ON THE INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL SYNTAX OF INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS IN HALQ'EMÉYLEM[1]

Martina Wiltschko
UBC/University of Vienna

0. INTRODUCTION

In this paper I will provide an analysis of independent pronouns[2] in Stó:lõ Halq'eméylem (Upriver Halq'eméylem). I will show that their peculiar external distribution, which differs quite radically from English pronouns, follows from their internal syntax. We will also see that this view is crucially supported by a cross-linguistic comparison of pronominal forms of Halq'eméylem, English and German.

Consider the Halq'eméylem independent pronouns given in the table below taken from Galloway 1993:

(1)   Halq'eméylem independent pronouns (Galloway 1993: 403)[3]:

	sg	pl
1	te'élthe/te á'elthe	telhímelh
2	teléwe	telhwélep
3	tútl'ò/thútl'ò	tutl'ó:lem/thutl'ó:lem/yutl'ó:lem

In this paper, I will argue for the following syntactic structure of Halq'eméylem independent pronouns:
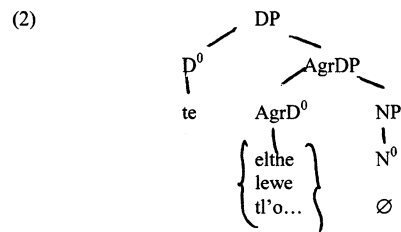
(2)

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[2] Throughout this paper, I will use the neutral term "independent pronoun" (cf. also Galloway 1993). This term reflects the fact that, as opposed to other pronominal forms which mainly appear attached to a predicate or an auxiliary, these pronouns behave like full DPs. In the Salish literature, these pronouns are sometimes called "emphatic pronouns", which indicates that the use of these pronouns puts special emphasis on their referent.

[3] Throughout the paper, the Halq'eméylem data are presented in the Halq'eméylem writing system. The key to this orthography as well as a list of abbreviations is given in an appendix to this paper. I would like to thank Shirley Norris for her help in spelling the data.

The structure in (2) implies the following three assumptions, which I will motivate in this paper.

ASSUMPTION I.
> The determiner **te** is syntactically active, rather than being prefixed in a way not visible for syntax. It hosts the head of its own projection: D^0. (cf. section 1)

ASSUMPTION II.
> a. D^0 takes a nominal agreement projection (AgrDP) as its complement.
> b. AgrDP takes as its complement an NP, which can be either overt or covert. (cf. section 2)

Finally, I will show that as a consequence of assumptions I and II, it will follow that

ASSUMPTION III.
> Independent pronouns behave like full lexical DPs rather than personal pronouns: they behave like R-expressions w.r.t. binding theory and quantifier binding. (cf. section 3)

In what follows, each of these assumptions will be empirically and theoretically motivated in detail.

1. THE DETERMINER IS SYNTACTICALLY ACTIVE

In this section, I will present empirical motivation for the 1st assumption, repeated below for convenience:

ASSUMPTION I.
> The determiner **te** is syntactically active, rather than being prefixed in a way not visible for syntax. It hosts the head of its own projection: D^0.

Consider again the series of Halq'eméylem independent pronouns

(3)   Independent pronouns (Galloway 1993: 403):

	sg	pl
1	te'élthe/**te** á'elthe	**tel**hímelh
2	**tel**éwe	**tel**hwélep
3	tútl'ò/**thútl'ò**	tutl'ó:lem/**thutl'ó:lem**/yutl'ó:lem

The boldface letters in the above table are meant to highlight the determiner-like element that appears prefixed on all the independent pronouns throughout the paradigm.

That Halq'eméylem independent pronouns are prefixed by a determiner is a straightforward observation (cf. Galloway 1993, Newman 1977[4]). There is however a non-trivial question arising

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in this context: Is the determiner-"prefix" lexicalized or is it syntactically active? In other words, which of the following analyses do we choose for independent pronouns?

(4) a. DP   b. X^0

D⁰   XP   D^{0/-1}   X

   X⁰ .....   te   lewe

te   lewe
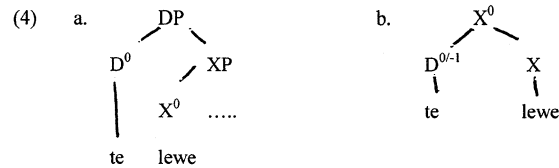
On the one hand, in (4)a the determiner heads its own projection, namely a determiner phrase (DP). This structure obviously implies that the determiner is syntactically visible.

