2. The EPP and the notion of the Pole

In this chapter, I begin to construct the infrastructure that will allow us to address the issues on word order in Mexican Spanish that were introduced in the previous chapter. Following the discussion in §1.1, I argue that the EPP plays a fundamental role in explaining language-internal word order variation. Based on data from Spanish, however, I argue that the EPP is not defined with respect to a specific specifier position (say, [Spec, I]), but rather that it should be defined relationally. In the analysis I develop the EPP is satisfied in the specifier of the highest inflectional projection, whatever the specific category of this projection may happen to be, regardless of the grammatical relation (Case) associated with the phrase that functions as its specifier. The result is that the EPP is defined with respect to the highest inflectional specifier irrespective of whether it corresponds to an A or an A-Bar position. To reflect this fact, and to disassociate this specifier from any specific grammatical relation, I propose that it be referred to as the Pole of the clause.

In section §2.1 I introduce and define the notion of the Pole. Building crucially on the notion of Extended Projection (Grimshaw 1993, 1994, 1997, 2000), I depart from Grimshaw by suggesting that the minimal Extended Projection allowable in matrix clauses is IP and not VP, and that CP in turn constitutes a functional layer distinct from IP, as in Rizzi (1997). The purpose of establishing these distinctions will be to develop constraints that specifically target different layers of the Extended Projection. I then discuss a number of issues of clause structure in Spanish and I provide evidence from ellipsis that suggests that the EPP is not always satisfied in Spec-IP.

In section §2.2 I introduce the distinction between Pole and grammatical subject. First, I present evidence from ellipsis to show that subjects, topics, and interrogative *wh*-operators all occupy the same position in Spanish, and that this position corresponds to the Pole. At this point, the precise characterization of the notion of the Pole will be presented. I go on to discuss some of the advantages of having a notion of Pole that is distinct from the notion of subject. I conclude this chapter by presenting evidence from ellipsis and from the distribution of negative XPs that there are grammatical properties in Spanish which implicate the Pole and not the subject grammatical relation.

2.1 Pole vs. [Spec, I]

In this section I introduce the notion of the Pole and its relation to the EPP. First I discuss the characterization of clausal Extended Projections that my analysis assumes. I then provide evidence from the syntax of Spanish which supports a relational definition of the EPP. Since the notion of Extended Projection might be unfamiliar for some readers, I provide some detailed discussion of it in §2.1.1. The reader familiar with Grimshaw's proposal can proceed directly to §2.1.2.

2.1.1 Extended Projections

One of the most influential proposals that has been developed in optimality-theoretic syntax is the notion of *Extended Projection* (Grimshaw 1993, 1994, 1997, 2000). The core idea is that even though nominal and sentential expressions can

contain more than one projection (say $[_{CP}\,[_{IP}\,[_{VP}\ V]]]$ for a clause) all these projections together can constitute a single extended projection, unified by the fact that all its layers share the same categorial feature as the head of the lexical projection that is subjacent to all the other projections. In other words, CP, IP and VP form an extended projection by sharing the categorial feature [verbal]. What distinguishes the lexical projection from the functional projections that dominate it is what Grimshaw (2000) refers to as the *functional status* of each projection. The functional status of a projection is encoded as a value for the functional feature {F}, which is part of the feature content of every head. In this system, lexical categories are {F0}, the functional projection that immediately dominates the lexical projection is {F1}, the next functional projection is {F2} and so on. A category label can now be characterized as a pair that consists of a categorial specification and a functional specification:[1]

(1) a. V [verbal] {F0}
b. I [verbal] {F1}
c. C [verbal] {F2} Grimshaw (2000: 117)

A central idea is that the head of the lexical XP in an extended projection functions as the head of the whole extended projection. So in the structure

[1] The same applies to the nominal system, which I will not describe here, since nominal expressions will not be part of the analysis in this dissertation. Instead I refer the reader to Grimshaw (2000) for details.

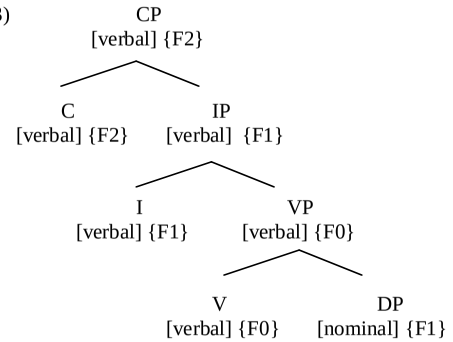
$[_{CP}\,[_{IP}\,[_{VP}\ V\ ]]]$, the lexical item under V is the head of the extended projection $[_{CP}\,[_{IP}\,[_{VP}\ ]]]$. This is defined as follows:

(2) EXTENDED PROJECTION
X is a *head* of YP, and YP is a projection of X iff:
a. YP dominates X.
b. YP and X share all categorial features.
c. All nodes intervening between X and Y share all categorial features, (where a node N *intervenes* between X and YP if YP dominates X and N, N dominates X, and N does not dominate YP).
d. No node intervening between X and YP is lexical.

(Grimshaw 2000: 117)

As an example, consider the following structure, from Grimshaw (2000):

(3)



In (3), IP is an extended projection of V. This is because, given the definition in (2), IP dominates V, IP and V share the same categorial features, in this case the feature [verbal], and the only node that intervenes between IP and V, in this case

VP's, also has the feature [verbal] and it is not a lexical node distinct from V.[2] Similarly, CP is an extended projection of V; CP dominates V, they share the same categorial feature, the nodes that intervene between CP and V (i.e. IP and VP) are also [verbal] and there is no lexical node distinct from V that intervenes between CP and V. Crucially, though, VP is not an extended projection of the N that heads the DP complement of V. This is because VP and N do not share the same categorial features: the former is [verbal], the latter is [nominal]. Grimshaw also notes that this system can be readily expanded to more complex analyses of clause structure such as those that include a Polarity or Negation Phrase (Laka 1990, Zanuttini 1997a, 1997b) and exploded versions of IP (Pollock 1989) which would include TP, AgrPs, etc.

There is a further requirement governing the well-formedness of extended projections, namely that YP in the definition in (2) has an {F} value higher than the {F} value of X.[3] This condition is met by both CP and IP in (3), which have the {F} values {F2} and {F1}, respectively, while V is {F0}. When V takes an IP (or a CP) complement, however, the projections of V will not form an extended projection with the IP complement of V. This is because the {F} value of V and its immediate projection, {F0}, is lower than the {F} value of I, {F1}.

[2] Grimshaw's definition does not distinguish between lexical nodes that are distinct from the head of the extended projection in the definition in (2) and those that are not. However, I believe that this distinction is necessary. Otherwise V could not be the extended head of IP because there is a lexical node (i.e. an {F0} node) that intervenes between IP and V, namely VP.

[3] See Grimshaw (2000: 117) for an alternative formulation where the {F} value of YP can instead be higher or equal to that of X.

In Grimshaw's proposal it is still possible to distinguish between the extended projection and the standard notion of a projection and its head, which Grimshaw refers to as a *perfect head/projection*, defined as follows.

(4) PERFECT PROJECTION
X is a *perfect head* of YP, and YP is a perfect projection of X iff:
X is a head of YP and the {F} value of YP is the same as the {F} value of X.

(Grimshaw 2000: 117)

The core of Grimshaw's proposal is that while a number of syntactic conditions clearly need the notion of perfect projection to define locality requirements, others are better understood if locality is defined with respect to the Extended Projection. The notion of Extended Projection has been successfully used in a number of works, both optimality-theoretic (see Sells *et. al* 1996, Samek-Lodovici 1996, Bakovic 1988, *inter alia*) and transformational (Haegeman 1995, Rizzi 1997). One of the most salient characteristics of Grimshaw's proposal is that it is compatible with the principle of Economy of Structure, in stark contrast with characterizations of clause structure that resort to a fixed template of functional and lexical projections. In the latter kind of analysis, a sentence is always a CP (or an exploded CP), which in turn dominates a fixed number of functional projections which in turn dominate a number of lexical projections. In the extended projection analysis, the different layers that constitute an extended projection are only projected to the extent that they are needed in order to satisfy the lexical requirements of functional heads, and/or to meet selection,

subcategorization and syntactic requirements independent of the lexical properties of these heads. Accordingly, Grimshaw (1997) suggests that a matrix clause with no auxiliary or modal involves only a VP, as in (5a), and a matrix clause with a modal or an auxiliary is just an IP, as in (5b). CP in matrix clauses is only projected when the presence of this projection is required to meet some extra well-formedness condition, such as fronting of a *wh*-operator to a left-peripheral specifier position.

(5) a. [$_{VP}$ John bought the newspaper].
b. [$_{IP}$ John will [$_{VP}$ buy the newspaper]].
c. [$_{CP}$ What will [$_{IP}$ John [$_{VP}$ buy]]]?

2.1.2 Minimal Extended Projections

Throughout this dissertation I adopt the Extended Projection analysis and with it the proposal that phrases are only projected when their presence is necessary to satisfy lexical or syntactic requirements. Still, Grimshaw's proposal raises two separate questions which are independent of the issue of Economy of Structure, and which, to the best of my knowledge, have not received any significant attention in the OT literature.[4]

The first issue has to do with the possibility of having a sentential projection without an inflectional layer. As seen in (5a), where the matrix sentence is just a VP,

[4] The purpose of the discussion that follows is to provide some independent support for the assumptions that; a) clauses with a tense specification always have an inflectional functional layer, and; b) that the inflectional layer is fundamentally distinct from the "complementizer layer" or C-layer. These are standard assumptions in transformational frameworks, but not in OT syntax, hence the need to address them in more detail.

this is indeed a possibility in Grimshaw's proposal, and Bakovic (1998) has developed an analysis of Spanish along these lines. Yet, I believe that there is considerable cross-linguistic evidence that this analysis of matrix clauses is not adequate. First of all, a representation like (5a) as a matrix clause would never be attested in languages where the verb always moves out of VP, such as Spanish and other Romance languages. Spanish, clearly enough, has surface strings identical to English (5a). However, following a classic argument made in Pollock (1989) for French, the position of adverbial elements indicates that even in these cases the verb has moved out of VP. Consider the following examples:

(6) a. Juan envolvió los chocolates.
Juan wrapped-up the chocolates
'Juan wrapped up the chocolates.'

b. Juan envolvió cuidadosamente los chocolates.
Juan wrapped-up carefully the chocolates
'Juan carefully wrapped up the chocolates.'

The position of the adverb between the verb and its DP complement is the unmarked position of a whole class of adverbial elements. This can be seen in the fact that if the adverb instead follows the DP complement of the verb, the corresponding sentence is one where the adverb is interpreted as a focus.

