Syntactic Variation in Spanish:

Non-standard Imperatives in Two Dialects

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1. Introduction

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

(1)   a.   ¡Seguir<u>me</u>!   [AndSp, AsturSp, spoken Spanish; enclitic]
            follow$_{\text{inf.-2.PL}}$-cl.
            'Follow$_{\text{2.PL}}$ me!'
       b.   ¡No   seguir<u>me</u>!   [AndSp; enclitic w/ ¬]
            not   follow$_{\text{inf.-2.PL}}$-cl.
            'Don't$_{\text{2.PL}}$ follow me!'
       c.   ¡No   <u>me</u>   seguir!   [AsturSp; proclitic w/ ¬]
            not   cl.   follow$_{\text{inf.-2.PL}}$
            'Don't$_{\text{2.PL}}$ follow me!'

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

The talk is organized as follows:
- in Section 2, I review imperative data in standard Spanish, with an emphasis on infinitival sentences with imperative meaning, in particular in the dialects of Spanish spoken in Andalusia and the Principality of Asturias;
- in Section 3, I explore competing accounts of the dialectal contrast brought to light in this talk;

- in Section 4, I lay out the analysis to be proposed and some of its consequences;
- in Section 5, I offer some concluding remarks.

2. Imperatives and infinitival imperatives in Spanish

2.1. Imperatives in standard Spanish

Standard Spanish displays true imperatives in positive contexts, as in (2):

(2)   a.   ¡Sal   de   aquí!   (RAE 2009: 3129)
           exit$_{imp.-2.SG}$ of   here
           'Get$_{2.SG}$ out of here!'
      b.   ¡Venid!   (RAE 2009: 3130)
           come$_{imp.-2.PL}$
           'Come$_{2.PL}$ (here)!'
      c.   ¡Haz   el   favor   de   no   molestarme!   (RAE 2009: 3139)
           do$_{imp.-2.SG}$ the   favor   of   not   bother cl.
           'Please, stop$_{2.SG}$ bothering me.'
      d.   Tomad   y   bebed   todos de   él   (Eucharistic Prayer)
           take$_{imp.-2.PL}$ and   drink$_{imp.-2.PL}$ all   of   it
           'Take$_{2.PL}$ this, all of you, and drink$_{2.PL}$ from it.'

2.2. The prohibition against negative imperatives in Spanish

As is well known, like in many other languages, in Spanish there is a ban on negative imperatives:

(3)   a.   *¡No   sal   de   aquí!
               not   exit$_{imp.-2.SG}$ of   here
           'Don't get$_{2.SG}$ out of here!'
      b.   *¡No   venid!
               not   come$_{imp.-2.PL}$
           'Don't come$_{2.PL}$ (here)!'
      c.   *¡Tampoco   preocúpate   tanto!   (inspired by RAE 2009: 3137)
               neither   worry$_{imp.-2.SG}$ so-much
           'Don't worry$_{2.SG}$ too much either!'

In such cases, a surrogate/suppletive imperative is used. Spanish resorts to the subjunctive:

(4)   a.   ¡No   salgas   de   aquí!
               not   exit$_{subj.-2.SG}$ of   here
           'Don't get$_{2.SG}$ out of here!'
      b.   ¡No   vengáis!
               not   come$_{subj.-2.PL}$
           'Don't come$_{2.PL}$ (here)!'

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   c. ¡Tampoco   te   preocupes   tanto!   (RAE 2009: 3137)
       neither   cl.   worry$_{subj.-2.SG}$ so-much
       'Don't worry$_{2.SG}$ too much either!'

