta men poiei, ta de mē poiei. (ANCIENT GREEK; RIVERO&TERZI, 1995: 314)

these PART do.IMP.2.Sg, these PART NEG. do..IMP.2.Sg

(TRUE IMPERATIVE)

'Do this, but do not do that.'

c. Ne čitaj!

(SERBO-CROATIAN; HAN, 1998: 16)

NEG read.IMP.2.Sg

(TRUE IMPERATIVE)

'Do not read!'

These instances of true negated Romanian Imperatives may very well be a residue of Old Romanian. If in Old Romanian, like in Old Romance, Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian, and Ancient Greek, the negated Imperative paradigm was productive (see Rivero & Terzi, 1995), it follows that in Old Romanian Imperative features were located in T/Agr.

Another pair of verbs which take Negation only marginally in Modern Romanian is *nu aibi!*, 'do not have!', *nu fii!* 'do not be!'. In Modern Romanian, the 'regular' paradigms (which use an infinitive surrogate form) are used for their outdated negated counterparts: *nu avea!*, *nu fi!*.

There are two ways to explain negated true Imperatives in Romanian. First, it is possible that these Imperatives have more layers of morphological structure than those that are not negated, and could fit Zanuttini's proposal for a Mood head that must be filled when preverbal Neg is present. The second explanation is based on the diachrony of the language. Old Romanian behaved like old Italian, old Milanese on one hand, and like Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian and Albanian on the other hand. In old Romance and Slavic, true Imperatives could be negated. Hence, I assume that in Old Romanian, true Imperatives did not move overtly to C⁰. Their movement to C⁰ was not obligatory and it was triggered

by functional categories (such as pronominal clitics), not by checking formal features (as Rivero, (1998) proposes for Ancient Greek, Bulgarian or Serbo-Croatian). Therefore in Old Romanian true Imperatives were negated, in which case they did not move higher than I°.

In Modern Romanian, surrogate Imperatives using infinitivals can be employed instead of the true negated Imperatives. Both forms express the same meaning, with the same IMPERATIVE value:

(132) a. SUPPLETIVE NEGATED IMPERATIVES: *nu duce!* 'do not bring!'

nu zice! 'do not say!'

nu face! 'do not do

b. INFINITIVE FORMS: *a duce* 'to bring', *a zice*, 'to tell', *a face* 'to do').

Hence, in Modern Romanian, surrogate negated Imperative forms (132) coexist with true negated Imperatives (129), that are reminiscent of Old Romanian (G.L.R., 1968; Rossetti, 1986).

Han's (1998) proposal that Imperatives can move overtly (in the syntax) or covertly (at LF) onto C°, the locus of the Imperative operator that encodes illocutionary force in a language can also be adopted for Romanian true negated Imperatives. Morphological and phonological constraints do not apply at LF, then the Imperative verb can move alone, and strands the clitic-like negation and the pronominal clitics.

True Romanian negated Imperatives can be explained by the existence of more syntactic layers in Imperatives' structure, as in Zanuttini's proposal (1997), and

diachronically as remnant constructions, or by the covert movement of the Imperative verb to C⁰ in LF, as in Han's (1998) proposal.

3.6.2 Pronominal Clitics and Romanian Imperatives

Another reason that sustains the proposal that Romanian has a 'mixed' Imperative structure is the position of pronominal clitics in relation to Imperatives. Romanian Imperatives can be followed or preceded by pronominal clitics. As generally assumed, true Imperatives precede the clitics. In Romanian, this pattern is not always followed (Old Romanian, 16th century, cf. Rosetti 1986: 693):

(133) Ce te scoală și stă în picioarele tale.

PART YOU.CL stand up.IMP.2.Sg and stay.IMP.2.Sg on feet.the yours

'Stand up and stay on your own feet!'

Diachronically, it can be inferred that old Romanian behaved as Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian behave now, hence Imperative verb movement was triggered by functional categories, as the question particle *li* and the clitics are in Bulgarian (Rivero, 1998:9). In Bulgarian, Imperative verb movement is a stylistic fronting, with these functional categories as attractor, so movement need not always apply (134).

(134) Ela i ja cheti!

(BULGARIAN, RIVERO, 1998: 7)

come.IMP.2.Sg and it.CL read.IMP.2.Sg

'Come and read it!'

For Old Romanian, I assume that the particle *ce* in (133) is in the SpecCP or in the C position, and the Imperative verb does not raise higher than T/Agr.

In Modern Romanian, clitics can occur preverbally, for both plural and singular Imperative forms, but only for special cases:

(135) a. Scuză- mă, te rog / Scuzați -mă, vă rog

excuse.IMP.2.Sg me.CL, please/excuse.IMP.2..PL me.CL, please

'Excuse me, please!'

b. Mă scuză, te rog / mă scuzați, vă rog

me.CL excuse.IMP.2.Sg. please / me.CL excuse.IMP.2.PI, please

'Excuse me, please!'

