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On the need for specifiers

Rowlett, PA

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On the need for specifiers

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Paul Rowlett (European Studies Research Institute, University of Salford)

P.A.Rowlett@salford.ac.uk

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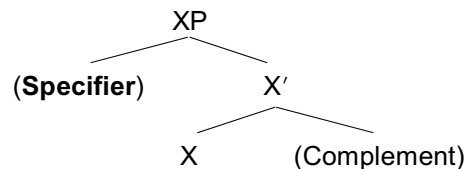
1 Introduction

- (1) What is the nature of the relationship between a head and its specifier?
- (2) Rowlett (1998b: 111): . . . spec–head agreement is in fact nothing more than spec–head *anti-disagreement*, guaranteeing feature compatibility rather than identity.
- (3) Specifiers:
 - a. They occupy a clearly defined position with respect to a relevant head; and/or,
 - b. they enter into a clearly defined relationship with that head.
- (4) [_{IP} [_{Spec} Jean] fume . . .] (French)
J. smokes
'Jean smokes.'
- (5) Jean ne_i fume . . . [_{NegP} [_{Spec} pas] t_i . . .] (French)
J. NEG smokes NEG
'Jean doesn't smoke.'
- (6) (In certain functional projections,) in the absence of an overt specifier:
 - a. the specifier position is nevertheless projected;
 - b. this position is occupied by a non-overt phrase; and,
 - c. this non-overt phrase enters into the same kind of relationship with the relevant head (for example, spec–head agreement) as do overt specifiers.
- (7) [_{IP} [_{Spec} *pro*] fuma . . .] (Spanish)
smokes
'He/She smokes.'
- (8) Juan no_i fuma [_{NegP} [_{Spec} OP] t_i . . .] (Spanish)
J. NEG smokes
'Juan doesn't smoke.'
- (9) Conclusions:
 - a. *There is no need* to claim that, as a matter of principle, the specifier position is active in functional projections, and occupied by a possibly non-overt phrase.
 - b. *Under considerations of economy*, we should therefore deem that the specifier is *not* projected, unless there are good reasons to believe otherwise (Rowlett 1998a; see below).
 - c. Consequently, some functional projections, previously thought to project a position occupied by a non-overt specifier, are in fact specifier-free.

2 What are specifiers?

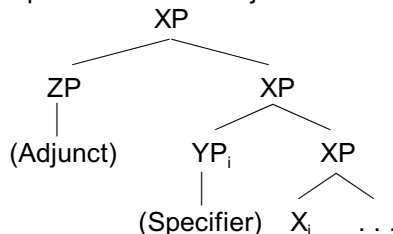
- (10) Semantic specifiers:
 - a. *too* strong
 - b. *safely* arrive

(11) Syntactic specifiers:



(12) Hoekstra (1991: 24): "A specifier is an adjunct which agrees with a head."

(13) Specifiers versus adjuncts:



3 What are specifiers for?

(14) The specifier generalisation:

"Categorial restrictions on specifiers follow from the nature of the type of agreement that is involved" (Hoekstra 1991: 28, (42)).

4 Claims for non-overt specifiers

(15) $[_{IP} [_{Spec} \textit{pro}] \textit{fuma} \dots]$ (Spanish)
 smokes
 'He/She smokes.'

(16) Juan no_i fuma $[_{NegP} [_{Spec} \textit{OP}] \textit{t}_i \dots]$ (Spanish)
 J. NEG smokes
 'Juan doesn't smoke.'

a. SpecIP

(17) a. *(Io) parlo italiano.* (Italian)
 b. *(Yo) hablo español.* (Spanish)
 c. **(I) speak English.* (English)
 d. **(Je) parle français.* (French)
 'I speak Italian/Spanish/English/French.'