Imperatives in contemporary Spanish generally display enclitics (i.e. postverbal clitics); subjunctive surrogate forms feature proclitics (i.e. preverbal clitics):[1]

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

2.3. Infinitival imperatives in Spanish

Although the second-person plural imperatives in (2)b,d are canonical forms, spoken Spanish tends to use infinitival forms instead, as in (6). Like infinitives, such forms manifest enclisis:[2]

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

It is important to take into account that infinitival forms are limited to plural contexts (otherwise a true imperative must be used, as in (2)a,c and (5)a). (7) confirms this intuition:

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

Infinitives are also characteristic of board notices, usually in the negative and with enclitics:

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[1] Interestingly, Medieval Spanish had true imperatives with proclitics (cf. (i)a) and present-day Spanish still employs certain archaic, formulaic expressions where a subjunctive form appears with encliticis (cf. (i)b).
    (i) a. Las   manos   *le*   besad   (*The Song of my Cid,* 12th-13th c., cited in RAE 2009: 3132)
            the   hands   cl.   kiss$_{imp.-2.PL}$
            'Kiss his hands!'
      b. ¡Hága*se*   la   luz!
          do$_{subj.-3.SG}$-cl. the   light
          'Let light come to be!'

[2] A question arises as to whether such cases involve true infinitives or the imperative ending [ð] is simply replaced by [ɾ] (e.g. *comed → comer*). In this talk, I will pursue the view that the relevant verbal form is infinitival, which can function as an imperative. Note that this phonological account would not apply to the negative infinitival imperatives in the dialects under consideration, since we would be dealing here with a surrogate subjunctive in standard dialects vs. an infinitival, not a matter of just one phonological segment (*vayáis* vs. *ir*).

(8)   a. No   fumar   (RAE 2009: 3135)
          not   smoke_{inf.}
          'Smoking is prohibited/Don't smoke!'
      b. No   estacionar*se*   (RAE 2009: 3135)
          not   park_{inf.}   cl.
          'Do not park!'

This is also found in informal written communication with exhortative value and in school texts:

(9)   a. No   contestar   por   correo electrónico   (RAE 2009: 3135)
          not   answer_{inf.}   for   mail   electronic
          'Do not respond via email!'
      b. Ordenar alfabéticamente   las   siguientes   palabras   (RAE 2009: 3136)
          order_{inf.} alphabetically   the   following   words
          'Put the following words in alphabetical order.'

Finally, in colloquial Spanish there is an exhortative form consisting of *a* + infinitive:

(10) a. ¡A   trabajar!   (RAE 2009: 3151)
           to   work_{inf.}
          'Work!'
      b. ¡A   bailar, a   bailar!   (Sanchis, *Aguirre*, cited in RAE 2009: 3151)
           to   dance   to   dance
          'Dance!/Let's dance!'

Whereas infinitives are used to express positive imperatives, a surrogate form is generally used for negative imperatives, as in (11)b, negative infinitivals being limited to board notices:

(11) a. ¡Hablar   de   eso!
           eat_{inf.}   of   that
          'Talk_{2.PL} about that!'
      b. ¡No   habléis   de eso!
           not   talk_{subj.-2.PL} of that
          'Don't talk_{2.PL} about that!'

2.3.1. *Dialectal variation and clitic directionality in negative infinitival imperatives*

In certain dialects, including Asturian Spanish (AsturSp) and Andalusian Spanish (AndSp), negative infinitival imperatives for the plural are attested:[3]

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[3] Although I use the term Andalusian Spanish, the relevant construction is particularly common in areas such as Cádiz. Regarding Asturian Spanish, the data that constitute the object of study of this paper most likely belong to the variety referred to as *amestáu,* a mixture of Asturian and Spanish that displays features of both languages. RAE (2009) uses the expression 'the popular Spanish spoken in Asturias' to refer to said variety. It is of note that both (standard) Asturian and, needless to say, Spanish exhibit surrogate imperatives with the subjunctive in both singular and plural negative imperatives, which in *amestáu* coexist with the plural infinitival forms in (12).

(12)   ¡No   hablar   de   eso!
        not   talk$_{inf.-2.PL}$ of   that
        'Don't talk$_{2.PL}$ about that!'

Beyond Spanish, negative singular imperatives in standard Italian are formed using the infinitive, as the following example, which is a surrogate imperative, illustrates.

(13)   Non   cantare!   (RAE 2009: 3138)
        not   sing$_{inf.}$ ('Don't$_{2.SG}$ sing!')

Note that **positive** infinitival imperatives in spoken Spanish and, more specifically, in AndSp and AsturSp can only appear with **postverbal clitics**:

(14)   a. ¡Comprar*la*   pronto!   b. *¡*La*   comprar   pronto!
            buy$_{inf.}$-cl.   soon   cl.   buy$_{inf.}$-cl.   soon
            Both: 'Buy$_{2.PL}$ it soon!'