As a rule, the pattern is Imperative verb-clitic (135a, 136a). Pronominal clitics can also appear topicalized, presumably in a special register (135b, 136b).

(136) a. Cântă -mi -!

IMP.sing.2.Sg me.CL it.CL

'Sing it to me!'

b.? Mi -l cântă! (mie, nu altcuiva!)
 me.CL it.CL IMP.sing.2.Sg (to me, not to someone else!)
 'Sing it to me! (to me, not to someone else!)

Following Rivero's (1994-1998) proposal about the movement of true Imperatives to C° in order to check the Imperative feature located there, the preferred verb-clitic order situation can be easily explained. The Imperative verb moves first to T/Agr to check its agreement features, then to C°. As for (136b), the clitics are topicalized and are located in the Spec of the CP, following Montapanyane (1994). I consider that if the clitics are focused, they head FocusP, which takes IP (T/Agr) as a complement. I assume that the situation is reminiscent of Old Romanian, where the locus of the Imperative feature was T/Agr, like in Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, and Albanian. Like in the above enumerated languages, in Old Romanian, the movement of the Imperative verb to C° was a stylistic fronting, triggered by functional categories (see Rivero, 1998).

Interestingly, when negated, Romanian Imperatives behave like other verbal forms as to their relation to pronominal clitics. These pronominal clitics precede the verb, even when the negated form is a 'true' Imperative, as in Albanian and Bulgarian (Rivero, 1994):

(137) a. Nu le fã! (ROMANIAN)
 NEG them.CL IMP.sing.2.PI
 'Do not do those things!'

b. Mos e digj!

(ALBANIAN; RIVERO, 1994: 108)

NEG. it.CL burn.IMP

'Don't burn it!'

c. Ne ja četi!

(BULGARIAN; RIVERO, 1997: 10)

NEG it.CL read.IMP..2.Sg

'Do not read it!'

Pronominal clitics can follow (138a) or precede (138b) Romanian Imperatives, when a constituent is placed initially.

(138) a. Cărțile, citește -mi -le!

books.the, read.IMP.2.Sg CL.me them.CL

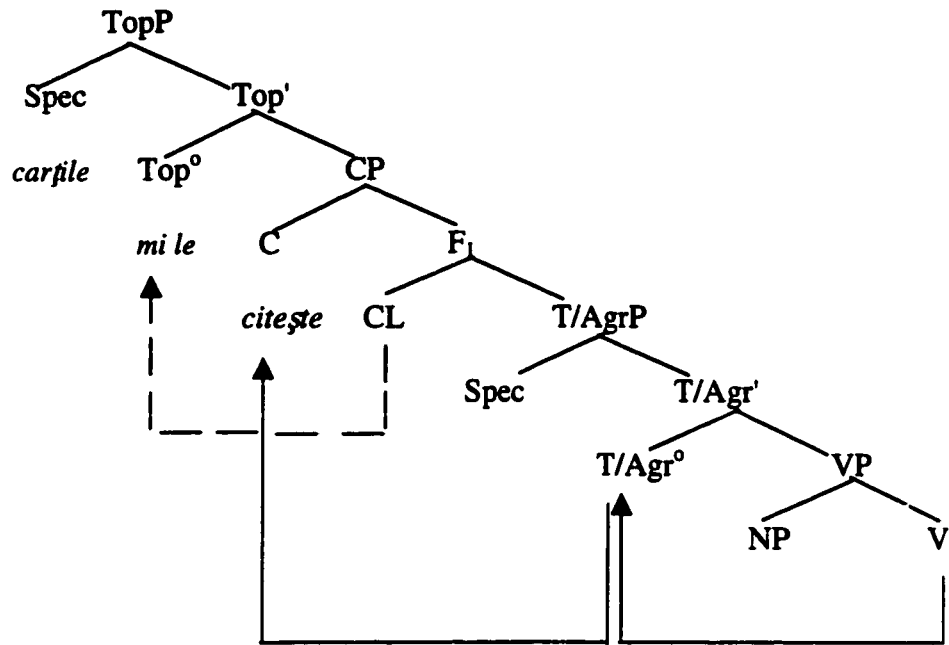
b. Cărțile, mi le citește! (mie, nu altcuiva!)

books.the, me.CL them.CL read.IMP.2.Sg (to me, not to someone else!)

