



University of
Salford
MANCHESTER

On the need for specifiers

Rowlett, PA

| | |
|--------------------------|---|
| Title | On the need for specifiers |
| Authors | Rowlett, PA |
| Publication title | |
| Publisher | |
| Type | Conference or Workshop Item |
| USIR URL | This version is available at: http://usir.salford.ac.uk/id/eprint/10369/ |
| Published Date | 2000 |

USIR is a digital collection of the research output of the University of Salford. Where copyright permits, full text material held in the repository is made freely available online and can be read, downloaded and copied for non-commercial private study or research purposes. Please check the manuscript for any further copyright restrictions.

For more information, including our policy and submission procedure, please contact the Repository Team at: library-research@salford.ac.uk.

On the need for specifiers

University College London, 29 November 2000

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

P.A.Rowlett@salford.ac.uk

www.salford.ac.uk/esri/l&l.htm

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

- (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

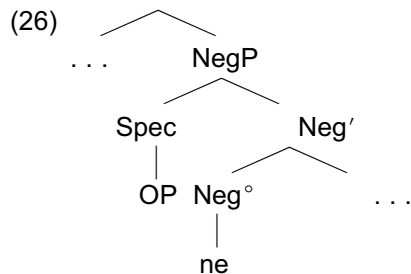
(22) Haegeman (1995: 107):
 “Negative sentences are sentences which minimally have a NEG-feature associated with a functional head of the extended projection of V, i.e., of the clausal domain.”

| | | | | |
|------|--------------|------|----------|---|
| (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)

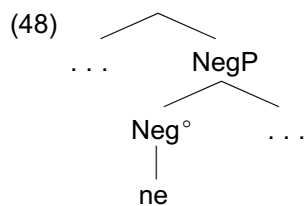
- (39) a. *Tots els estudiants_i es pensen que ells_i aprovaran. (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou's (20))
 all the students think that they will-pass
 'All the students_i think that they_i will pass.'

- 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} Pourquoi t ... [_{IP} t ne [_{IP} t ...]]]]]]]]] (= (46a))



(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

References

- ACQUAVIVA, PAOLO (1996) 'Negation in Irish and the representation of monotone decreasing quantifiers', in BORSLEY AND ROBERTS (eds.), pp. 284–313.
- ADGER DAVID, SUSAN PINTZUK, BERNADETTE PLUNKETT AND GEORGE TSOULAS (1999a) 'Specifiers in generative grammar', in ADGER ET AL. (eds.) (1999b), pp. 1–18.
- ADGER DAVID, SUSAN PINTZUK, BERNADETTE PLUNKETT AND GEORGE TSOULAS (eds) (1999b) *Specifiers: minimalist approaches*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- ALEXIADOU, ARTEMIS AND ELENA ANAGNOSTOPOULOU (1999) 'EPP without Spec,IP', in ADGER ET AL. (eds), pp. 93–109.
- ANDERSON, JOHN M (1997) *A notional theory of syntactic categories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- BALL, MARTIN J (ed.) (1993) *The Celtic languages*. London: Routledge.
- BARBOSA, PILAR (1994) 'A new look at the null subject parameter', paper presented at CONSOLE III, Venice.
- BATTYE, ADRIAN, MARIE-ANNE HINTZE AND PAUL ROWLETT (2000) *The French language today: a linguistic introduction*, second edition. London: Routledge.
- BERWICK, ROBERT C (1998) 'Language evolution and the minimalist program: the origins of syntax', in HURFORD ET AL. (eds.), pp. 320–340.
- BORSLEY, ROBERT D AND IAN ROBERTS (eds.) (1996) *The syntax of the Celtic languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- BORSLEY, ROBERT D, MARÍA-LUISA RIVERO AND JANIG STEPHENS (1996) 'Long head movement in Breton', in BORSLEY AND ROBERTS (eds.), pp. 53–74.
- BROWN, SUE (1999) *The syntax of negation in Russian: a minimalist approach*. Stanford, Calif.: Center for the Study of Language and Information.