    However, in **negative** contexts, we find an asymmetry in terms of clitic directionality between negative infinitival imperatives in **AndSp**, which display the **neg.+inf.+cl.** word order, and their **AsturSp** counterparts, which exhibit the **neg.+cl.+inf.** word order:

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

    Additional difference: Andalusian Spanish's main sentence stress falls on the infinitival (more concretely, on the tonic syllable of the verb, i.e. [koχ/héɾ]); in **Asturian Spanish** the **negation bears extra stress** –the main stress of the sentence– and forms a prosodic word with the preverbal clitic (i.e. [nola]):[4]

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[4] Even though the order neg.+cl. is compulsory in the imperative Asturian Spanish construction under consideration, there are other environments where the clitic can surface preverbally or postverbally, as shown by the alternation in

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

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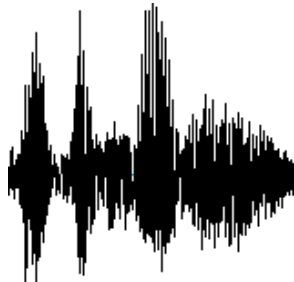
[no ko h/xér la]   [no   la   ko   xér]
No   coger*la*   No   *la*   coger
not grab$_{inf.}$-cl.   not cl.   grab
'Don't$_{2.PL}$ grab her/it$_{fem.}$'   'Don't$_{2.PL}$ grab her/it$_{fem.}$'

3. Previous analyses

3.1. Clitic climbing

Kayne (1992, 2000, to appear; see also Zanuttini 1997). In Italian, both orders are possible:

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

Kayne's account assumes that the negative head *non* 'not' selects a null modal to which the clitic climbs, yielding the neg.+cl.+inf. word order:

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

Although in Italian either position for the object clitic is possible (cf. (17)), the neg.+cl.+inf. word order (cf. (17)b) is more prevalent in the Center and South of Italy than in the North, where

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(i). I will leave the issue of optionality in cases like (i) for future research, although a preliminary suggestion could be related to negation being stressed (neg.+cl.+inf.) vs. non-stressed (neg.+inf.+cl.) (see Section 4). The reader is also referred to Lorenzo (1994), who discusses optionality in clitic placement in Asturian.
   (i) a. Pa(ra) no   *lo*   fastidiar…   (RAE 2009: 3132)
              for   not cl. spoil$_{inf.}$
         b. Pa(ra) no   fastidiar*lo*…
              for   not spoil$_{inf.}$-cl.
              Both: 'In order not to spoil it.'

the word order in which the clitic is post-infinitival, as in (17)a, is favored. In the Center and South of Italy clitic climbing is more robust.

Kayne (1992, 2000): the silent auxiliary characteristic of negative infinitival imperatives actually has an overt counterpart (for neg. imperatives) in Northern Italian dialects like Paduan:

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

       b.   **Stá* parlare!

The overt auxiliary *stá* can only be licensed by a true negative marker (i.e. *no/non* 'not'), a preposed negative constituent being insufficient to license the phonetically realized modal:

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

At first sight, the AndSp and AsturSp data in (15) seem amenable to a similar analysis:

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

It is interesting that in AndSp and AsturSp negative infinitival imperatives, it is likewise impossible to have a preposed negative constituent (such as *nunca* 'never'):

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

The contrast between (15) and (22) follows naturally under Kayne's account, since the sentences in (22) lack the negative head *no*, required to license the null auxiliary selecting the infinitive.

3.1.1.   *Problems with the clitic-climbing account of the Spanish case*

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

As is known, clitic climbing is optional with standard-issue modal+inf. constructions in languages like Spanish, as in (23).