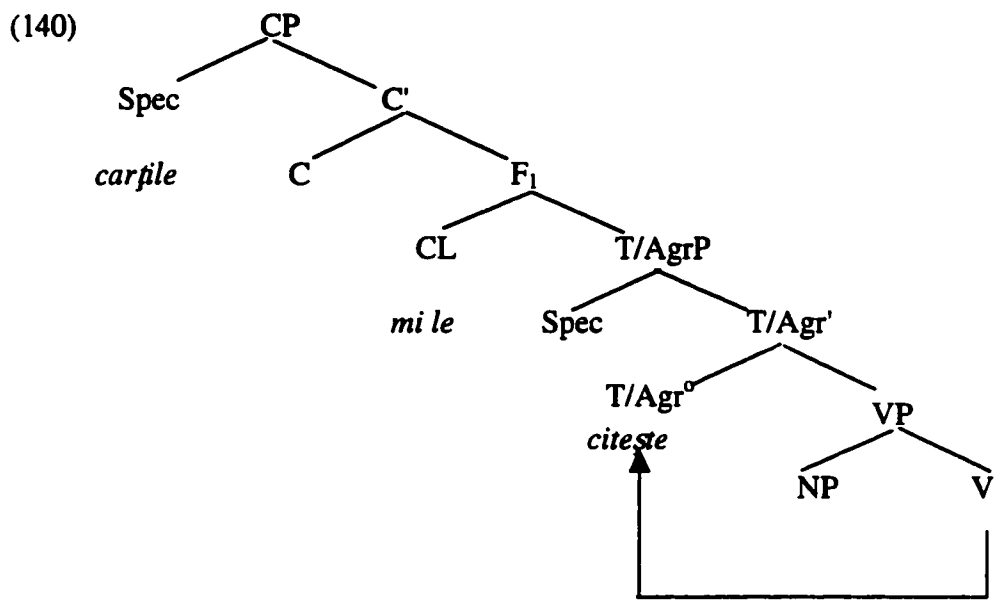
'The books, read them to me!'

The situation in (138b) can be explained in two ways, in my opinion. Both the object and the following cluster of clitics have an emphatic reading and are in TopicP, which is higher than CP (see 139). Precisely, the object *cărțile* 'the books' is in the specifier of TopicP, and the clitics *mi le* 'to me them' head Top', raising from the clitic position.

(139)



The situation may be reminiscent of Old Romanian, where, like in Old Romance or Slavic, Imperative verb movement was to T/Agr, where the Imperative features were located. But the prediction is that in Old Romanian the clitics did not receive the emphatic reading now seen in present Romanian (see 140).



In conclusion, pronominal clitics usually follow true Romanian Imperatives, as Imperatives move to C^o to check the features of the Imperative operator located there. The cases where pronominal clitics precede Romanian Imperatives necessitate location in a higher TopicP with an emphatic effect, or can be explained by diachronic reasons as a remnant, since in Old Romanian Imperative verb movement to C^o was optional or stylistic.

3.7 Summary

In this chapter, I adopted proposals by Rivero (1994-1998), Zanuttini (1997) and Han (1998) about an Imperative operator located in C^o. Subsequently, I assumed that Romanian Imperatives have a CP structure (like Italian, Spanish, and Modern Greek),

contrary to Pirvulescu & Roberge (1998). Following Rivero (1994-1998) and Zanuttini (1997), I argued for the distinction between true and surrogate Imperatives in Romanian.

Furthermore, I assumed that Romanian Imperatives exhibit a distinctive morphology only in the singular form, which is the 'true' Romanian Imperative. I assumed that the phrasal structure of the true Romanian Imperatives was usually the same as in other Romance languages, (e.g., Italian or Spanish), or in Modern Greek. True Imperatives move overtly to C^0 to check the feature of the Imperative operator located there. Plural Imperatives, subjunctive Imperatives and negated singular Imperatives are surrogate Imperatives in Romanian. For subjunctive/surrogate Romanian Imperatives, the verb moves only to T/Agr in order to check the Imperative feature located there. The behavior of Romanian adverbs is relevant for the movement of true Imperatives to C^0 , since it serves as a diagnostic for the position of the Imperative verb.

The mixed character of Romanian Imperatives implies special morphology only for singular Imperatives, the existence of true negated Imperatives, and the position of clitics with respect to the Imperatives.

True negated Imperatives can be explained, in my opinion, by having a MoodP layer which can be satisfied in the presence of the Romanian negative marker *nu* as Zanuttini (1997) proposes for other languages, or by historical reasons. Old Romanian behaved like Old Romance, Ancient Greek, and Bulgarian and Serbo-Croatian, with the Imperative verb movement to C^0 triggered by PF needs of functional categories and not by the need to check formal features.

The position of pronominal clitics vis-à-vis Romanian Imperatives (that is, the clitic-verb pattern) can be explained by their location in a TopicP above CP, and therefore

with an emphatic reading, or by diachronic reasons as a remnant construction. I assumed that in old Romanian the verb movement to C⁰ was not obligatory.