(7) Juan envolvió los chocolates cuidadosamente.
Juan wrapped-up the chocolates carefully
'Juan wrapped up the chocolates CAREFULLY.'

To the extent that we wish to maintain that the verb and the direct object are in a sisterhood relation at some level of representation, an analysis where the verb moves to a head position outside the VP is called for. In such an analysis, accounting for the word order facts in (6b) is unproblematic, since the position of the adverbial element can be taken to be a position in the left edge of VP.[5]

(8) [$_{IP}$ Juan envolvió$_i$ [$_{VP}$ cuidadosamente [t_i los chocolates]]].
Juan wrapped-up carefully the chocolates
'Juan carefully wrapped up the chocolates.'

Secondly, English shows a similar contrast that again points to the conclusion that even in cases like (5a) an IP is projected, even when English does not display the kind of verb movement observed in Spanish. Following an argument in Radford (1997), the examples in (9) receive a straightforward analysis if the adverbial is in a position outside (the minimal projection) of VP, and the subject DP is the specifier of an I^0, which in (9a) happens to be null. In contrast, it is not evident how to analyze (9a) if we start with the assumption that this example is just a VP.

(9) a. John usually reads a book every week.
b. John can usually read a book every week.

Perhaps the strongest argument against an analysis where matrix clauses can be just VPs comes from verb second phenomena in languages like Dutch and German.

[5] Perhaps a specifier position in a VP shell (Larson 1988), but I will not go into details here.

Consider the following contrast, amply documented in the literature on V2 languages, where the main verb occupies the verb-second position in the absence of an auxiliary, but appears in the sentence final position when an auxiliary is present.

(10) DUTCH
a. Jan zag een vogel. SVO
Jan saw a bird
b. Jan heeft een vogel gezien. SOV
Jan has a bird seen
(Holmberg & Rijkhoff 1998: 78)

In principle, we could analyze (10a) as a VP, just like English (5a). But then (10b) becomes immediately problematic, because now it is not clear why the main verb appears to the right of its complement and not to the left, as in the case where there is no auxiliary. In other words, if SVO is the basic (or underlying) order in (10a), then it is not clear why this order is not preserved when an auxiliary is present. In contrast, the standard analysis of Dutch as underlyingly SOV is straightforward. When there is an auxiliary, it occupies the verb-second position (a head position outside VP) and the subject (or some other XP) moves into the specifier of this head position to satisfy the V2 requirement. The main verb, in turn, remains in its base position. When there is no auxiliary, the main verb moves to the head position that would otherwise be occupied by the auxiliary, as in (11), which results in a derived SVO order. But, crucially for the point under discussion, this clearly implies that at the very least there is one more projection above the VP where the verb and its arguments are base-generated.

(11) Jan zag$_i$ [$_{VP}$ een vogel t$_i$].
Jan saw a bird

The same reasoning holds if we adopt the analysis in Zwart (1997), where Dutch is taken to be underlyingly SVO and where the OV order of (10b) is derived through object shift.[6] If object shift is a surface requirement in Dutch, then in order to derive the SVO order in (10a) we must conclude that verb *and* both its arguments have moved out of VP.

In conclusion, there is enough evidence to safely assume that in the most widely studied European languages a matrix clause consists minimally of a lexical projection and at least one functional projection above it. I will not take a stand on the issue of whether this can and should be characterized as a property of UG, or rather if it is the result of some specific property (or a specific constraint ranking, in an OT analysis) characteristic of these languages. For our purposes, based on the discussion above I assume that every matrix clause in Spanish and the other European languages to be discussed below has a functional shell that dominates the lexical layer. In this I depart from the analysis of Spanish in Bakovic (1998).

The second question raised by the Extended Projection analysis has to do with the nature of the functional shell itself. Turning back to the schema in (3), notice that Grimshaw's proposal does not contemplate any specific distinction between the phrases that constitute the functional shell, other than the specific category (i.e., C vs.

[6] See Haegeman (1995), though, for convincing evidence against this analysis.

I, for example) of the head of each projection. In relation to this issue, Grimshaw (2000) notes that in some Germanic languages like West Flemish, C inflects for the number of the subject DP.[7] This fact, argued by Grimshaw to provide further evidence for the notion of extended projection, is shown in the examples in (12), from Haegeman (1991), cited by Grimshaw (2000), where *da* corresponds to the [-plural] C and *dan* to the [+plural] C.

(12) WEST FLEMISH
a. ... da Jan noa Gent goat.
that Jan to Ghent goes
b. ... dan Jan en Pol noa Gent goan.
that Jan and Pol to Ghent go (Haegeman 1991:530)

While this phenomenon does provide evidence that VP, IP and CP form an extended projection, a different issue altogether is whether or not there is a fundamental distinction between the different kinds of projections that constitute the functional shell. In his analysis of the left periphery, Rizzi (1997) argues that such a distinction should be made, and that the C system is fundamentally distinct from the inflectional layer of the functional shell. He notes that:

> "Whatever "inflectional" properties C reflects, they are not encoded in the form of verbal morphology, in the general case: they are expressed on free functional morphemes (*that*, *que*, etc.) which, if anything, look nominal more than verb-like, as they often resemble demonstrative pronouns, *wh*-elements, certain kinds of nouns ("fact", etc.), etc."[8]

[7] See also Zwart (1997).
[8] Rizzi (1997: 284-285).

In Rizzi (1997) the C-system is composed of projections related to illocutionary force and discourse considerations (Topic Phrase, Focus Phrase), and the I-system is composed of projections that license agreement, Case, and the like. The proposal that I develop in this dissertation is considerably different[9], but I adopt from the start Rizzi's idea that there is a fundamental division between the projections that dominate VP. In this I depart from Grimshaw (1997, 2000). The reasons for adopting this assumption will become clearer as we proceed. For our immediate purposes, I propose the following distinction between the projections that constitute the functional shell.

(13) a. Π-Projections: IP, PolP (a polarity phrase), or exploded versions of these projections (TP, AgrSP, etc.).

b. K-Projections: CP, and recursions of CP.[10]

This proposal does not exclude the possibility of having exploded versions of CP, such as the Force and Finiteness Phrases of Rizzi (1997), or the Mood Phrase of Terzi (1999). However, this is an issue that will not be dealt with here, since throughout I will argue, following Zubizarreta (1998), that the fronting operations that Rizzi (1997) associates with the C-system are related in Spanish to the inflectional layer instead. In the spirit of Grimshaw's original proposal, though, I do assume that CP

[9] For example, my proposal does not contemplate the existence of either Topic or Focus phrases, and will consider topicalization and *wh*-movement as part of the I system, as in Zubizarreta (1998).
[10] K-projections correspond to the Σ-projections in Gutiérrez-Bravo (2000b).

(in contrast with IP) is only projected when its presence is required to satisfy some specific well-formedness condition. I further assume throughout that matrix clauses in Spanish involve only Π-Projections, and that K-Projections are found only in subordinate clauses (see also Doherty 1993 and Grimshaw 1997).

Summarizing the discussion so far, I adopt here the fundamental notions of the Extended Projection, but with two departures from Grimshaw's original proposal: a) matrix clauses always involve a functional shell, consisting minimally of an IP, and; b) within the functional shell, there is a fundamental distinction between the projections of the inflectional layer and those of the C-system, which I classify under the labels Π-Projections and K-Projections, respectively.

2.1.3 A redefinition of the EPP

In the introduction I argued for the following points: a) the EPP is a crucial factor in determining word order in Mexican Spanish; b) the evidence from Mexican Spanish indicates that the EPP has to be satisfied through XP movement and not through verb raising, contra Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1998), and; c) constituents other than the subject DP can satisfy the EPP. These three points are illustrated in the mini-paradigm in (14), which reproduces examples from Chapter 1.

(14) MEXICAN SPANISH
a. ??Compró Juan el periódico. V S O
bought Juan the newspaper
'Juan bought the newspaper.'

b. Juan compró el periódico. S V O
Juan bought the newspaper
'Juan bought the newspaper.'

c. Ayer compró Juan el periódico. Adv V S O
yesterday bought Juan the newspaper
'Yesterday Juan bought the newspaper.'

The question I address now has to do with the precise position referenced by the EPP. As previously mentioned, my proposal in this respect is that the EPP is satisfied in the highest inflectional projection of the extended projection, independently of the specific category of the head of this projection. In terms of the definition in (13), this means that the EPP is satisfied in the highest Π-Projection. The reason for adopting a relational definition of the position where the EPP is satisfied is best illustrated by a number of facts of Spanish clausal structure, which I now address.

First, consider a simple transitive clause. The standard analysis of these clauses that derives their SVO order consists of postulating that; (i) the subject is generated in a VP internal position; (ii) the verb moves to the head position of the highest inflectional phrase (IP or TP); and (iii) the VP-internal subject moves to the specifier position of this phrase (see Suñer 1994, Zubizarreta 1998, *inter alia*). This analysis is schematized in (15).

(15) $[_{IP}$ Juan$_i$ compró$_j$ $[_{VP}$ t_i t_j el periódico]]. S V O
Juan bought the newspaper
'Juan bought the newspaper.'

Establishing what exactly triggers fronting of the subject has been a more controversial issue.[11] Two different hypotheses have been proposed. In one, fronting of the subject is the result of the need to satisfy syntactic requirements, such as the EPP, and/or Case and agreement licensing (see Fernández-Soriano 1999 and Goodall 2001 for recent developments). In the other, fronting of the subject is the result of information structure considerations; topics are fronted in Spanish, as in many other languages, and the subject in (15) undergoes fronting because it is the default topic of the sentence (Meyer 1972; see also Contreras 1976 and Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 1998).[12] Based on the evidence presented in §1 that the EPP is an active requirement in Spanish, I adopt the former hypothesis. I present evidence against the latter hypothesis in chapter 4.

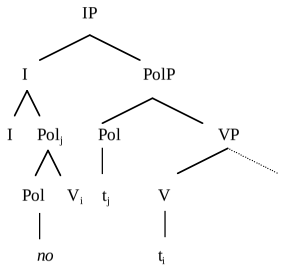
Consider now sentences where the sentential negation *no* appears. As shown in (16), the word order is the same irrespective of the presence of sentential negation.[13]

(16) Juan no compró el periódico. S V O
Juan not bought the newspaper
'Juan did not buy the newspaper.'