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

If the alternation inf.+cl. (AndSp) – cl.+inf. (AsturSp) is a case of clitic climbing *à la* Kayne (1992 *et seq.*), then the question arises as to why AndSp forces the clitic to stay low and AsturSp forces clitic climbing, since in neither dialect is the operation optional, unlike in (23).[5]

3.1.1.2. Verb height

Similarly, the clitic-climbing account in (18)/(21) assumes that the infinitive is rather low in the structure. Concretely, this analysis places the infinitival in the VP layer. Nevertheless, it is easy to show that the AndSp and AsturSp infinitival imperatives in question are rather high structurally, much like adult root infinitives (Grohmann and Etxepare 2003; see also Ojea 1994: 114 and Cinque 1999: 226 on the height of infinitives):[6]

(24) a. Pedro <u>a menudo</u> compra   manzanas
          Peter often   buys$_{indic.}$ apples
      b. Pedro compra   <u>a menudo</u> manzanas
          Peter buys$_{indic.}$ often   apples
          Both: 'Peter often buys apples.'

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

The negative infinitival imperative data in (25)(26) suggest that the infinitival is rather high in the structure independently of whether enclisis or proclisis obtains:

(26) a. ¡No   traer*las*   <u>a menudo</u>!   [AndSp]
          not   bring-cl.   often
      b. ¡No   *las* traer   <u>a menudo</u>!   [AsturSp]
          not   cl. bring   often
          Both: 'Don't$_{2.PL}$ bring them often!'

In a similar vein, the construction in question can adopt the form of a perfect, which is not in VP:

(27) a. ¡No   haber*lo*   comprado!   [AndSp]
          not   have$_{inf.}$-cl.   bought
      b. ¡No *lo* haber   comprado!   [AsturSp]
          not cl. have$_{inf.}$ bought
          Both: 'You shouldn't have bought it$_{masc.}$!'

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[5] Remember that the Italian examples that inspired Kayne's work display optionality (cf. (17)), and speakers of different dialects seem to allow both word orders, although they point out differences in register.
[6] See also Kayne (1991) and Uriagereka (1995), among others, for arguments in favor of a high landing site for the infinitival verb in several Romance languages.

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

Furthermore, the three pieces of evidence reviewed above regarding the height of the verb can also be taken to **argue also against an analysis of the relevant dialectal contrast which assumes verb movement past the clitic in AndSp but not in AndSp**. It appears that the infinitive moves to a high position in both dialects, independently of whether the clitic is postverbal (as in AndSp) or preverbal (as in AsturSp).

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

In this section I propose a unified account of the Andalusian-Asturian contrasts regarding clitic directionality in negative infinitival imperatives (cf. (15)) that draws on Bošković's (2001, 2004, 2012) and Miyoshi's (2002) account of the ban on negative imperatives in certain languages.

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

The account pursued here adopts (i) Franks' (1998) suggestion that **a low copy of a non-trivial chain can be pronounced provided that convergence so demands** and (ii) the proposal that **imperatives involve a null F(unctional) head (possibly C) whose affixal nature requires PF merger (i.e. affix hopping) with a host (i.e. a verb/prosodic word) under adjacency**.

4.1.1. The Copy Theory of Movement

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

Bošković (2002) convincingly shows that one such case can be found in Romanian:

(28) a. Cine   ce   precede   ~~cine~~   ~~ce~~?   (all *wh*-phrases must normally move)
          who   what   precedes
          'Who precedes what?'
      b. *Ce   ce   precede   ~~ce~~   ~~ce~~?   (homophony issue: *ce ce)
           what   what   precedes
      c. Ce   ~~ce~~   precede   ~~ce~~   ce?   (issue solved via 'pronounce-lower-copy')
           what   precedes   what
          'What precedes what?'

Villa-García (2013): explaining the grammaticality contrast between sentences with preverbal and postverbal subjects in constituent questions in non-Caribbean varieties. This is the notorious effect first noted by Torrego (1984). Note: the analysis crucially assumes a Copy-Theory-of-

Movement account of subjects in Spanish, as in (29) - only pronouncing the low copy of the subject *Juan* leads to convergence:

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

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

The analysis of the ban on negative imperatives in some languages has commanded a great deal of attention in the literature (e.g. Ausín 2013; Bošković 2004, 2012; Han 1999; Isac and Jakab 2001; Laka 1994; Miyoshi 2002; Postma and van der Wurff 2007; Rivero 1994a; Rivero and Terzi 1995; Tomić 2001, 2007; Zanuttini 1994, 1997; Zeijlstra 2004).