In sum, I assume that in Romanian singular positive Imperatives move to check their strong operator feature in C⁰. In contrast, all surrogate Imperatives (including negated singular and plural Imperatives, and subjunctive /surrogate Imperatives) move only to T/Agr (or to MoodP, when lexically empty), where their Imperative feature is located. As for the structure of true negated Imperatives, it can be inferred that it has more syntactic layers, following Zanuttini (1997), or is reminiscent of Old Romance.

4 Summary and Conclusions

The aim of this thesis was to investigate the Romanian Imperative paradigm.

In the first chapter, I tried to provide a comprehensive description of Romanian facts, based on the work of traditional grammar, as follows. Romanian verbal forms are organized according to the 4 verbal conjugations. Imperatives express an order, a command or a request in Romanian, and have forms only for the 2nd person, singular and plural. Singular forms are homophonous either with the 3rd or to the 2nd person Present Indicative, and cannot usually be negated. Plural Imperatives are homophonous with the 2nd person plural and can be negated. Negated Romanian Imperatives place the negation *nu* before an Infinitive form (for singular) or before the Present Indicative form. Traditional grammar argues that the exceptions to this framework by are due to Latin heritage and do not consider them standard Romanian. Romanian Subjunctives can be used with an Imperative value, with or without the conjunction *să*. Romanian Imperatives are usually followed by pronominal clitics, but there are situations when pronominal clitics precede Romanian Imperatives.

In the second chapter, I presented the most relevant generative accounts of Balkan, Romance and Romanian Imperatives (such as Rivero 1994, Rivero & Terzi, 1995; Rivero, 1998), and for Romance Imperatives (Zanutini (1997)). I considered these studies, together with a dissertation investigating the structure and interpretation of Imperatives and related constructions across languages (Han, 1998) to be relevant in my further syntactic interpretation of Imperatives. Also, I presented data taken either from generative grammar studies dedicated to Romanian syntax (Dobrovie-Sorin, 1994), or from papers analyzing morphosyntactically the Romanian Imperatives (Pirvulescu & Roberge, 1998; Isac, 1993).

The last chapter was dedicated to the syntactic interpretation of Imperatives. Following Rivero (1994-1998), Zanuttini (1997) and Han (1998), I assumed that in modern Romanian, Imperatives have a CP structure (like Italian, Spanish, Modern Greek), and that the Imperative operator may be located in C° or in T/Agr. I adopted Rivero's (1994) and Zanuttini's (1997) dichotomy between true and suppletive/surrogate Romanian Imperatives. True Romanian Imperatives (the 2nd singular paradigm) move overtly to C° to check the feature of the Imperative operator, which is located in C° . Surrogate Romanian Imperatives (plural Imperatives, singular negated Imperatives and subjunctive Imperatives) move only to I° in order to check the Imperative feature located there. Because Romanian subjunctive Imperatives express more an asking than an order, I consider that they have a distinct semantic value. Furthermore, I investigated the mixed character of Romanian Imperatives, with regard to their distinct morphology only for the singular form, to their behavior with Negation, and to their position vis-à-vis pronominal clitics. I assumed that true negated Romanian Imperatives may have either a MoodP layer that can be satisfied in the presence of the Romanian negative marker *nu*, (as Zanuttini, 1997 proposes), or they are a residue of Old Romanian, where negated Imperatives were productive. The position of pronominal clitics preceding Romanian Imperatives could be explained either by a Topic position situated above CP, or by historical reasons. Therefore, I assume that in Old Romanian true negated Imperatives exhibit an optional verb movement to C° , as Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian, Albanian, old Greek do. The same proposal was made by Rögnavaldsson for Old Icelandic (1988). He assumes that the Imperative operator is optional in Old Icelandic, because Imperatives are possible in subordinate clauses.

The analysis proposed in this thesis could be a point of departure for the analysis of other more complex facts concerning Romanian Imperatives.

For example, the problem of the vowel alternation between *-e/-i* for Romanian singular Imperatives was not completely explained, and with a more detailed morphophonological analysis, the facts could be more clearly understood. Also, the problem of the subject of Imperatives was only touched upon, and could be developed in a further analysis.

All of these are areas where a better understanding of Romanian can offer us an interesting point of departure in approaching syntactic issues.

List of Abbreviations:

Acc. = Accusative

Aux = Auxiliary

C^o = Complementizer

CL = Clitic

CONJ=Conjunction

Cg. =Conjugation

CP = Complementizer Phrase

Dat. = Dative

FocusP = Focus Phrase

IMP = Imperative

IND = Indicative

INF = Infinitive

MoodP = Mood Phrase

NEG = Negation

OPT = Optative

P = Phrase

PART = Particle

PERF = Perfect

Pl = Plural

Pres. = Present

REFL = Reflexive

Sg = Singular

SUB = subject

SUBJ = Subjunctive

T/Agr = Tense/Agreement

TopicP = Topic Phrase

V =Verb

VP = Verb Phrase

1, 2, 3 = 1st person, 2nd person, 3rd person

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