- BROWN, SUE AND S FRANKS (1995) 'Asymmetries in the scope of Russian negation', *Journal of Slavic Linguistics*, 3: 239–287.
- CANN, RONNIE (1999) 'Specifiers as secondary heads', in ADGER ET AL. (eds), pp. 21–45.
- CHOMSKY, NOAM (1970) 'Remarks on nominalizations', in JACOBS AND ROSENBAUM (eds.).
- CHOMSKY, NOAM (1981) *Lectures on government and binding*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- CHOMSKY, NOAM (1982) *Some concepts and consequences of the theory of government and binding*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- CHOMSKY, NOAM (1995) *The minimalist program*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- CORMACK, ANNABEL (1999) 'Without specifiers', in ADGER ET AL. (eds), pp. 46–68.
- DA CRUZ, MAXIME (1992) 'Contribution à l'étude de la négation en fongbè', MS, Université du Québec à Montréal.
- DEGRAFF, MICHEL (1993) 'A riddle on negation in Haitian', *Probus*, 5: 63–93.
- FORGET, DANIELLE, PAUL HIRSCHBÜHLER, FRANCE MARTINEAU AND MARÍA-LUISA RIVERO (eds.) (1997) *Negation and polarity: syntax and semantics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- FRIEDEMANN, MARC-ARIEL AND LUIGI RIZZI (eds.) (2000) *The acquisition of syntax*. Harlow: Longman.
- GUIJARRO-FUENTES, PEDRO (1998) *The acquisition of the pro-drop parameter by non-native speakers of Spanish*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Salford.
- HAEGEMAN, LILIANE (1995) *The syntax of negation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- HAEGEMAN, LILIANE (ed.) (1997) *Elements of grammar: a handbook of generative syntax*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- HAEGEMAN, LILIANE (2000) 'Adult null subjects in non-null-subject languages', in FRIEDEMANN AND RIZZI (eds.), pp. 129–169.
- HAEGEMAN, LILIANE AND JACQUELINE GUÉRON (1999) *English grammar: a generative perspective*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- HOEKSTRA, ERIC (1991) *Licensing conditions on phrase structure*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Groningen. Distributed as *Groningen Dissertations in Linguistics*, 2.
- HUANG C-T JAMES (1989) 'Pro-drop in Chinese: a generalized control theory', in JAEGLI AND SAFIR (eds.), pp. 185–214.
- HURFORD, JAMES R, MICHAEL STUDDERT-KENNEDY AND CHRIS KNIGHT (eds.) (1998) *Approaches to the evolution of language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- JACKENDOFF, RAY (1977) *X-bar syntax: a study of phrase structure*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- JACOBS, RODERICK AND PETER ROSENBAUM (eds.) (1970) *Readings in English transformational grammar*. Waltham, Mass.: Ginn.
- JAEGLI, OSWALDO AND KEN SAFIR (1989a) 'The null subject parameter and parametric theory', in JAEGLI AND SAFIR (eds.), pp. 1–44.
- JAEGLI, OSWALDO AND KEN SAFIR (eds.) (1989b) *The null subject parameter*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
- JESPERSEN, OTTO (1917) *Negation in English and other languages*. Copenhagen: Host.
- JESPERSEN, OTTO (1924) *The philosophy of grammar*. London: Allen and Unwin.
- KOOPMAN, HILDA J (2000) *The syntax of specifiers and heads: the collected essays of Hilda J. Koopman*. London: Routledge.
- LYONS CHRISTOPHER G (1994) 'Movement in "NP" and the DP hypothesis', *Working Papers in Language and Linguistics*, 8. Salford: University of Salford European Studies Research Institute.
- MARTÍN-GONZÁLEZ, JAVIER (2000) '(Non-)occurrence of sentential *no* in Spanish negative sentences', in ROWLETT (ed.), pp. 161–183.