On the other hand, in (4)b the determiner is prefixed at a level below X^0. This structure implies that the determiner is not visible in the syntactic component. This would follow from the assumption that syntax does not "see" below the X^0 level: morphologically complex words that are not derived syntactically are syntactic atoms.

In what follows I will show that the evidence crucially favors the structure in (4)a.

1.1. Reduplication does not see the determiner

A first argument concerns reduplication. Take for example the diminutive reduplicative forms given in (5):

Diminutive reduplication (CV):
(5) a. stó:lõ   stótelõ
        'river'   'creek'
     b. q'á:mi   q'áq'emi
        'girl'   'little girl'   Galloway 1993: p.377

Diminutive reduplication follows a 'CV'-pattern (cf. Galloway 1993). Now consider independent pronouns, which can undergo diminutive reduplication as well:

(6) a. tutl'ó   **tú**:tl'òtl'em
        'he'   'little one'   Galloway 1980: p.32
     b. thutl'ó   **thú**:tl'òtl'em
        'she'   'little she'

It is obvious from the data in (6) that the reduplicative pattern does not "see" the determiner. If the determiner were visible for reduplication, the reduplicative form would come out as *tututl'o*, which is not attested.

This pattern already helps to decide between the two hypothesis concerning the level of prefixation of the determiner. If the determiner were "prefixed" at the lexical level (i.e. below X^0), one would expect it to be part of the reduplication pattern, contrary to facts.

On the other hand, the pattern in (6) is expected under the assumption that **tu** (i.e. *te*) is an instance of the syntactically active regular determiner, which is inserted in the functional head

position D^0. Given that it attaches to the root *tl'o* at the syntactic level, that is after reduplication has taken, it is expected that it does not participate in the reduplicative pattern.

In sum, the reduplication facts favor a syntactic analysis for the attachment of the determiner.

1.2. All the determiners are productively used on independent pronouns

A second argument for a syntactic analysis for independent pronouns in Halq'eméylem stems from the fact that all the possible determiners are attested with independent pronouns. In a way, the determiner agrees according to number, gender and remoteness.

A list of the possible Halq'eméylem determiners is given in the table below:

(7)   Halq'eméylem determiners (Galloway 1993: 387):

	MALE OR SEX UNSTATED OR INANIMATE	FEMALE	HUMAN AND SEX UNSTATED
PRESENT + VISIBLE OR LOCATION UNSTATED	te	the	----
NEAR + NOT VISIBLE	kwthe	se, kwse	tl'
DISTANT, ABSTRACT, PAST, INDEFINITE NUMBER, GENERIC	kw'e	kw'the, kwse	tl'
PLURAL	(any of the above)	(any of the above)	ye

It is striking that the "prefixed" determiner on independent pronouns exhibits the same kind of form and meaning correspondence as the determiners in (7). We find that the "prefixed" determiner varies according to number, gender and remoteness in exactly the same way as the regular determiner. This is shown in (8):

(8)   Independent 3rd pronouns with different determiners (Galloway 1993: 403):

	male	female	human plural
singular	**tú(:)tl'ò**	**thú(:)tl'ò**	-----
plural	**tutl'ólem**	**thutl'ólem**	**yutl'ó(:)lem**
absent	**kwthú:tl'ò**	**kwsú:tl'ò**	**kwthú:tl'òlem**

If the "prefixed" determiner were lexicalized, i.e. if independent pronouns were stored in the lexicon, this parallelism between the regular determiner and independent pronouns would be a coincidence.

However, the productive use of the different determiners follows straightforwardly from the syntactic analysis. The "prefixed" determiner is simply an instantiation of the regular determiner. Thus, we expect to find all the possible forms.

It has to be noted however, that this fact would also be compatible with the assumption that independent pronouns are productively derived in the morphological component. Thus, we do not yet have an argument for the syntactic visibility of the determiner.

In order to show that the determiner is really syntactically visible, we have to show that it is sensitive to the syntactic environment the independent pronoun occurs in. There is a series of arguments that point into this direction.

