On the need for specifiers
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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-dis*agreement, guaranteeing feature compatibility rather than indentity.

(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:

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                        XP
                      /    \
          (Specifier)       X′
                          /    \
                         X      (Complement)
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(12) Hoekstra (1991: 24): "A specifier is an adjunct which agrees with a head."

(13) Specifiers versus adjuncts:

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                  XP
                /    \
              ZP      XP
               |     /    \
         (Adjunct) YPᵢ     XP
                    |      /  \
             (Specifier)  Xᵢ   . . .
```

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) [$_{IP}$ [$_{Spec}$ *pro*] fuma   . . .]   (Spanish)
                   smokes
     'He/She smokes.'

(16) Juan no$_i$ fuma   [$_{NegP}$ [$_{Spec}$ OP] t$_i$ . . .]   (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)   IP   (Rizzi 1982a)
                /   \
            Spec   I′
              | /   \
            pro   I°   . . .
                 [+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.
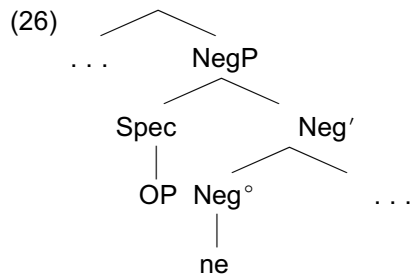

b. SpecNegP

(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

		Neg°	SpecNegP	
a.	French	ne	pas	(Pollock 1989; Rowlett 1993)
b.	Fɔn	ă	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?'

(26)
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          /\
 . . .    NegP
         /    \
     Spec      Neg′
       |       /  \
      OP    Neg°    . . .
              |
             ne
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(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.
        ∃x (x student) ∀y (y article) (x filed y)
        ∀y (y article) ∃x (x student) (x filed y)

     b. kapjos fititis   arhiothetise tahe arthro.   (Alexiadou and Anagnostopoulou's (16a))
        some student-NOM filed   every article
        ∃x (x student) ∀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.'
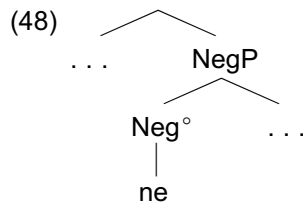
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b. Tots els jugadors_i estan convencus que guanyaran ells_i.
all the players are convinced that will-win they
'All the players_i are convinced that they_i are the ones who will win.'

(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 filos 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 [IP . . . [IP [IP . . . [IP [IP . . . .]]]]]]]]
    Pourquoi   t   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 satisified with anything.'

6 Conclusion and summary

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