(18) Extended Projection Principle (Chomsky 1982: 10):
 S → NP – AUX – VP

(19) a. *pro* parlo italiano. (Italian)
 b. *pro* hablo español. (Spanish)
 (= (17a, b))

(20) (Rizzi 1982a)

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graph TD
    IP[IP] --- Spec[Spec]
    IP --- I_prime[I']
    Spec --- pro[pro]
    I_prime --- I_deg[I°]
    I_prime --- dots["..."]
    I_deg --- PRON["[+PRONOUN]"]

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- (21) Properties co-distributing with null subjects:
 a. the absence of overt expletive pronouns;
 b. the possibility of post-verbal subjects; and,
 c. the absence of *that*-trace filter violations.

b. SpecNegP

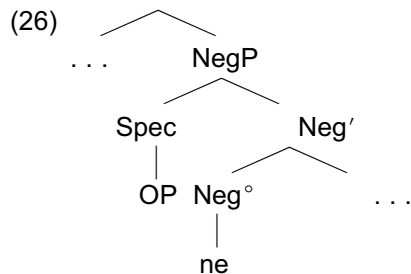
(22) Haegeman (1995: 107):
 “Negative sentences are sentences which minimally have a NEG-feature associated with a functional head of the extended projection of V, i.e., of the clausal domain.”

(23)		Neg°	SpecNegP	
a.	French	ne	pas	(Pollock 1989; Rowlett 1993)
b.	Fon	ǎ	má	(da Cruz 1992, reported in DeGraff 1993: 87)
c.	Navajo	da	doo	(Speas 1991: 394–395)
d.	West Flemish	en	nie	(Haegeman 1995)
e.	Breton	ne	ket	(Stephens 1993: 397–398; Borsley et al. 1996: 67)

(24) Juan no_i fuma [_{NegP} [_{Spec} OP] t_i . . .] (Spanish)
 J. NEG smokes
 ‘Juan doesn’t smoke.’

(25) a. Perché hai detto che Gianni è partito ? (Italian, from Rizzi 1990)
 why have:2SG said that Gianni is left
 ‘Why did you say that Gianni left?’

b. Perché *non* hai detto che Gianni è partito ?
 why NEG have:2SG said that Gianni is left
 ‘Why didn’t you say that Gianni left?’



(27)		[_{CP} . . .	[_{IP} [_{IP} . . .	[_{IP} [_{IP} . . .]]]]
a.	(25a)	Perché	t	t	
b.	(25b)	Perché	t	OP non	*t

(28) Acquaviva (1996: 295): “This approach to negative islands therefore involves the additional assumption that the SpecNegP position is filled even when it contains no lexical material.”

(29) Haegeman (1995: 200): “. . . we assume that there is a non-overt contentive operator in the relevant spec–head relation with *non*. We propose that the non-overt operator occupies SpecNegP.”

(30) Gde_i ty skazal, čto Ivan ukral den’gi t_i? (Colloquial Russian, Brown 1999: 25, (18))
 where you said that Ivan stole money
 ‘Where did you say Ivan stole the money?’

- (31) *?Gde_i ty [_{NegP} [_{Spec} OP] ne skazal, čto Ivan ukral den'gi t_i] ? (Brown 1999: 25, (17))
 where you NEG said that Ivan stole money
 'Where didn't you say Ivan stole the money?'

5 Are non-overt specifiers really needed?

- (32) The negative cycle in the history of French (Rowlett 1998b: 90, (4)):

- a. jeo ne di.
- b. je ne dis (pas).
- c. je ne dis pas.
- d. je (ne) dis pas.
- e. je dis pas.
 'I don't say.'

- (33) Julie ne veut voir personne.
 Julie *ne* wants to:see *personne*
 'Julie doesn't want to see anyone.'

- (34) Assumptions being questioned:

- a. Certain specifier positions are always projected and syntactically active; where they are not filled by an overt phrase, they are occupied by null constituents; and,
- b. SpecIP is projected in canonical null-subject languages; SpecNegP is projected in languages whose negative marker is a head.

a. SpecIP

- (35) a. O Janis xtes meta apo poles prospathies sinandise ti Maria.
 the-John- NOM yesterday after from many efforts met the-Mary-ACC
 'John finally met Mary yesterday.' (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou's (13))

- b. *John *after many efforts* has met Mary.

- (36) a. ... epidi o Janis an erthi i Maria tha figi.
 because the-John-NOM if comes the-Mary-NOM FUT leave
 '... because if Mary comes, John will leave.' (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou's (14))

- b. *... because John *if Mary comes* will leave.