1.3. The determiner varies with a syntactically defined position.

In Halq'eméylem, determiners can vary according to the syntactic position the DP they host occurs. Take for example the complement position of a preposition: in this environment, a proper name is preceded by a different determiner, which I will call the oblique determiner.[5] An example is given below:

(9) lemél-stexw-es   tl'   Bill   te   sq'émél xwelám **tl'** Bob
     throw-caus(3o)-3s det   Bill   det   paddle over-to det Bob
     'Bill threw the paddle over to Bob.'   Galloway 1993: 342

Crucially, the same phenomenon can be observed with independent pronouns. The following table shows the forms of independent pronouns as complements of prepositions:

(10)   Independent pronouns as Objects of Prepositions[6] (Galloway 1993: 190):

	sg	pl
1	**tl'á'elthe**	**tl'(e)lhímelh**
2	**tl'eléwe**	**tl'alhwélep**

The sentences in (11) and (12) below illustrate this phenomenon:

(11)   le   wá:lx-es   te   sqémél stetís **tl'á'elthe**
       aux throw-3s   det   paddle near   det-1sg.Indep
       'He threw a paddle beside (near) me.'   Galloway 1993: 342

(12) a. kwú-t-es   telí   **tl'á'elthe**
         take-tr-3s from det-1sg.Indep
         'He took it from me.'   Galloway 1993: 341

     b. kwú-t-es   telí   **tl'eléwe**
         take-tr-3s from det-2sg.Indep
         'He took it from you'   Galloway 1993: 341

These data conclusively show that the determiner has to be syntactically visible. If it were not, then it would not be expected that it can vary according to the syntactic environment.

1.4. DPs in argument position need a (syntactically active) determiner.

There is another argument showing that the determiner of an independent pronoun has to be syntactically visible. It is a well-known fact that NPs in Salish languages are obligatorily preceded by a determiner.[7] Observe the following examples:

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[5] With this classification, I differ from Galloway (1993) who essentially classifies *tl'* as determiner for not visible or distant humans (cf. (7)). As far as I have been able to determine, *tl'* is more likely to be classified as an oblique determiner, much like its Cowichan counterpart discussed in Gerdts 1988.

[6] *tl'* is not used on 3rd person pronouns (*tl'tl'o).

[7] cf. for example Matthewson 1996. This pattern follows straightforwardly from the assumption that an NP is a predicate, which is turned into an argument by a determiner (cf. Higginbotham 1985, Longobardi 1994)

(13) a. híkw **te**   swíyeqe
         big   det   man
         'The man is big.'

     b. kw'éts-lexw-es   **te**   swíyeqe **the** slhá:lí
         see-trans(3o)-3s   det   man   det   woman
         'The man sees the woman'

     c. t'í:t'elém   **ye**   mestíyexw
         singing   det.pl   people
         'The people are singing.'

Independent pronouns have essentially the same distribution as full DPs. It is therefore remarkable that they do not show a (2nd) determiner even if they occur in the same position as their full DP counterparts:

(14) a. í:mex-tsel   **te-'á'elthe**   b. yóyes-chexw **te-léwe**
         walk-1sg.s det-1sg.Indep   *working-2sg.s det-2sg.Indep*
         'I am walking'   'You are working

     c. lá:yem-tset **te-lhímelh**   d. ewó:lem-chap **te-lhwélep**
         laughing-1pl.s det-1pl.Indep   *playing-2pl.s det-2pl.Indep*
         'We are laughing'   'You folks are playing'

(15) a. q'óq'ey **tú-tl'ò**
         sick   det-3Indep
         'He is sick'

     b. kw'éts-lexw-es   **tú-tl'ò**   **thú-tl'ò**
         see-tr(-3o)-3s   det-3Indep det-fem-3Indep
         'He sees her.'

The data in (13) through (15) conclusively show that the determiner on the independent pronoun is syntactically visible. On the one hand we know that an NP in argument position obligatorily has to be preceded by a determiner ((13). On the other hand, we observe in (14) and (15) that there is no extra (second) determiner preceding an independent pronoun in argument position. Therefore we can safely conclude that the "prefixed" determiner on independent pronouns is syntactically active. It must count as the necessary determiner to turn a predicate into an argument.

Under the assumption that the determiner is prefixed presyntactically, i.e. in the lexicon, this pattern would be quite surprising. Given the assumption that morphologically complex words behave like syntactic atoms, the determiner would not be visible in the syntax. It would then be a peculiar property of pronouns that they do not have to be preceded by a determiner even though they behave like full (argument) DPs in other respects.

1.5. DPs in Possessive constructions

A very similar argument can be made on basis of possessive constructions. As shown in (16), a possessor argument is obligatorily preceded by a determiner:[8]

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[8] Note, that if the possessor is a name, the oblique determiner **tl'** is used.