- McCLOSKEY, JAMES (1996) 'Subjects and subject positions in Irish', in BORSLEY AND ROBERTS (eds), pp. 241–283.
- MONTALBETTI, M (1984) *After binding: on the interpretation of pronouns*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- MORITZ, LUC AND DANIEL VALOIS (1993) 'French sentential negation and LF pied-piping', *Proceedings of NELS*, 22: 319–333.
- MORITZ, LUC AND DANIEL VALOIS (1994) 'Pied-piping and specifier-head agreement', *Linguistic Inquiry*, 25: 667–707.
- NEWMAYER, FREDERICK J (1998) 'On the supposed 'counterfunctionality' of Universal Grammar: some evolutionary implications', in HURFORD ET AL. (eds.), pp. 305–319.
- NICHOLS, JOHANNA (1986) 'Head-marking and dependent-marking grammar', *Language*, 62: 56–119.
- PINKER, STEVEN AND PAUL BLOOM (1990) 'Natural language and natural selection', *Behavioral and Brain Sciences*, 13: 707–784.
- POLLOCK, JEAN-YVES (1989) 'Verb movement, universal grammar and the structure of IP', *Linguistic Inquiry*, 20: 365–424.
- POSNER, REBECCA R (1985) 'L'histoire de la négation et la typologie romane', in *Linguistique comparée et typologie des langues romanes (Actes du xvième congrès international de linguistique et philologie romanes)*. Vol. 2, pp. 265–271. Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence.
- RADFORD, ANDREW (1997) *Syntactic theory and the structure of English: a minimalist approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- RIZZI, LUIGI (1982a) 'Negation, *wh*-movement and the null subject parameter', in RIZZI (1982b), pp. 117–184.
- RIZZI, LUIGI (1982b) *Issues in Italian syntax*. Dordrecht: Foris.
- RIZZI, LUIGI (1990) *Relativized minimality*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press.
- RIZZI, LUIGI (1997) 'The fine structure of the left periphery', in Haegeman (ed), pp.281–337.
- ROSS, JR (1984) 'Inner islands', MS, MIT.
- ROWLETT, PAUL (1993) 'On the syntactic derivation of negative sentence adverbials', *Journal of French Language Studies*, 3: 39–69.
- ROWLETT, PAUL (1996) *Negative configurations in French*. Doctoral dissertation, University of York. Distributed as *Working Papers in Language and Linguistics*, 11. Salford: University of Salford European Studies Research Institute.
- ROWLETT, PAUL (1997) 'Jespersen, negative concord and A'-binding', in FORGET ET AL. (eds), pp. 323–340.
- ROWLETT, PAUL (1998a) 'A non-overt negative operator in French', *Probus*, 10: 185–206.
- ROWLETT, PAUL (1998b) *Sentential negation in French*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- ROWLETT, PAUL (ed.) (2000) *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 98.1. Papers from the Salford negation conference.
- SANKOFF, GILLIAN AND DIANE VINCENT (1977) 'L'emploi productif du *ne* dans le français parlé à Montréal', *Le Français Moderne*, 45: 243–256. English version published as 'The productive use of *ne* in spoken Montreal French', in GILLIAN SANKOFF (1980) *The social life of language*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- SOLA, JAUME (1992) *Agreement and subjects*. Doctoral dissertation, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.
- SPEAS, MARGARET (1991) 'Functional heads and inflectional morphemes', *Linguistic Review*, 8: 389–417.
- STEPHENS, JANIG (1993) 'Breton', in BALL (ed.), pp. 349–409.
- STOWELL, TIM (1981) *Origins of phrase structure*. Doctoral dissertation, MIT.
- STUURMAN, FRITS (1985) *X-bar and X-plain: a study of X-bar theories of the phrase structure component*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Utrecht.