[11] In fact there are analyses like Contreras (1991) and Ordóñez & Treviño (1999) where it is claimed that the subject does not move to [Spec, I] at all. I will discuss these analyses in chapter 4 and in §2.2.1, respectively.
[12] Some analyses, like Zubizarreta (1998) involve a combination of these two hypotheses.
[13] The same is true of psych and unaccusative sentences, although, to the best of my knowledge, their word-order interaction with negation has not been as thoroughly discussed in the literature. Contreras (1976) does report, however, that predicates that show an unmarked VS order switch to an unmarked SV order in the presence of sentential negation. My judgments do not correspond to this, but it does seem that [S Neg V] unaccusative sentences have a freer distribution than, say, [S V] sentences where the subject is topicalized. It seems to me that in these cases there is an entirely different factor at play, namely, having the subject outside the scope of sentential negation. This is an important issue, since it would show that the interpretive properties of scope-taking elements may also play a role in determining word order in Spanish, but one that cannot be addressed here.

The crucial issue now is determining what exactly the structure of sentences like (16) is. The literature on Spanish and closely related languages like Italian basically considers two alternatives. In the first, *no* is the head of a Polarity Phrase (PolP) that is sandwiched between the projection whose head will be the ultimate landing site for verb movement and the rest of the inflectional layer (Haegeman 1995, Suñer 1995, Zubizarreta 1998). In these analyses, the verb is argued to adjoin to the negation as it moves through Pol^0 on its way to its final landing site. This is illustrated in (17):

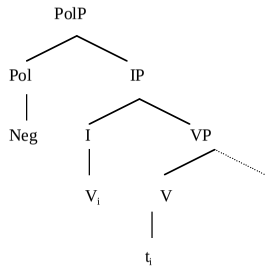
(17)



In the other alternative, PolP is the highest projection of the inflectional layer, but the final landing site of the verb is still I^0, so there is no adjunction or incorporation between the negation and the verb (Laka 1990[14], Contreras 1991; see Zanuttini (1997a) for Italian). This is illustrated in (18).

[14] Laka (1990) labels this Polarity Phrase 'Σ-Phrase'.

(18)



In this latter analysis the fronted subject in (16) would correspond to [Spec, Pol], as opposed to the fronted subject in (15). The consequences of each of these two hypotheses for syntactic phenomena outside negation have not received much attention in the literature (except in Zubizarreta 1998), but their differences surface immediately when we consider subject fronting and word order. In the analysis where PolP (or NegP) is sandwiched between the highest inflectional projection and the rest of the clause, accounting for the word order facts in the negative transitive sentence (16) is unproblematic. Whether the subject DP moves to Spec-IP for Case-theoretic reasons, or simply to satisfy the EPP (defined as either a well-formedness condition or as a feature-checking requirement), the landing site is always the same, independently of the presence of the negation. Consequently, it is not problematic to claim that nominative Case is assigned in Spec-IP, or that the EPP is a requirement defined specifically for this specifier position.[15]

[15] Analyses where nominative Case is assigned in [Spec, I] still face the separate problem of how to account for nominative DPs which do not appear in the preverbal position. I will address this issue in detail in the following chapter.

In contrast, the word order facts represent a challenge for those analyses where PolP is argued to be the highest inflectional projection because the fronted subject is in a different specifier position in (15) and (16). Accordingly, whatever syntactic requirement triggers the fronting of the subject DP, it cannot be defined with respect to a unique structural position. On the basis of this alone, it would seem that the analysis of Spanish sentential structure in (17) should be preferred. However, data from phrasal ellipsis renders this head-adjunction analysis extremely problematic.

It is a well-known fact about phrasal ellipsis in Spanish that it generally involves a polarity head preceded by the remnant of the ellided construction (Brucart 1987, 1999; López 1999; López & Winkler 2000). This is shown in the examples in (19), where the elided phrase is shown in strikethrough.[16]

(19) a. Juan consiguió las artesanías en Guadalajara, pero
Juan got the handcrafts in Guadalajara but
Luisa no [~~consiguió las artesanías en Guadalajara~~].
Luisa not
'Juan got the handcrafts in Guadalajara but Luisa didn't.'

b. Juan no consiguió las artesanías en Guadalajara, pero
Juan not got the handcrafts in Guadalajara but
Luisa sí [~~consiguió las artesanías en Guadalajara~~].
Luisa yes
'Juan did not get the handcrafts in Guadalajara but Luisa did.'

[16] See Brucart (1999) for a list and description of the polarity elements that can appear in these constructions, and their relation to the polarity of the antecedent clause.

As is also well-known, phrasal ellipsis in Spanish differs from English in that the highest inflectional head cannot appear with, or substitute for the polarity word.[17] This is shown in the examples in (21), adapted from López (1999).

(20) a. Susan had read War and Peace, but Mary hadn't.'
b. Susan had not read War and Peace, but Mary had.'

(21) a. *Susana había leído La Guerra y la Paz, pero María no había.
Susana had read The War and the Peace but María not had

b. *Susana no había leído La Guerra y la Paz, pero María había.
Susana not had read The War and the Peace but María had

It has also been widely argued that the constructions in (19) are true examples of phrasal ellipsis, analogous in many respects to English VP ellipsis. For example, they can appear in embedded contexts, as shown in (22):

(22) Susana leyó La Guerra y la Paz, pero creo [que
Susana read The War and the Peace but I-think that
María no ___].
María not
'Susana read War and Peace, but I think that María did not.'

Furthermore, they exhibit the strict or sloppy identity pattern observed in English VP ellipsis.

[17] An account of this difference between Spanish and English is developed in López (1999), to which I refer the reader for details.

(23) María no sacó dinero de su cuenta pero [yo sí ___].
María not took.out money from her account but I yes
STRICT: 'María did not take money out of her account but I did [~~take money out of her account~~].'
SLOPPY: 'María did not take money out of her account but I did [~~take money out of my account~~].'

The ellipsis facts do not pose a problem for the analysis of sentential structure in (18), where the negation heads a projection that dominates IP. As argued by Laka (1990), under this analysis constructions like (19) and (23-24) can be uniformly analyzed as cases of IP ellipsis.[18] From this perspective, the broader phenomenon under consideration can be characterized as phrasal ellipsis (VP ellipsis in English, IP ellipsis in Spanish). Accordingly, we expect to see some properties shared by these constructions, such as their possibility to appear in embedded contexts, even if their specific instantiation differs from one language to another.[19]

In contrast, in the head-adjunction analysis it is unclear why the polarity head, but not the verb or auxiliary to which it has adjoined, can appear in elliptical constructions. Furthermore, even if an analysis were developed to account for this fact, it would necessarily result in a loss of generalization: since V plus everything that follows it does not form a constituent in the analysis where the verb adjoins to the negation, this elision phenomenon could not be characterized as phrasal ellipsis, and its similarities with English VP ellipsis would go unaccounted for.

[18] In Laka's analysis, they would actually be cases of TP ellipsis, given her assumptions about phrase structure in Spanish.
[19] Phrasal ellipsis in Spanish and English is different in other respects besides the category of the elided XP. See López (1999) for discussion.

At this point, we have reached something of a stalemate. On the one hand, the hypothesis that PolP is sandwiched in the middle of the inflectional layer, which straightforwardly accounts for subject fronting in (39) and (40), is disconfirmed by the data from phrasal ellipsis.[20] On the other hand, the hypothesis that postulates that PolP dominates all other inflectional projections provides a direct account for the ellipsis facts, but it does not account for subject fronting.

However, a solution to this problem is arrived at if we adopt a relational definition of the EPP, such as the one in (24).

(24) EPP (Preliminary definition)
The specifier of the highest Π-Projection must be filled.

Crucially, this specifier is not defined in absolute categorial terms, but rather in strictly relative terms (i.e. with respect to the projections that it c-commands, and the projections that dominate it, in the case of subordinate clauses). In other words, if IP is the highest Π-Projection in an clause, then [Spec, I] must be filled. This is what is observed in the standard analysis of (15). But when there is a different Π-Projection

[20] Here I have concentrated on the evidence provided by ellipsis, since it will also be relevant for supporting some of the other claims developed in this chapter. Further evidence against the adjunction analysis of negation, however, can be found when Spanish is compared to other Romance languages. Zanuttini (1997a, 1997b), for example, notes that in some Romance languages and dialects the preverbal negation is indeed adjoined to the verb. However, Zanuttini notes that whether the preverbal negation is an independent head (as in Spanish and Italian) or whether it is adjoined to the verb, crucially correlates with different sets of properties. For instance, preverbal independent negative heads can negate the clause by themselves, whereas adjoined preverbal negative heads require an extra negative element to fulfill this function (this is the case of *ne* in literary French). I refer the reader to Zanuttini (1997b) for further details on these issues.

above IP, then the EPP is not satisfied in [Spec, I], but rather in the specifier of the projection above IP. With this definition we can adopt the hypothesis that PolP, when present, is the highest inflectional phrase in the Extended Projection in Spanish, which is compatible with the evidence from ellipsis. Fronting of the subject is no longer a problem, since the EPP has to be satisfied in Spec-PolP, not in Spec-IP, because PolP is the highest Π-projection. Accordingly, we can analyze (16) as in (25).

(25) [$_{PolP}$ Juan$_i$ no [$_{IP}$ compró$_j$ [$_{VP}$ t_i t_j el periódico]]].
Juan not bought the newspaper
'Juan did not buy the newspaper.'

The syntactic condition that triggers fronting of the subject is the same for sentences both with and without sentential negation. We thus account for the word order facts in (15-16) in a uniform manner, but without claiming that the EPP is satisfied in the exact same position in both cases.

It is here that the importance of assuming a fundamental division in the projections that constitute the functional shell above VP begins to emerge, since it does not seem adequate to claim instead that the EPP is satisfied in the highest phrase of the extended projection. This is because the same word order facts in (15-16) are observed in subordinate declarative clauses introduced by a complementizer. In these cases, CP is the highest phrase of the Extended Projection, but the subject is obviously not located in [Spec, C].

The definition of the EPP in (24) is conceptually related to the definition of the SUBJECT constraint of Grimshaw (1997). This constraint requires the highest A-specifier of the extended projection to be filled, which in Grimshaw's analysis is sometimes [Spec, V] and sometimes [Spec, I]. In other words, this is also a well-formedness condition that is not defined with respect to a unique structural position. However, the SUBJECT constraint and my definition of the EPP differ in a number of important aspects, which I address in chapter 3. For the time being, the issue to keep in mind is that the definition of the EPP in (24) is so far neutral to whether the specifier of the highest Π-Projection corresponds to an A-position or to an A-Bar position. The EPP is defined in this way is because there is evidence that the specifier of the highest Π-Projection in Spanish can be occupied by constituents other than the subject. In the next section, I illustrate this with further data from ellipsis.