    Miyoshi (2002) and Bošković (2004, 2012) focus on Greek, but I will use standard Spanish data to illustrate their proposal. Recall that negated imperatives are impossible:

(30) a. ¡Sal de aquí!   (RAE 2009: 3129)
       exit$_{imp.-2.SG}$ of here
       'Get$_{2.SG}$ out of here!'
   b. *¡No sal de aquí!   ✖
       not exit$_{imp.-2.SG}$ of here
   c. ¡No salgas de aquí!   ✓
       not exit$_{subj.-2.SG}$ of here
       'Don't get$_{2.SG}$ out of here!'

Bošković (2004, 2012), Cavalcante (2011), and Miyoshi (2002) propose that imperatives involve a null F(unctional) head (possibly C; see below for a refinement) whose affixal nature requires PF merger (i.e. affix hopping) with a host (i.e. a verb/prosodic word) under adjacency:[7]

(31) a. [F   [sal de aquí]]   (cf. (30)a)
          [+affix]
   b. *[F   [$_{NegP}$ no   [sal de aquí]]]   (cf. (30)b)
          [+affix]

In such cases, **Spanish makes recourse to another verbal form, namely a surrogate/suppletive subjunctive**, as in (30)c, the assumption being that F is not present in subjunctive imperatives (though see Postma and van der Wurff 2007 and Zanuttini 1997: negation may check imperative features; see also Section 4.2).

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

This analysis receives additional support from the behavior of clitics in the relevant context:

(32) a. ¡Di*le*   eso!   (cf. *Le di eso*)
            tell_imp.-2.SG-cl.   that
            'Tell_2.SG her that!'
      b. ¡No   *le*   digas   eso!   (cf. *No digasle eso*)
            not   cl.   tell_subj.-2.SG   that!
            'Don't tell_2.SG her that!'

Bošković (2001 *et seq.*): a copy of the pronominal clitic is always present both above and below the verb in indicative, imperative, and subjunctive contexts alike. Miyoshi (2002) shows that given that a lower member of a non-trivial chain can be pronounced if this is necessary to avoid a PF violation, the affix hopping analysis provides a straightforward account of the V-clitic switch in (32). In (32)a, pronouncing the high copy of the clitic would block adjacency between the imperative affix F and the verb, resulting in an ungrammatical sentence (*cl.+imp.). By contrast, recall that in examples like (32)b, adjacency is not required and a subjunctive form is used instead.[8] Much like in regular indicatives in Spanish, which display the order cl.+V, nothing goes wrong if the highest copy of the pronominal clitic is chosen in PF, hence the high copy is chosen.

(33) a. [F   [~~le~~_i   di   *le*_i   eso]]   (cf. (32)a)
                  [+affix]
      b. […   [_NegP no   [*le*_i   digas   ~~le~~_i   eso]]]   (cf. (32)b)

4.2. Explaining the Andalusian-Asturian Spanish contrast

Positive infinitival imperative sentences in (34): derivation in (35)a, which features imperative F, and a copy of the clitic above and below the verb. As we saw, the highest copy of the clitic chain is pronounced unless this pronunciation causes a PF violation. Recall that F must be adjacent to the verb/prosodic word, which functions as a host. In (34), the PF adjacency requirement between the null head F and the verb is met as long as the low copy of the clitic is favored in PF (cf. (34)a) (cf. derivation in (35)b). Pronouncing the clitic preverbally (i.e. the highest copy of the clitic) would prevent affixal F and the verb from being PF adjacent, hence incurring a violation (i.e. a stranded affix (F) without a host), as in (34)b (cf. derivation in (35)c).

(34) a. ¡Comprar*la*   pronto!   [Andalusian, Asturian, and general spoken Spanish]
            buy_inf.-cl.   soon
            'Buy_2.PL it soon!'
      b. *¡*La*   comprar   pronto!
            cl.   buy_inf.-cl.   soon

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[8] Following Bošković (2004), we can assume that the affix head F is not present in subjunctive imperatives.