(16) a. híkw te kopú-s **tl'** John
        big det coat-3poss det.obl John
        'John's coat is big'

   b. híkw te lálém-s **tl'** Mali
        big the house-3poss det.obl Mary
        'Mary's house is big.'

   c. kwé-lexw-es te John te pékw-s **te** swíyeqe
        find-tr(3o)-3s det John det book-3poss det man
        'John found the man's book.'

As before, if an independent pronoun is used as a possessor, then it is not preceded by a second determiner:

(17) a. t'í:t'elém te má:l-s **thú-tl'ò**
        singing det father-3poss det-3Indep
        'Her father is singing.'

   c. tl'o te má:l-s **tú-tl'ò**
        3Indep det father-3poss det-3Indep
        'That's his father.'

Again, given that fact that determiners are obligatory with possessors (cf. Matthewson 1996) and given the fact that there is no extra (second) determiner preceding an independent pronoun in this position, we can conclude that, the "prefixed" determiner is syntactically active. It must count as the necessary determiner in possessive constructions.
Again, under the lexicalist approach, this pattern is quite unexpected. If the prefixed determiner on the pronoun were not syntactically visible, then independent would constitute the only class of DPs

1.6. The determiner on independent pronouns is dropped in the usual (syntactically defined) environments.

The following argument is the counterpart to the preceding two. If the determiner heads its own projection (DP), i.e. if it is syntactically active, we expect that it can be dropped in environments where determiners are generally dropped. This is indeed the case, as I will show in turn.

1.6.1. Predicate position

It is a well-known fact about Salish languages that nouns in predicate position are not preceded by a determiner:

(18) swíyeqe te í:mex
     man det walking
     'That's the man that's walking.'

Independent pronouns behave exactly as expected under the syntactic analysis. The determiner "prefix" is dropped just in case the independent pronoun occurs in predicate position:

(19) **élthe** te í:mex
     1sgIndep det walking
     'That's me that's walking.'

(20) **lhwélep**-cha lám
     2plIndep-fut go
     'It will be you folks that go.'   Galloway 1993: 172

(21) a. **tl'o** te-á'elthe le í:mex
        3Indep det-1sg.Indep Aux walking
        'That's me that s walking.'

   b. **tl'o** te ma:l-s tútl'ò
        3Indep det father-3poss det-3Indep
        'That's his father.'

This pattern would be completely unexpected if the determiner were not syntactically active. In that case we would not expect it to be sensitive to the predicate – argument distinction. However, under the assumption that the determiner "prefix" is simply the regular syntactic determiner, the pattern above is fully expected.

1.6.2. Coordination

A similar argument can be made on basis of the following phenomenon. For some reason, the first conjunct of a coordinated DP in sentence-initial position can lack the determiner[9]:

(22) a. **the slhá:lí** qas te-léwe ye í:mex
        det woman and det-2sg.Indep det.pl walking
        The woman and you are walking.'

   b. **swíyeqe** qas te-á'elthe í:mex
        man and det-1sg.Indep walking
        'The man and I are walking.'

In (22)a we find a sentence initial coordinated subject DP - SVO order is quite common in Halq'eméylem. (22)b shows that in this environment the determiner of the first conjunct can be dropped.
Exactly the same phenomenon occurs with independent pronouns as shown in (23):

(23) a. **te-á'elthe** qas te swíyeqe í:mex
        det-1sg.Indep and det man walking
        'Me and the man are walking.'

   b. **á'elthe** qas te swíyeqe í:mex
        1sg.Indep and det man walking
        'Me and the man are walking.'

   c. **léwe** qas te slhá:lí ye í:mex
        2sg.Indep and det woman det.pl walking
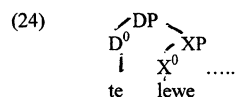   'You and the woman are walking.'

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[9] It is not clear at this point whether this is the case in Subject initial or in predicate initial structures or both.

(23)a shows the coordinated DP with the determiner whereas (23)b and c show that as with full DPs the determiner can be dropped.

Again, if the determiner were not syntactically active, we would not expect it to disappear in the same environment as the (syntactically active) determiner preceding a full (lexical) NP.

1.7. Summary.

At this point let me briefly summarize the result of this section. We have seen evidence that independent pronouns in Halq'eméylem contain a syntactically active determiner. Therefore the structure in (4)a, repeated as (24), is clearly preferable over the one in (4)b: the determiner is inserted in the head position of a DP.