2.2 Pole vs. Subject

In the previous section I argued that ellipsis provides evidence that a polarity phrase is the highest projection of the inflectional layer in Spanish. I now argue that ellipsis also provides evidence in favor of one of the central assumptions of this dissertation, namely, that different kinds of fronted constituents (fronted subjects, topicalized XPs and *wh*-operators) all compete for the same left peripheral position in Spanish. This provides our initial justification for a distinction between the notion of the Pole and the notion of grammatical subject.

2.2.1 Topicalization and *wh*-movement in ellipsis.

The idea that constituents other than the subject can occupy what has been referred to traditionally as the canonical subject position has a fairly long tradition in Spanish. In essence, there are two versions of this proposal. In one version, whose origins can be traced back to Meyer (1972), there are two left-peripheral positions, one for fronted topics, and a lower position for *wh*-phrases. In some variants of this version the subject position corresponds to the higher topic position, and the lower position corresponds to [Spec, I] (Vallduví 1992, Fontana 1994) or to the specifier of some other functional projection (Ordóñez & Treviño 1999). In another variant (Jiménez 1994), the position occupied by fronted subjects corresponds instead to the lower position (Spec-IP), and the higher position (Spec-CP) corresponds to the position occupied by fronted topics. In other words, one variant of this analysis claims that fronted subjects have the same distribution as topics (see also Zagona 2002), and the other one claims that they have the same distribution as *wh*-operators.

In the second proposal all fronted constituents compete for the "canonical" subject position, [Spec, I] or [Spec, T], depending on the analysis. This is either because these constituents must move through this position on their way to their ultimate landing site (as in the analysis of *wh*-movement in Goodall 1991a, 1991b) or because this position is in effect the ultimate landing site of all these constituents (the Generalized TP analysis of Zubizarreta 1998).[21]

[21] This kind of analysis of fronted constituents was originally proposed by Diesing (1990) for Yiddish.

Space considerations do not allow me to discuss the details and merits of each of these analyses. In what follows, I will simply follow Zubizarreta's (1998) proposal that all kinds of fronted constituents compete for the same landing site in Spanish. However, my analysis is different from Zubizarreta's in that this position does not necessarily correspond to [Spec, T], as discussed in the previous section for fronted subjects. Now, the crucial descriptive observations about ellipsis that lead us to the conclusion that a variety of fronted constituents have the same landing site are the following.

First, it is a well-known fact that the remnant of ellipsis in Spanish need not be the subject, as in the examples in §2.1, but rather it can be any argument or adjunct of the elided predicate (see Brucart 1999, López 1999). This is shown in the examples in (26). In (26a), the remnant of the elided construction is the subject, in (26b) it is the dative experiencer of a Psych predicate, and in (26c) it is a topical locative PP:

(26) a. Luis reprobó a Ernesto, pero [Juan no___].
Luis failed ACC *Ernesto but Juan not*
'Luis failed Ernesto, but Juan didn't.'

b. A Luis le gusta el café, pero [a Juan no___].
to Luis DAT-CL *likes the coffee but to Juan not*
'Luis likes coffee, but Juan doesn't.'

c. En ese café cobran carísimo, pero [en el otro no___].
in that coffee.shop they.charge very.expensive but in the other not
'In that coffee shop they charge a lot, but in the other one they don't.'

The fact that subjects and fronted topics show the same distribution with respect to ellipsis suggests that they occupy the same structural position.[22] This argument was first developed in Ordóñez & Treviño (1999) in relation to fronted subjects and left dislocated DOs and IOs. These authors suggest that the relevant position is the

[22] As pointed out to me by Judith Aissen (p.c.), the constructions in (26) and (27) below must be distinguished from one where the relevant XP follows the negation, as in (i.b):

(i) a. Invitó a Luis, pero [a Juan no ___]
he-invited ACC *Luis but* ACC *Juan not*
'He invited Luis, but Juan, he didn't (invite).'

b. Invitó a Luis, (pero) [no a Juan].
he-invited ACC *Luis but not* ACC *Juan*
'He invited Luis, (but) not Juan.'

Constructions like (i.b) are better analyzed as instances of stripping, since they differ from those cases involving true phrasal ellipsis in that they cannot appear in embedded contexts, a well-known characteristic of stripping also attested in English (Jackendoff 1972; the English examples are from López & Winkler 2000: 648).

(ii) *Invitó a Luis, pero creo que [no a Juan].
he-invited ACC *Luis but I-think that not* ACC *Juan*

(iii) a. Sam read many books but not novels.
b. *Sam read many books but I think that [not novels].

In contrast, as noted in López & Winkler (2000), the fact that constructions like (i.a) can appear in embedded contexts, as in (iv), argues against their analysis as instances of stripping and in favor of their analysis as true instances of phrasal ellipsis.

(iv) Invitó a Luis, pero creo que [a Juan no ___].
he-invited ACC *Luis but I-think that* ACC *Juan not*
'He invited Luis but I think that Juan, he didn't (invite).'

Furthermore, with an overt affirmative polarity head, the construction where the XP precedes the head is perfect, but the one where it follows it is not.

(v) a. No invitó a Luis, pero [a Juan sí ___].
not he-invited ACC *Luis but* ACC *Juan yes*
'He didn't invite Luis but Juan, he did (invite).'

b. ??No invitó a Luis, pero [sí a Juan].
not he-invited ACC *Luis but yes* ACC *Juan*

specifier of a Topic Phrase, and the ellipsis facts are presented by them in support of their analysis of preverbal subjects in Spanish as left-dislocated topical XPs.

But consider now a second descriptive observation that has not received very much attention in the literature, namely, that fronted *wh*-operators can also be the remnants of phrasal ellipsis in Spanish (Sánchez-López 1999). Just as in the cases examined above, the remnant *wh*-operator can be the subject DP, the dative experiencer of a Psych predicate, or some other argument or adjunct of the predicate in the elided phrase. Also, again analogous to what is observed in the phrasal ellipsis constructions previously discussed, the remnant can appear with either a negative or a positive polarity head. Some examples are presented below:[23]

(27) a. Luis apoya al candidato, pero [quién no]?
Luis supports ACC-*the candidate but who not*
'Luis supports the candidate, but (then again) who doesn't?'

b. A Luis no le gusta ir al doctor, pero [a quién sí]?
to Luis not DAT-CL *like go to-the doctor but to whom yes*
'Luis doesn't like to go to the doctor, but who does?'

c. No sé que libros ya compré y [cuáles no].
not I-know which books already I-bought and which-one-PL *not*
'I don't know which books I have already bought and which ones I haven't.'

[23] All the examples below are from Mexican Spanish. See Sánchez-López (1999) for other examples.

d. No sé a quiénes no les pidieron identificación
not I-know to whom-PL *not* DAT-CL-PL *they-asked-for ID*
y [a quiénes sí].
and to whom-PL *yes*
'I don't know to whom they didn't ask for ID and to whom they did.'
(=I don't know who wasn't asked for ID and who was.)

e. En ese café cobran carísimo, pero [en dónde no]?
in that coffee.shop they-charge very.expensive but in where not
'In that coffee shop they charge a lot, but where don't they?'
(=That coffee shop is very expensive, but (then again) which one isn't?)

These constructions behave just like other instances of phrasal ellipsis. For example, they can also appear in embedded contexts as shown in (28).

(28) a. Sé que muchos colegas apoyan al candidato, pero Juan
I-know that many colleagues support ACC-*the candidate, but Juan*
todavía no me ha dicho [quiénes no ___].
still not to-me has said who-PL *not*
'I know that many colleagues support the candidate, but Juan still hasn't told me which (of them) don't.'

b. Sé que Juan quería comprar algunos de estos libros,
I-know that Juan wanted buy some of these books
pero no sé [cuáles no ___].
but not I-know which-PL *not*
'I know that Juan wanted to buy some of these books, but I don't know which ones he didn't.'

c. Aquí, en casi todos los bares te piden identificación,
here in almost all the bars to-you ask.for ID
pero Juan ya me dijo [en cuáles no ___].
but Juan already to-me said in which-ones not
'Here, in almost every bar they ask you for ID, but Juan has already told me in which ones they don't.'

Furthermore, just like other phrasal ellipsis constructions, they display both a strict and a sloppy reading, as shown in (29).

(29) a. Luis apoya a sus estudiantes, pero [quién no __]?
Luis supports ACC *his students but who not*
STRCIT: 'Luis supports his students, but who doesn't [~~support his~~ (=Luis') ~~students~~]?'
SLOPPY: 'Luis supports his students, but who doesn't [~~support his~~ (own) ~~students~~]?'

We have seen that the examples in (26) have been used in Ordóñez & Treviño (1999) as evidence for an analysis where subjects and fronted topics occupy the same position. Once we consider (27-29), parity of reasoning suggests that this position is also occupied by fronted *wh*-operators. Crucially though, this also shows that the relevant position is not the specifier of a Topic Phrase, since it is not usually assumed that *wh*-phrases can occupy such a position. These examples also show that the highest inflectional specifier in Spanish is not necessarily an A-position, and so defining it in terms of the A/A-Bar distinction is not adequate either.

Summarizing the discussion so far, the data from ellipsis points to the conclusion that subjects, topics, and *wh*-operators all occupy the same position and that this position is not [Spec, Top]. Clearly, the simplest analysis is one where all these constituents correspond to the specifier of the polarity head. Recall now that Spec-Pol further is the position where the EPP is satisfied, since PolP is again the highest projection in the inflectional layer in (26-29). What we need to do now is to reconcile these facts with the definition of the EPP in (24).

2.2.2 Characterizing the Pole

The definition of the EPP in (24) targets the specifier of the highest Π-Projection. With respect to this, notice now that the specifier of the highest Π-Projection is not just any specifier. All else being equal, in matrix sentences the constituent functioning as the specifier of this projection c-commands the whole of the extended projection.[24] In other words, the XP in this specifier position is more prominent than any other constituent in the extended projection. In my view, this is why the specifier of the highest Π-Projection has a special structural status, and why there exist well-formedness constraints and conditions on representation that specifically target it. I further propose that the specifier of the highest Π-Projection has this special structural status regardless of whether it corresponds to an A-position or to an A-bar position.[25]

Now, one of the core ideas that I pursue here is that the specifier of the highest Π-Projection does *not* correspond to what is referred to as the canonical subject position in the literature on word order. I discuss this in detail in the following chapter, where we will see that Spanish provides strong evidence that there needs to be a crucial distinction between this specifier position and what Grimshaw (1997) and

[24] Throughout this dissertation, I adopt the (first) definition of c-command in Reinhart (1981: 612):

(i) Node A c(onstituent)-commands node B iff the branching node most immediately dominating A also dominates B.

See also Barker & Pullum (1990) for a more precise definition of this command relation.