- (37) Enas heretise ti Maria. (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou's (15a))
 one greeted the-Mary-ACC
 'A certain person/one of the people greeted Mary.'
 ≠ 'Someone greeted Mary.'

- (38) a. A student filed every article.
 $\exists x$ (x student) $\forall y$ (y article) (x filed y)
 $\forall y$ (y article) $\exists x$ (x student) (x filed y)

- b. kapjos fititis arhiothetise tahe arthro. (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou's (16a))
 some student-NOM filed every article
 $\exists x$ (x student) $\forall y$ (y article) (x filed y)

- (39) a. *Tots els estudiants_i es pensen que ells_i aprovaran. (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou's (20))
 all the students think that they will-pass
 'All the students_i think that they_i will pass.'

- b. Tots els jugadors_i estan convencus que guanyaran ells_i.
 all the players are convinced that will-win they
 'All the players_i are convinced that they_i are the ones who will win.'
- (40) a. There arrived a man/*the man/*every man. (English)
 b. Il est arrivé un homme/*l' homme. (French)
 EXPL is arrived a man/ the man
 c. Er heeft iemand/ *Jan een huis gebouwd. (Dutch)
 EXPL has someone/Jan a house built
- (41) Efase ena pedi/ o Jorgos/ kathe filis mu (Greek)
 arrived a child-NOM/the-George-NOM/every friend mine
 'A child/George/every friend of mine arrived.' (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou's (24))
- (42) a. EXPL-V-S (e.g., There arrived a man.)
 b. *pro*-V-S (e.g., *pro* fuma un hombre.)
- (43) The null-subject parameter:
 a. Null subjects
 b. Absence of expletives
 c. Free inversion
 d. Absence of *that*-trace effects
- (44) a. *Who_i did you say that t_i was coming?
 b. Quien has dicho que viene?
 who have:2SG said that comes
 'Who did you was coming?'

b. SpecNegP

- (45) Expletive negation in French (Rowlett 1998b: 27–28, (57), (58a))
 a. Je doute qu' il *ne* soit là.
 I doubt that he *ne* be:SUBJ there
 'I doubt he's there.'
 b. Marie est plus grande que *n'* est son frère.
 Marie is more tall than *ne* is her brother
 'Marie is taller than her brother is.'
 c. Qui *ne* souhaite partir en vacances?
 who *ne* wishes leave on holidays
 'Who (on earth) doesn't want to go on holiday?'
 d. Elle a peur que tu *ne* sois là.
 she has fear that you *ne* be:SUBJ there
 'She's worried you might be there.'
- (46) a. Pourquoi crains-tu qu' elle *ne* dise qu' elle t' aime? (Rowlett 1998b: 32, (71))
 why fear you that she *ne* say:SUBJ that she you loves
 'Why are you afraid she might say she loves you?'
 b. Comment crains-tu qu' il *ne* se comporte? (Haegeman 1995: 161, (5b))
 how fear you that he *ne* REFL behaves
 'How do you fear he will behave?'

(47) [_{CP} . . . [_{IP} t . . . [_{IP} t ne t . . .]]]] (= (46a))

(48)

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      / \
     /   \
    /     \
   /       \
  /         \
 /           \
NegP          ...
 / \
Neg° ...
 |
ne
    
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(49) Juan no_i ha visto a nadie_i.
 Juan NEG has seen to NO-ONE
 'Juan hasn't seen anyone.'

(50) Perché_i non hai detto che t_i Gianni è partito ?
 why NEG have:2SG said that Gianni is left
 'Why didn't you say that Gianni left?'

(51) The Neg Criterion:
 a. Each Neg X° must be in a spec–head relationship with a Neg operator.
 b. Each Neg operator must be in a spec–head relationship with a Neg X°.

(52) Never would I do that.

(53) a. * . . . da Valère [ketent [me niets]] en- was.
 that Valère satisfied with nothing NEG was

b. . . . da Valère [me niets]_i [ketent t_i] en- was.
 that Valère with nothing satisfied NEG was
 ' . . . that Valère wasn't satisfied with anything.'

6 Conclusion and summary

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