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

a.		F	la	comprar	la	pronto	(cf. (34))
b. ✓		<u>F</u>	~~la~~	<u>comprar</u>	la$_1$	pronto	(cf. (34)a)
c. *		<u>F</u>	la	comprar	~~la~~	pronto	(cf. (34)b)

As for **negative infinitival imperatives**, I propose that the **negative head in such cases rises to/is above the affixal head F** in both dialects, as in (37)a and (38)a (see below for evidence).

(36) a. ¡No   comprar*la*!   [AndSp, inf.+cl.; cf. (15)a]
         not   buy$_{inf.}$-cl.
         'Don't buy$_{2.PL}$ it!'
      b. ¡No   *la*   comprar!   [AsturSp, cl.+inf.; cf. (15)a]
         not   cl.   buy$_{inf.}$
         'Don't buy$_{2.PL}$ it!'

(37) *Negative 2-pl. infinitival imperatives in AndSp* (cf. (36)a)

a.	no	F	la	comprar	la
b. ✓	no	<u>F</u>	~~la~~	<u>comprar</u>	la
c. *	no	<u>F</u>	la	comprar	~~la~~

As shown in Section 2.3.1, in **Andalusian** Spanish (cf. (36)a/(37)), **negation is not stressed and does not constitute a prosodic word; hence, it cannot properly support F** phonologically (i.e. it cannot function as a host). In this case, only the verb can serve as a host. Thus, a low copy of the clitic must be pronounced, since F can only hop onto the verb provided that the two entities are PF adjacent (cf. (37)b). Alternatively, pronouncing the high copy of the clitic would disrupt adjacency between F and the verb (cf. (37)c), leading to an illicit stranded PF-affix (F).

(38) *Negative 2-pl. infinitival imperatives in AsturSp* (cf. (36)b)

a.	NO	F	la	comprar	la
b. ✓	<u>NO</u>	<u>F</u>	la	comprar	~~la~~
c. *	<u>NO</u>	<u>F</u>	~~la~~	comprar	la

By contrast, in Asturian Spanish (cf. (36)b/(38)), **NO bears stress, making it a host that can support F phonologically**. F does not need to hop onto the verb. Since no violation ensues in PF if the highest copy of the clitic is pronounced, the high copy can and therefore must be chosen (cf. (38)b). If a low copy of the clitic were favored in PF instead (cf. (38)c), the derivation would crash, which is explained as a violation of Last Resort, since there would be no PF reason to pronounce the low copy of the clitic in place of the high one. Notice that, as indicated by the spectrograph in (16)b, negation and the preverbal clitic form a prosodic word and both carry stress (in fact, the actual prosodic word would actually involve neg.+F+cl, under the current analysis). This is likely due to the fact that Asturian is a language that generally exhibits enclisis. Consequently, the preverbal clitic encliticizes onto the negation in examples such as (36)b.

Importantly, this account allows us to **treat the two dialects in exactly the same way syntactically** (cf. (34)a/(36)a,b); there is no need to posit a different syntax between AndSp and AsturSp infinitival imperatives, in line with Bošković's (2001 *et seq.*) approach to PF word reordering, on which **PF considerations are allowed to affect word order but without actual PF movement**, much like in the Romanian examples in (28). In analogous fashion, note that an additional virtue of the analysis proposed here is that it is **an extension of the account of the ban on negative imperatives** in languages like Spanish outlined in Section 4.1.2.

Finally, the analysis pursued in this talk **correctly predicts that negative imperatives cannot be accomplished via a preverbal negative constituent** (e.g. *nunca* 'never') in either dialect, as in (39)), since such cases do not involve the negative head (neg°) *no* 'not' (note that negative constitutent + cl. + V configurations are licit with subjunctive forms, as in (4)c,d). This fact lends further credence to my proposal that the negation moves to adjoin to F in the relevant contexts in Andalusian and Asturian Spanish. As expected, the counterparts of (39)a,b with X° negation and postverbal *nunca* are grammatical, as indicated by the well-formedness of (40)a,b.