[25] As will be argued in the following chapter, my proposal crucially departs in this respect from related considerations developed in Grimshaw (1997).

others refer to as the "canonical subject position", even though they overlap in many cases. In order to denote the specifier of the highest Π-Projection without making any reference to subjecthood, from here onwards, I refer to this specifier as the **Pole** of the clause. My final version of the EPP is thus defined with respect to the Pole specifier:

(30) EPP
Clauses must have a Pole.

In claiming that the EPP can be satisfied by constituents other than the subject I follow recent proposals developed both in transformational frameworks[26] and in Optimality-theoretic syntax[27] which argue that the EPP is a purely structural condition that requires some specifier position to be filled, independently of the category or grammatical relation of the constituent that fills it.[28] However, the central claim of this dissertation is that the Pole in Spanish is associated with a number of other grammatical properties, and not just the satisfaction of the EPP. Before providing evidence in support of this claim, it is worth examining some further details of what I take the Pole of the clause to be.

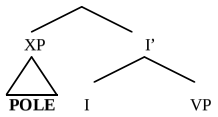
[26] Branigan (1992); Jonas & Bobaljik (1993); Babyonyshev (1996); Collins (1997); Zubizarreta (1998); Fernández-Soriano (1999); Chomsky (2000); Holmberg (2000); McCloskey (2001); see also McCloskey (1997) on the 'decomposition' of subject properties in recent research in this transformational syntax.

[27] See Grimshaw (1997); Roberts (2000); the interpretation of the SUBJECT constraint in Mikkelsen (2000).

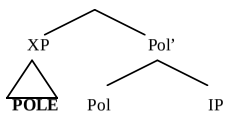
[28] This contemporary conception of the EPP is of course very different from Chomsky's (1981,1982) original definition of this principle, which made crucial reference to the subject of the clause. See McCloskey (1997, 2001) for discussion.

As we have seen in our discussion of sentential structure in Spanish, the crucial characteristic of the Pole is that it corresponds to a specifier position that is defined relationally. When the highest inflectional projection of a sentence is IP, then [Spec, I] will be the Pole of the clause. When the highest inflectional projection of a sentence is PolP, then [Spec, Pol] will be the Pole of the clause.

(31) a.

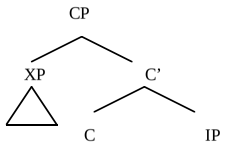


b.

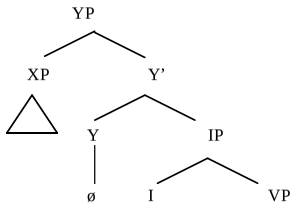


There are two crucial cases where I assume that a specifier position in the functional shell above VP *does not* correspond to the Pole of the sentence, though. The first one is Spec-CP, the other one is the specifier of an inflectional projection that has the same features as the inflectional projection that it immediately dominates (roughly, IP recursion). These two cases are schematized in (32) where, for exposition, IP stands as the highest projection of the inflectional layer.

(32) a.



b.



[Spec, C] in (32a) is not the Pole of the clause, since CP is not part of the inflectional layer. Notice, though, that [Spec, C] still is the highest specifier of the extended projection, even when it is not the highest specifier of the inflectional layer. As will become clear in the chapters that follow, there is in fact a need for both notions, for there are properties related to the highest inflectional specifier (the Pole) and properties related instead to the highest specifier of the extended projection.

Case (32b) is somewhat different. Here, I take YP to be indeed part of the inflectional layer, but it is a phrase that is not distinct in its feature content from IP. In a number of Optimality-theoretic analyses (see for example Grimshaw 1997), structures like (32b) are generated by GEN and can emerge as winners when, for example, it is necessary to move an operator to a specifier position above IP but below CP. From here onwards, I will refer to projections like YP in (32b) as *vacuous projections*. This label is not intended to imply that this kind of projection does not play any role in the syntax. Rather, it is meant to characterize the fact that the inherent features[29] of the head of a phrase like YP are identical to inherent features of the head of the functional projection that it immediately dominates (so, as already mentioned, alternatively we could characterize YP in (32b) as an instance of IP recursion). Crucially for the analysis that follows, I assume that the specifier of a vacuous

[29] By inherent features I mean the features that are specified as part of the lexical entry of a head. The functional specification of each head (discussed in relation to (1)), i.e. its {F} value, will indeed be different for I and the head of YP in (32b), but {F} is not an inherent feature. Rather, as discussed in §2.1.1, its value is defined relationally, depending on the position that each head occupies in the Extended Projection.

projection is never the Pole of the clause. In other words, whatever syntactic constraints target the Pole position (such as the EPP), will target [Spec, I] in (32b), and not the specifier of YP. Nor does an XP adjoined to the highest inflectional projection correspond to the Pole, since the Pole is defined exclusively in terms of a Spec-head relation between an XP and the highest inflectional head.

Ultimately, my suggestion is that the Pole is not a construct specific to Spanish, since facts similar to those that I will analyze in the following chapters have been reported in the literature for other languages. For instance, the unmarked word orders of different kinds of predicates in Spanish (to be analyzed in §3) are also attested in Italian (Pinto 1994; Arnaiz 1998; see also Belletti & Rizzi 1988). Topicalization facts similar to the ones discussed for Spanish in §4 are observed in Tz'utujil (Mayan: Aissen 1999b; Aissen, p.c.). Word order facts similar to those discussed in §5 for Spanish *wh*-interrogatives are reported for Greek in Costa (2001). However, it is beyond the scope of this dissertation to address this issue, which requires detailed and careful investigation for each relevant case. Instead I concentrate on providing a detailed analysis of a number of facts from the syntax of Spanish that support the adoption of the Pole as a relevant grammatical construct.

Now that we have defined the concept of the Pole, it is necessary to discuss its relation to the concept of grammatical subject. One of the central proposals of this dissertation is that the notion of the Pole is not equivalent to, and needs to be kept separate from, the notion of subject, even though the Pole and the subject overlap in a great many cases. Consider a simple example from English.

(33) Some students are waiting outside the coffee shop.

This is a case where the Pole and the subject overlap. The DP [some students] is the Pole since it is the specifier of the highest Π-phrase (IP or TP, depending on the analysis). Under the assumption that agreement with the highest inflectional head and/or nominative Case is a diagnostic for subjecthood (in the traditional sense), this DP is also the subject of the sentence.[30] Yet even in a language like English, where the correlation *subject-highest inflectional specifier* is very strong, there are cases where it can be argued that the two notions are clearly differentiated. Existential-*there* constructions are perhaps the most common case.

(34) There are some students waiting outside the coffee shop.

In this case (pre-theoretically, at least) the DP that agrees with the verb is not the specifier of the highest inflectional head and this highlights the distinction between the subject and the Pole. Concretely, [the students] in (34) is still the DP that regulates agreement (i.e., the subject in the traditional sense), but in this case the expletive *there* functions as the Pole of the clause. The syntactic conditions that each of the two elements satisfy are also different. The argument DP functions as the *pivot*

[30] Here I will not attempt to give a comprehensive definition of 'subject', since there are considerable differences across theoretical frameworks with respect to how to characterize subjecthood (see McCloskey 1997 for discussion). Instead I will rely on the standard diagnostics for identifying subjects in languages like English and Spanish, such as verb agreement and nominative Case.

that regulates agreement by the highest inflectional head, while the expletive, following standard assumptions, is nothing more than a place-filler which satisfies the EPP.[31]

In this respect, the notion of the Pole stems in part from the central assumption of both Government and Binding and the Minimalist Program that the subject grammatical relation should not be considered a primitive of the theory. Instead of postulating a unified notion of subject, these transformational frameworks have claimed that the properties traditionally associated with the subject DP are distributed in different positions in the clause (see McCloskey 1997). For English and other Germanic languages, a good number of the arguments in favor of this idea have been provided by the study of expletive-associate constructions like the one above (see for example Chomsky 1995, 2000).[32]

Existential-*there* constructions are also illustrative in that they show that the distinction I propose between subject and Pole does not correspond to the traditional

[31] The distinction between subject and Pole also accommodates languages that have no EPP effects, but where subjects still need to be licensed in a specific position outside VP, such as Irish (McCloskey 1996, 2001; see also Alexiadou &Anagnostopoulou 1998 and the comments on their analysis in §1.1). Irish is a strict VSO languge, whose basic word order is argued by McCloskey to result from the following two considerations: (i) V raises to T (and no further) in finite clauses, and (ii) the EPP is inactive in this language, so the specifier of the highest inflectional phrase (TP in McCloskey's analysis) is always empty. However, McCloskey identifies a position in the inflectional layer below TP where subjects move to have their nominative Case licensed, as is evidenced by stranded quantifiers, word order of the subject DP with respect to the main verb in periphrastic aspects, and other facts. McCloskey argues convincingly that the evidence from Irish indicates that two properties previously associated with the grammatical subject (nominative Case and satisfaction of the EPP) must be kept distinct. In terms of my proposal, Irish is a language where clauses do not have a Pole. However, I follow McCloskey's analysis in that this does not entail that there will not be other positions in the inflectional layer which license properties typically associated with subjects, such as nominative Case.

distinction between *subject* and Brentano and Marty's *logical subject* (see Kuroda 1972 for a contemporary approach). Under this distinction, thetic judgements correspond to sentences that have no logical subject, and existential-*there* sentences are typical instances of thetic constructions in English. Yet these constructions still require a place-filler in the highest inflectional specifier. In our terms, they still require a Pole to satisfy the EPP, even when they lack a logical subject altogether. In terms of their function, the Pole and the logical subject are also clearly distinct. As I will argue throughout this dissertation, the *prima facie* function of the Pole is to satisfy the EPP, which is nothing more than a structural requirement on sentential structure. In contrast, the logical subject identifies an entity of which some property will be later ascribed, i.e., it is the target of predication. Furthermore, recall that the evidence from ellipsis indicates that *wh*-operators can correspond to the Pole, and in §5 I will present more evidence to this effect. Crucially, this also supports the distinction between Pole and logical subject, since *wh*-operators are not usually assumed to be possible logical subjects.[33]

The need for a notion of the Pole independent from both the subject grammatical relation and the logical subject is most evident when we consider a number of syntactic phenomena in Spanish, though. The bulk of the evidence is presented in the

[32] The notion of the Pole, however, is not incompatible with frameworks where the subject grammatical relation is a primitive of the theory. Rather, in my view satisfaction of the EPP would need to be kept separate from the characteristics that define subjecthood in such frameworks.

[33] Clearly enough, the Pole and the logical subject can still overlap in many cases. Example (33) is arguably a case where the three relevant notions, grammatical subject, logical subject, and Pole, all overlap. The precise characterization of the relation between the Pole and the logical subject in these cases is an issue that I leave open for future research.

chapters that follow, where I show how the notion of the Pole can account for facts related to unmarked word order, topicalization and *wh*-movement in Spanish in general, and in Mexican Spanish in particular. In the remainder of this chapter, I present some preliminary evidence from ellipsis and the distribution of negative XPs in Spanish which indicate that these phenomena crucially implicate the Pole, and that the Pole cannot be identified with the grammatical subject.

2.3 Preliminary evidence for the Pole in Spanish

2.3.1 The Pole as the remnant of ellipsis

We have seen that there is evidence from ellipsis that suggests that subjects, topics and *wh*-operators all occupy the same position in Spanish. However, clauses that display ellipsis differ from clauses that do not in one important respect. As is well-known, topics in Spanish can freely stack over either another topic or a *wh*-operator. This is attested both in the absence and in the presence of an overt polarity head, as shown in the examples in (35) and (36).[34]

(35) a. Las artesanías, Juan las consiguió en Guadalajara.
the handcrafts Juan ACC-CL *found in Guadalajara*
'The handcrafts, Juan got them in Guadalajara.'

b. Las artesanías, Juan no las consiguió en Guadalajara.
the handcrafts Juan not ACC-CL *found in Guadalajara*
'The handcrafts, Juan didn't get them in Guadalajara.'

[34] I assume that both topics and *wh*-operators are in a dependency relation with a null category in the VP (see §1.2.2 and §1.3.1). For the cases of ellipsis that follow, this means that *remnant* is to be understood as a displaced XP that is either an argument or an adjunct of the predicate elided along with the IP.

(36) a. La tarea, quién ya la hizo?
the homework who already ACC-CL *did*
'Who already did the homework?'

b. La tarea, quién no la hizo?
the homework who not ACC-CL *did*
'Who did not do the homework?'

The detailed analysis of this stacking pattern will be the subject of chapters 4 and 5. For present purposes it is enough to note that in the analysis I will develop I analyze the leftmost fronted XP in (35-36) as adjoined to the highest Π-projection and the one that follows it to be the Pole of the clause ([Spec, I] in the (a) examples, [Spec, Pol] in the (b) examples).

This stacking pattern, however, is not possible in phrasal ellipsis constructions. As noted in López (1999; fn 15), stacking of a fronted topic over a remnant *wh*-operator results in robust ungrammaticality. The examples in (37) are my own.

(37) a. *Ya sé quién hizo los ejercicios, pero [la tarea
already I-know who did the excercises but the homework
quién no]?
who not

b. *A Juan no le gusta Oslo, pero [Noruega a quién sí]?
to Juan not DAT-CL *like Oslo but Norway to whom yes*

The situation with stacked topics is a bit more complex. Speakers of Mexican Spanish mostly reject elliptical constructions with stacked topics. Similar judgments

are reported for both Mexican and Peninsular Spanish in Ordóñez & Treviño (1999). Some examples are included below.[35]

(38) MEXICAN SPANISH

a. *Juan consiguió las artesanías en Guadalajara, pero los dulces
Juan found the hancrafts in Guadalajara but the sweets
Luisa no.
Luisa not

b. *Juan consiguió las artesanías en Guadalajara, pero en Mérida
Juan found the handcrafts in Guadalajara but in Mérida
Luisa no.
Luisa not

c. ??Juan consiguió las artesanías en Guadalajara, pero Luisa
Juan found the handcrafts in Guadalajara but Luisa
en Mérida no.
in Mérida not

Brucart (1999) and López (1999), however, report examples like (39a-b), where apparently two topical remnants are allowed, presumably from a different variety of Peninsular Spanish than the one reported in Ordóñez & Treviño (1999). In an informant survey of six speakers of Mexican Spanish, all found (39b) robustly ungrammatical. Half of these six speakers further consider (39a) either ungrammatical or strongly deviant.[36]

(39) a. Yo podría regalarle los pendientes a mi madre, pero [el collar
I could give-to-her the ear-rings to my mother but the necklace
a mi padre no].
to my father not
'I could give the earrings to my mother, but I couldn't give my father the necklace'
(López 1999: 285)

b. Luis no estaba haciendo crucigramas, pero [Pedro jeroglíficos sí].
Luis not was making crosswords but Pedro hyeroglyphs yes
'Luis was not making crossword puzzles, but Pedro was (making) hyeroglyphs'.
(Brucart 1999: 2816, fn. 38)

It is not immediately obvious that the examples in (39) truly constitute instances of topic stacking under ellipsis. Notice that the relative order of the two remnants in these examples is the same as the one in the antecedent clause, i.e. the canonical linear order of the arguments under consideration in non-elided sentences. Although this is indeed a possibility allowed for multiple fronted topics in Spanish, the typical case is that the relative order of multiple fronted topics is different from the one that these constituents show when they remain in-situ.[37] So compare the examples in (35), where the fronted DO precedes the fronted subject with (39), where the subject precedes the DO. Neither Brucart (1999) nor López (1999) indicate whether both

[35] Some speakers of Mexican Spanish do find (38c) to be acceptable. In analyzing these examples, however, care should be taken not to confuse a small clause with two potential remnants; in the former case the resulting construction is fine because the small clause is the single syntactic unit and so we have a single remnant:

(i) Juan tiene [$_{SC}$ amigos en Barcelona], pero [$_{SC}$ amigos en Madrid] no.
Juan has friends in Barcelona but friends in Madrid not
'Juan has friends in Barcelona, but friends in Madrid he doesn't.'

Accordingly, it may be possible that the speakers who accept (38c) might be giving the two XPs preceding *no* a small clause interpretation.

[36] My own judgments are that both examples are ungrammatical, but (39b) is almost unparsable.

[37] This is an issue that I will address in detail in chapter 4.

orders are possible in cases like (39), and they do not test these constructions with the diagnostics used to identify true cases of ellipsis (acceptability in embedded contexts, sloppy readings, etc.).

Another possibility is that ultimately this might just be an issue of dialectal variation. In support of this hypothesis, notice that Portuguese (Matos 1994:349; reported in Lopez 1999: 285) shows the same restriction as Mexican Spanish against stacking multiple topics in elliptical constructions.

(40) PORTUGUESE
a. Esse editor, à Maria pagou os direitos de autor.
that editor to Mary paid the copyright

b. *O João já pagou os direitos de autor ao Pedro e
John already paid the copyright to Peter and
[esse editor, à Maria também].
that editor to Mary too

English, on the other hand, does allow for more than one remnant in VP ellipsis constructions. As noted in Schuyler (2001), one of the remnants corresponds to the subject, and the other one can be an interrogative operator, a relative operator or a fronted topic (see also López & Winkler 2000).

(41) a. I don't know which puppy you SHOULD adopt, but I know [which one you SHOULDN'T ___].

b. I discovered that my cat had scratched some of the furniture, and then I sold the furniture [that he HADN'T ___].
(Schuyler 2001)

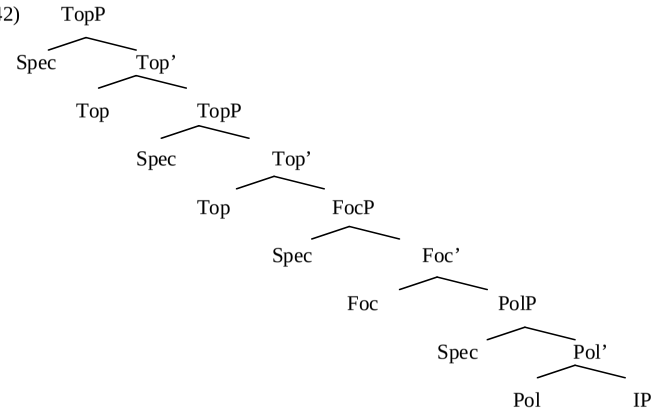
c. The knife, he put in the cupboard, but [the forks, he didn't ___].
(López & Winkler 2000: 659, fn. 17)

d. At UCSC we pay our junior faculty a considerable amount of money in their first year, but [at UCM they don't ___].

Pending further investigation of this issue, I will assume that the difference in judgments on the examples in (39) is indeed due to dialectal variation. Consider now how the data from Mexican Spanish in (37-38) suggest that the remnant of phrasal ellipsis has to be the Pole. Assume that some languages like Mexican Spanish and Portuguese are set to a condition that requires the remnant of phrasal ellipsis to be licensed by a Head-Spec relation with the head of the highest phrase in the inflectional layer (in these cases the polarity head of PolP). The fact that languages like English do allow for multiple remnants points to the conclusion that their absence in Portuguese and some varieties of Spanish is probably not due to pragmatic considerations. Now, in the analysis where different kinds of fronted constituents all compete for the same position (the Pole), the facts observed in Mexican Spanish receive a straightforward explanation. The remnant of phrasal ellipsis can be a subject, the experiencer of a Psych predicate, a fronted topic or a *wh*-Operator, since they all occupy the same position. But since the remnant of ellipsis has to be licensed in a Head-Spec relation with the head of the highest head in the inflectional layer, it follows that only one of these elements can appear as the remnant in phrasal ellipsis constructions. In contrast, in cases where there is no ellipsis multiple topics can be adjoined freely to the highest phrase when the Pole specifier is already occupied.

In contrast, it is not clear how a multi-phrasal left-periphery analysis could account for these facts. Consider a sketch of clausal structure in such an analysis, schematized in (42). Following Rizzi (1997), the multiple Topic Phrases would host multiple fronted topics in their specifiers, and [Spec, Foc] would correspond to the position occupied by fronted *wh*-operators.

(42)



Given the structure in (42), it is not clear why there can only be one fronted remnant in phrasal ellipsis, since the landing sites for subjects, *wh*-operators and topics are still available after IP has been elided. It would not be clear how the condition licensing the single remnant should be stated either, since subjects, *wh*-operators and topics all occupy distinct positions. In the analysis I propose, the remnant is always the Pole, which stands in a Spec-Head configuration with the head

of the highest inflectional phrase. In the structure in (42), by contrast, no such relation could arise. Even if we devised a mechanism where, for some reason, only one left peripheral phrase could be projected when ellipsis takes place, if the remnant were a topic or a *wh*-operator, it would still not be in a Spec-Head configuration with the highest inflectional head, and extra machinery would be required to define the licensing condition on the remnant.

2.3.2 Negation and the Pole in Spanish

The Pole is also relevant for determining some of the interpretive properties of a clause, independently of; a) the specific category of the highest inflectional phrase, and; b) the grammatical relation of the constituent that functions as the Pole. The relevant data come from negation, the distribution of negative XPs, and double negation constructions in Spanish.