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

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

My claim that neg° in the relevant context in AndSp and AsturSp moves to F could be related to (a version of) the proposal made by Postma and van der Wurff (2007) regarding the nature of negation in negated imperatives. According to these authors, **negation in imperatives** differs from that of non-imperative sentences in expressing **volition on the speech act level** (i.e. negation has a boulemaeic component). Therefore, since speech acts are typically associated with the CP domain, it would be reasonable to suggest that *no* **'not' in such cases is an element in the CP**, wholly compatible with my proposal that neg° moves to F in the relevant contexts.[9] As hinted at above and argued for in the following subsection, F is located in the CP domain, a matter to which I turn immediately.

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

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

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[9] Even though I have proposed that neg° moves to F in Andalusian and Asturian Spanish infinitival imperatives, it could also be the case that negation is generated as the head of a left-peripheral BoulemaeicP in the spirit of Postma and van der Wurff (2007). I will not explore the consequences of this move here and leave this possibility for future research, noting that the analysis proposed in this paper works with either option regarding the location of negation.

(i)   Negation always precedes the infinitival verb and any accompanying clitics.
(ii)   The infinitival verb with imperative force is rather high in both Andalusian and Asturian Spanish imperatives, both in positive and negative contexts and irrespective of clitic directionality (cf. Section 3.1.1).

There is yet another fact that must be taken into consideration: clitic-left dislocated (CLLDed) constituents precede negation in the pertinent environments, as (41) shows.

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

Therefore, we now add a third fact:

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

Assuming a rich left periphery for Spanish along the lines of Rizzi (1997 *et seq.*), as argued for in Demonte and Fernández-Soriano (2009 *et seq.*) and Villa-García (2012), *i.a.*, the data in (41) point out that whereas F can still be a left-peripheral element, it cannot occupy the highest left peripheral projection, namely ForceP in Rizzi's system (i.e, **ForceP > (TopicP) > (FocusP) > FinitenessP**), since CLLDed phrases are higher than the negation, which I have assumed moves to/is located above F. If CLLD in Spanish targets TopicP (see Villa-García 2012 for extensive evidence), then it is reasonable to make the natural assumption that imperative F is located in FinitenessP, the locus of mood (e.g. indicative, imperative, subjunctive) features.
    Since clitics are standardly assumed to be TP-related elements ever since the seminal work of Kayne (1991), it makes sense to suppose that they stay within the TP domain. Recall that the verb in the relevant contexts is higher than in indicative contexts. How can we reconcile the fact that the verb is very high in the structure with the fact that the clitics (even when preverbal, as in AsturSp) remain within the inflectional layer? By adopting a (standard) split-INFL hypothesis (Pollock 1989), with AgrSP and TP replacing IP. The relevant infinitival imperatives are located in the highest head within TP, that is to say, AgrS°. This move allows us to account for the fact that the verb is situated in a rather high position in the sentence while keeping clitics in the IP area (alternative proposal: clitics are in F/C while the verb moves past them, see Uriagereka 1995, a.o.; this would assume verb movement to a higher position in AndSp, V+cl., as noted above).
    The resulting abstract structure would look thus:

(42)   [$_{ForceP}$ ([$_{TopicP}$ CLLD)   neg° [$_{FinitenessP}$ F   [$_{AgrSP}$ cl.$_{-i}$ V$_{inf.}$ cl.$_{-i}$...]]()]
                                                             [+affix]

Note that the structure just proposed is just a first approximation. Crucially, the analysis proposed in this talk does not depend on the correctness of (42).

5. Conclusions

- I have presented Andalusian Spanish and Asturian Spanish data showing a sharp **contrast in terms of clitic directionality in the context of negative infinitival imperative** sentences.
- The analysis proposed here, based on Miyoshi's (2002) and Bošković's (2001 *et seq.*) **affix-hopping/PF-merger+copy-and-delete approach**, enables us to successfully analyze the relevant dialectal contrast **uniformly as far as syntax is concerned**, given that PF factors are able to affect word order without the need to postulate PF movement.
- To the extent that the independently motivated analysis adopted here succeeds in accounting for the novel data presented in this talk uniformly, it receives further crosslinguistic support. Moreover, the analysis adopted in this talk makes use of **the same theoretical machinery employed to account for the prohibition against negative imperatives in languages like Spanish**, which is also a welcome result.

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