Spanish is a negative concord language, as is well-known, and its properties in this respect have been widely studied (see for example Bedell-García 1993, Haegeman 1995, Suñer 1995, Sánchez-López 1999, to cite just a few references). Just as in many other negative concord languages, there are two ways of expressing sentential negation in Spanish: either by the negative head *no*, as in (43a), or by a preverbal negative XP,[38] as in (43b).

[38] There is considerable debate in the literature as to whether negative XPs in Romance languages are negative quantifiers or rather negative polarity items (see Haegeman 1995 for a brief overview of this debate). Settling this matter will not be crucial for our purposes, and so I will use the label *negative XP* throughout.

(43) a. No llegaron los muchachos.
not arrived the boys
'The boys didn't arrive.'

b. Nadie llegó.
no-one arrived
'No one arrived.'

In Spanish, the preverbal negative XP that expresses negation does not need to be the subject DP, as shown in (44). In (44a) the preverbal negative XP corresponds to the direct object of the verb, in (44b) to a temporal adjunct.[39]

(44) a. A nadie vio Juan en su viaje a las montañas.
ACC *no-one saw Juan in his trip to the mountains*
'Juan saw no-one in his trip to the mountains.'

b. Nunca habíamos viajado a París.
never we-had traveled to Paris
'We had never traveled to Paris.'

As is also well-known, a negative XP cannot appear by itself in the post-verbal field. This is shown in the examples in (45).

(45) a. *Llegó nadie.
arrived no-one

b. *Juan vio a nadie en su viaje a las montañas.
Juan saw ACC *no-one in his trip to the mountains*

[39] Zubizarreta (1998) reports that fronted negative XPs in these cases must be intonationally prominent. This does not correspond to my judgements and is not reported in other works dealing with these facts either (Fontana 1994, Suñer 1995, Sánchez-López 1999).

c. *Habíamos viajado nunca a París.
we-had traveled never to Paris

Post-verbal negative XPs can be licensed by either of two mechanisms. They can be licensed by the negative head *no*, as in (46). Alternatively they can be licensed by a preverbal negative XP, as in (47).

(46) a. No llegó nadie.
not arrived no-one
'No one arrived'

b. Juan no vio a nadie en su viaje a las montañas.
Juan not saw ACC *no-one in his trip to the mountains*
'Juan saw no-one in his trip to the mountains.'

c. Juan no había viajado nunca a París.
Juan not had traveled never to Paris
'Juan had never traveled to Paris.'

(47) a. Nadie dijo nada.
no-one said nothing
'No one said anything'

b. Aquí nunca viene nadie.
here never comes no-one
'No one ever comes here.'

c. A nadie le entregó nada.
to no-one DAT-CL *he.handed-in nothing*
'He handed in nothing to no one/ He didn't hand in anything to anyone.'

Most sources in the literature agree that there are two crucial characteristics of the Spanish pattern (also seen in closely related languages, such as Italian[40] and Portuguese; see for example Zanuttini 1997b for discussion) that need to be accounted for. The first is the fact that there is more than one way to license a post-verbal negative XP, as in (46) and (47). The second one relates to the interpretive properties of the negative concord pattern, namely, the fact that preverbal negative XPs contribute to the polarity value of the sentence (as in (43a) and (44)) but post-verbal negative XPs do not: in other words, in (46) and (47) there is more than one negative element, the post-verbal negative XP and the negative element that licenses it, but this does not result in a multiple negation interpretation.

In what follows I suggest an answer to the second issue based on the notion of the Pole, and this in turn provides an answer to the first issue of the licensing of negative XPs. The fundamental insight comes from Ladusaw (1992). Ladusaw argues that the interpretive properties observed in negative concord are best understood as the result of conditions which specify the structural positions where a feature [NEG] is semantically potent. In negative concord languages (as opposed to, say, standard English) the presence of a feature [NEG] in the sentence does not by itself guarantee that this feature will have an effect on the polarity value of the sentence. There are

[40] Despite their similarities there are important differences between the syntactic realization of negation in Spanish and Italian that space considerations prevent me from accounting for here (see Haegeman 1995, chap. 4 for an overview). At this point, I am unaware if similar differences exist between these two languages, on the one hand, and Portuguese, on the other. Furthermore, my own research points to the conclusion that considerable differences also exist between Mexican and Peninsular Spanish. To the best of my knowledge, however, the data presented in (43-47) is consistent in these two varieties of Spanish.

some structural positions where the presence of a [NEG] feature has an effect on the interpretive properties of the clause and others where it does not. In Ladusaw's analysis, sentential negation is ultimately expressed by the head of a phrase in what would correspond to the Extended Projection in our terms. There are two different ways in which such a head can bear the [NEG] feature. It can be part of its inherent feature content (as in the case of *not* in English) or it can acquire it from a specifier sister or an adjoined sister. I will adopt Ladusaw's analysis and insights as a starting point, but I will suggest a number of modifications as we go along.

First, I propose that the expression of negation in Spanish is regulated by two (and only two) separate conditions. One corresponds to Ladusaw's case where an inherently negative head is part of the representation. I define this condition in (48).

(48) NEGATIVE HEAD CONDITION
A feature [NEG] is semantically potent if it is an inherent feature of the head of XP, XP one of the phrases of a clausal Extended Projection.

Simplifying somewhat, the reason for defining this condition as in (48) is related to the observation that a sentential negative polarity head (say *no* in Spanish, *not* in English) has an effect on the polarity value of the sentence irrespective of where its position in the Extended Projection happens to be (see Zanuttini 1997b), both in negative concord and in non-negative concord languages. Example (43a) meets this condition and thus it has a negative interpretation. The second condition I propose relies on the notion of the Pole.

(49) NEGATIVE POLE CONDITION
A feature [NEG] is semantically potent if it is a feature of the Pole.

Conditions (48) and (49) express the fact that in Spanish these are the only two positions where a feature [NEG] is semantically potent. We can now informally state that a clause is negative iff it contains a feature [NEG] that is semantically potent.

Example (43b) corresponds to the case contemplated in (49). For this example I propose the analysis in (50) where there is no Polarity phrase (*contra* the analyses in Laka 1990, Haegemann 1995, Suñer 1995, and the GB analysis in Ladusaw 1992) and accordingly no polarity head anywhere in the representation. Also, in contrast with Ladusaw's (1992) analysis, I propose that ultimately it is the Pole that expresses sentential negation, and not the head that the Pole is the specifier of. In other words, the sentence has its negative polarity value because the negative XP is the Pole of the clause, [Spec, I] in this case. The reason for this will become clear in what follows.

(50) $[_{IP}$ Nadie llegó $[_{VP}$ *t*]].
no-one arrived
'No one arrived.'

Consider now a negative concord example, (46a), repeated here as (51).

(51) $[_{PolP}$ No $[_{IP}$ llegó $[_{VP}$ nadie].
not arrived no-one
'No one arrived'

In this case, the [NEG] feature of the post-verbal negative XP *nadie* 'no-one', does not meet either the NEGATIVE HEAD CONDITION or the NEGATIVE POLE CONDITION. *Nadie* is not the head of a phrase of the [verbal] (i.e. the sentential) extended projection, nor does it correspond to the Pole of the sentence. Accordingly its [NEG] feature has no effect on the polarity value of the sentence.

Now the crucial observation that supports this analysis is that these two conditions can operate simultaneously in Spanish. In this language, when a negative XP in the Pole co-occurs with the sentential negation, the result is a double negation (DN) construal.[41] Some examples are presented below. In all these examples, the negative concord reading is not possible.

[41] In terms of the definitions in (48) and (49), this means that every feature [NEG] that is semantically potent translates into a negative operator in the semantic representation. Not every negative concord language behaves in this way, though, as is well-known. For instance, Catalan (as described in Ladusaw 1992; glosses are my own), differs from Spanish in this respect. Both conditions are operational in this language, as can be seen in (i.a-b), but when a negative XP in the Pole co-occurs with the sentential negation, the result is not a double negation reading. This is shown in (i.c), which has the same meaning as (i.b).

(i) a. No m'ha telefonat ningú.
not me-has telephoned nobody
'Nobody has called me.'

b. Ningú ha vist en Joan.
nobody has seen John
'Nobody has seen John.'

c. Ningú no ha vist en Joan.
nobody not has seen John
'Nobody has seen John.'

Descriptively, we can say that Catalan is a language where the NEGATIVE HEAD CONDITION and the NEGATIVE POLE CONDITION cannot both be operational at the same time. Ultimately, in providing a full account of languages like Catalan, it would be necessary to determine which of the two negative conditions is neutralized in (i.c) and why, but dealing with this issue goes beyond the scope of this dissertation. Notice, though, that from an OT perspective the fact that one condition can be made inactive under certain circumstances is far from being a surprising state of affairs.

(52) a. ?Nadie no lo hizo.
no-one not it did
'Nobody didn't do it (= everyone did it).'
(Suñer 1995: 234, fn.4)

b. Hasta ahora, a nadie no le ha gustado esa película.
until now to no-one not CL-DAT *has liked that movie*
'Up to now, no one hasn't liked that movie (=everyone liked it).'

c. ?Hasta ahora, en ninguna de las secretarías no nos han
until now in none of the ministries not us they-have
apoyado.
supported
'Up to now, in none of the ministries they haven't supported us.
(=in every ministry they have supported us).'

This is a fact widely acknowledged in the literature on negation in Spanish (see for example Laka 1990, Suñer 1995, Sánchez-López 1999), but which, to the best of my knowledge, has not yet been analyzed in any detail.[42]

Crucially, these examples constitute the fundamental piece of evidence that shows that the NEGATIVE POLE CONDITION has to be defined with respect to the Pole and not, say, with respect to [Spec, I] (which is where the [+NEG] feature is located in (50)). If we were to define the properties of negation with respect to [Spec, I], and not relationally (with respect to the Pole), then we would be hard pressed to explain the DN reading of the examples in (52). This is because the preposed negatives XP that add their [+NEG] feature to the interpretation are not in [Spec, I], but rather in

[42] See Haegeman (1995) for an analysis of West Flemish, a negative concord language that also allows for DN constructions in some cases. The cases where West Flemish shows DN readings are, however, very different from those in which the DN reading is observed in Spanish. This is an issue that should be the subject of future research.

[Spec, Pol]. What provides a unified account of (50) and (52) is that the Pole is defined relationally: when IP is the highest phrase in the inflectional layer, [Spec, I] functions as the Pole, as in (50). But when a polarity phrase is present, as in (52), then [Spec, Pol] corresponds to the Pole. In both cases the [NEG] feature in the Pole contributes to the overall polarity value of the clause.

This data further provide evidence in favor of my proposed distinction between the Pole and the highest specifier of the extended projection. Although the [NEG] feature is indeed found in the Pole both in (50) and (52), these are two cases where the Pole coincides with the highest specifier of the extended projection as well (i.e. the highest inflectional specifier also happens to be the highest specifier of the extended projection). This raises the question of whether the NEGATIVE POLE CONDITION should be specified in terms of the highest specifier of the extended projection instead. Embedded contexts show that this would not be the correct definition. In the embedded clause in (53), the highest phrase of the extended projection is CP, but C has no specifier in this case. The negative XP that provides the embedded clause with its polarity value is still found in the highest specifier of the inflectional layer, in this case [Spec, I].[43]

(53) Creo [$_{CP}$ que [$_{IP}$ nadie compró [$_{VP}$ el periódico]].
I-think that no-one bought the newspaper
'I think that no one bought the newspaper.'

[43] This is in fact one of the central observations behind my assumption that there is a fundamental difference between Π-Projections (the projections in the inflectional layer) and K-Projections (the C-system).

The double negation facts in (52) also highlight the advantages of my analysis over a potential alternative that relies on the Negative Criterion of Haegeman & Zanuttini (1991). In analyses based on the Negative Criterion, there is always a Negative Phrase (NegP) that is part of the representation of negative sentences. The examples in (43) would be recast as in (54) under such an analysis.[44]

(54) a. [$_{NegP}$ No [llegaron los muchachos]].
not arrived the boys
'The boys didn't arrive.'

b. [$_{NegP}$ Nadie Ø [llegó]].
no-one arrived
'No one arrived.'

In (54), it is the head Neg^0, whether overt or not, that ultimately defines the polarity value of the sentence. The [NEG] feature of the preverbal negative XP in (54b) is cancelled out for interpretive purposes because it is in a Spec-Head configuration with the head of Neg-P (see Haegeman 1995 for details). This is why (54b) does not have a double negation reading. But this predicts that the [NEG] feature of the preverbal negative XPs in the double negation examples in (52) should also be cancelled out, contrary to fact. In contrast, the analysis I propose here is not only simpler (in that it does not need to stipulate the presence of a Polarity Phrase with a

[44] Suñer (1995) provides an analysis of negation Spanish based on the Negative Criterion. However, in her analysis NegP is sandwiched in the middle of the inflectional layer, an analysis which we have seen runs into problems when ellipsis is considered. Consequently I have modified her analysis in accordance with the conclusions about sentential structure in Spanish that we have arrived at so far.

null head for cases like (54b)), but it can also account for the attested interpretive properties in a straightforward way.

We can now return to the second issue to be addressed in relation to negative concord, namely, the question of how negative XPs are licensed. With the analysis of sentential negation developed up to here, it is possible to appeal to a fairly simple surface condition on representation for the licensing of negative XPs, such as the one proposed in Bedell-García (1993:8).[45]

(55) A negative element must occur in a negative clause.

In our terms, this would mean that a negative XP must occur in a negative extended projection. Consider now how we can analyze previous examples under this licensing condition. When the negative head *no* is present, as in (56a), it is this element that makes the clause a negative clause.

(56) a. [$_{PolP}$ No [$_{IP}$ llegó [$_{VP}$ nadie]]].
not arrived no-one
'No one arrived'

b. *[$_{IP}$ Llegó [$_{VP}$ nadie]].
arrived no-one

[45] Ultimately this condition would have to be expanded to include those cases where there is licensing of negative XPs across clause boundaries, but this is an issue I will not deal with here.

Since the clause is specified as [NEG], the post-verbal negative XP meets the condition in (55) and so the resulting construction is fine. In contrast, the sentence in (56b) is not specified as [NEG]. It lacks the negative head *no* and the negative XP does not correspond to the Pole, so its [NEG] feature has no effect on the interpretive properties of the clause. Since the clause is not a negative clause in this case, the post-verbal negative XP fails to meet the condition in (55) and is thus ungrammatical.

Consider now an example with a preverbal negative XP, such as (57). In this case the negative XP is the Pole of the sentence, and so its [NEG] feature defines the polarity value of the sentence. As a result, the clause as a whole is [NEG] and so the negative XP complies with the licensing condition in (55). This captures the insight in Ladusaw (1992) and Bedell-García (1993) that preverbal negative XPs are "self-licensing".

(57) [$_{IP}$ Nadie llegó [$_{VP}$ *t*]].
no-one arrived
'No one arrived.'

Finally, consider a case where there are two negative XPs, one in the Pole position and one in the post-verbal field, as in (58). In (58), the negative XP functioning as the Pole provides the [NEG] feature that makes the clause negative, just like in (57). Both the preverbal and the post-verbal negative XP now comply with the licensing condition in (55) and as a result the sentence is grammatical. My analysis thus captures the insight in Ladusaw (1992) that it is not strictly speaking the preverbal

negative XP that licenses the post-verbal one. Rather, the preverbal negative XP provides the conditions under which *both* negative XPs can be licensed, in a way in which the post-verbal one cannot.[46]

(58) [$_{IP}$ Nadie dijo [$_{VP}$ *t* nada]].
no-one said nothing
'No one said anything'

My analysis further predicts that *any* negative XP (not just the subject) occupying the Pole should be able to license itself and a post-verbal negative XP in the same way that *nadie* 'no-one' does in (58). This is because the Pole in Spanish is not a position exclusively of subjects, so the [NEG] feature of preverbal non-subject negative XPs will be semantically potent irrespective of the grammatical relation borne by the XP. As shown in (59), this prediction is correct. In these examples the preverbal negative XP corresponds to the indirect object and a temporal adjunct, respectively.

(59) a. A nadie le hemos dicho nada.
to no-one DAT-CL *we-have said nothing*
'We haven't said anything to anyone.'

b. Nunca vamos a ningún lado.
never we-go to no place
'We never go anywhere.'

[46] In Ladusaw (1992), however, the licensing condition on negative XPs is an LF condition, as opposed to Bedell-García's (1993) surface licensing condition. See Ladusaw (1992) for details.

To conclude this section, I show how my analysis makes another correct prediction regarding the distribution of negative XPs in Spanish. My analysis predicts that it should not be possible to front a negative XP to a position other than the Pole. This is because the [NEG] feature of a fronted negative XP outside the Pole is not semantically potent, i.e., in our terms, the resulting clause would not satisfy the NEGATIVE POLE CONDITION. Accordingly, the clause cannot be specified as a negative clause, and so, following the licensing condition in (55), the fronted negative XP would remain unlicensed. This prediction is also correct. As is well-known, fronting of a negative XP in Spanish does not block the fronting of other constituents (either subjects or non-subjects) functioning as topics. The negative XP, however, must appear in the immediate preverbal position, as in the (a) examples in (60-63). Otherwise, the resulting constructions are ungrammatical (Bedell-García 1993, Fontana 1994, Zubizarreta 1998, Ordóñez & Treviño 1999, Sánchez-López 1999).[47] Notice that these examples are particularly telling in that they show that it is descriptively inadequate to simply state that negative XPs in Spanish are "self-licensing" as long as they are located in the preverbal field.

(60) a. Juan, a nadie quiere ver.
Juan ACC *no-one wants see*
'Juan wants to see no one.'

[47] Not every Romance language displaying negative concord behaves like this. Italian, for example, does allow for constructions like (62b) (see Haegeman 1995). This is a problem that cannot be addressed here, but one possibility is that Italian, in contrast with Spanish, does allow for multiple specifiers (cf §1.2.2). This would provide I^0 with two specifiers and so with two preverbal positions where the feature [NEG] would be semantically potent.

b. *A nadie Juan quiere ver.
ACC *no-one Juan wants see* (Sánchez-López 1999: 2568)

(61) a. Los malos nadie los ha comprado.
the bad-ones no-one ACC-CL *has bought*
'Nobody has bought the bad ones.'

b. *Nadie los malos los ha comprado.
no-one the bad-ones ACC-CL *has bought* (Fontana 1993: 246[48])

(62) a. Juan a nadie vio en su viaje a las montañas.
Juan ACC *no-one saw in his trip to the mountains*
'Juan saw no-one in his trip to the mountains.'

b. ??A nadie Juan vio en su viaje a las montañas.
ACC *no-one Juan saw in his trip to the mountains*

(63) a. Juan nunca había viajado a París.
Juan never had traveled toParis
'Juan had never traveled to Paris.'

b. ??Nunca Juan había viajado a París.
never Juan had traveled to Paris

Recall our assumption from §2.3.1 that when there is more than one fronted XP in the preverbal field, the leftmost one is adjoined to the highest inflectional phrase. Accordingly, the examples in (60) would be analyzed as in (64).

(64) a. [$_{IP}$ Juan, [$_{IP}$ a nadie quiere ver]].
Juan ACC *no-one wants see*
'Juan wants to see no one.'

b. *[$_{IP}$ A nadie [$_{IP}$ Juan quiere ver]].
ACC *no-one Juan wants see*

[48] Glosses are partially my own.

The crucial difference between (64a) and (64b) is that in the former the negative XP occupies the Pole specifier, whereas in the latter it is adjoined to IP. In (64a) the negative XP is the Pole of the sentence; its [+NEG] feature defines the polarity value of the clause as negative, which in turn licenses the presence of the negative XP, but in (64b), where the fronted negative XP is not the Pole, the relevant conditions are not met.

2.4 Conclusions

The central issue of this chapter has been the introduction and the definition of the notion of the Pole and its relation to the EPP. I have suggested, in accordance with most transformational conceptions of sentential structure and departing from Grimshaw (1993,1997), that the notion of Extended Projection requires both a distinction between the lexical and the functional layer, and a further distinction between the phrases in the inflectional layer of the sentence (Π-Phrases) and those in the C-system (K-Phrases). Following this distinction, I have suggested that the specifier of the highest Π-Phrase has a special structural status that is independent of the category of the head that it is the specifer of, and of whether it corresponds to an A or an A-Bar position. It is this position which is referenced by the EPP. Among other things, an EPP which references a relationally defined position explains why sentences where the highest inflectional projection is different still show the same word order in Spanish. I call this specifier the Pole of the clause and the EPP is then a purely structural condition that requires clauses to have a Pole.

The Pole is a notion distinct from the subject grammatical relation. Drawing on evidence from ellipsis, I have argued that subjects, fronted topics and *wh*-operators in Spanish all occupy the same position, and that there is evidence that this position corresponds to the Pole. In English the distinction can be seen in existential-*there* constructions where the expletive is the Pole and the post-copular DP is the subject. In Spanish, the distinction plays a much more pervasive role in clausal syntax. Specifically, evidence has been presented that only the constituent in the Pole can be the remnant of ellipsis in Spanish, and that the Pole is the position where the polarity feature of negative XPs is made semantically potent in this language.