(24)
$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{DP} \\
\text{D}^0 \quad \text{XP} \\
\text{l} \quad \text{X}^0 \quad \ldots\ldots \\
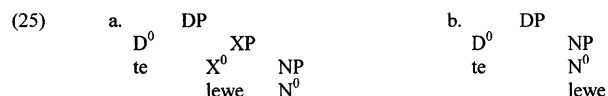\text{te} \quad \text{lewe}
\end{array}
$$

2. ON THE INTERNAL SYNTAX OF INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

In this section I will provide evidence for the second assumption I have introduced in the introduction and which is repeated below for convenience.

ASSUMPTION II.
a. D^0 takes a nominal agreement projection (AgrDP) as its complement.
b. AgrDP takes as its complement an NP, which can be either overt or covert.

So far we have seen that independent pronouns in Halq'eméylem contain a syntactically active DP projection. The question is, what does D^0 take as its complement? Which of the following structures do we choose?

(25) a.
$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{DP} \\
\text{D}^0 \quad \text{XP} \\
\text{te} \quad \text{X}^0 \quad \text{NP} \\
\quad \text{lewe} \quad \text{N}^0
\end{array}
$$
b.
$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{DP} \\
\text{D}^0 \quad \text{NP} \\
\text{te} \quad \text{N}^0 \\
\quad \text{lewe}
\end{array}
$$

According to the structure in (25)a, there is an intermediate projection between DP and NP. This would correlate with the assumption that *elthe, lewe, tl'o...* are not of category NP. On the other hand, according to the structure in (25)b D^0 takes an NP-complement and *elthe, lewe, tl'o* would be of category NP.

In what follows I will provide evidence for the former assumption, i.e. for the structure in (25)a.

2.1. Independent pronouns as Determiners.

A crucial piece of evidence to decide between the two possibilities discussed above comes from the fact that independent pronouns in Halq'eméylem can license an overt noun. This means that independent pronouns can not only be used pronominally, they can also be used as a determiner. This phenomenon has been observed by Galloway:

"Sometimes a nominal can be added parenthetically after another nominal phrase as long as they refer to the same person or thing." (Galloway 1980: p.39)
"In such slightly more demonstrative examples these pronouns are probably best translated as 'that'." (Galloway 1993: p.174)

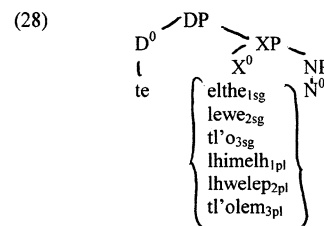The following examples exemplify this fully productive phenomenon:

(26) a. su me ts'tl'ém **thu-tl'ò** só:seqwt
      so come jump det.fem-3Indep youngest sister
      'So the youngest sister came to jump.'
   b. la t'ékw'-stexw-es **yú-tl'ò:lèm** q'á:lemi te swíweles
      go home-caus(3o)-3s det.pl-3plIndep girl.pl det boy
      'They, the girls, took the young man home.'

                              Galloway 1980: 39

(27) tl'ó-cha-l -su qwemcíwe-t **thú-tl'ò** q'ami.
    then-Fut-I-so hug-trans det.fem-3Indep girl
    'Then I'm going to hug that girl'

                              Galloway 1993: 174

This pattern provides clear evidence against the structure in (25)b. If *tl'o* would be an NP complement of D^0 we would not expect the possibility for another NP. Thus the complement of D^0 cannot be NP. This leaves us with the structure in (25)a repeated as (28):

(28)
$$
\begin{array}{c}
\text{DP} \\
\text{D}^0 \quad \quad \text{XP} \\
\text{l} \quad \quad \text{X}^0 \quad \text{NP} \\
\text{te} \quad \left\{
\begin{array}{l}
\text{elthe}_{1sg} \\
\text{lewe}_{2sg} \\
\text{tl'o}_{3sg} \\
\text{lhimelh}_{1pl} \\
\text{lhwelep}_{2pl} \\
\text{tl'olem}_{3pl}
\end{array}
\right\} \quad \text{N}^0
\end{array}
$$

The next question we have to address concerns the nature of the category labeled XP in (28). Given that X^0 in (28) instantiates **person** and **number** features, I will assume without going into much detail, that XP is an agreement projection, namely AgrDP. For now I will leave open the possibility to decompose AgrDP into Pers(on)P and Num(ber)P.[10]

Another crucial question in this respect concerns the presence of an NP. The absence of an overt NP can in principle mean two things. Either there is no NP projection present or

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[10] Wiltschko (this volume) argues for these projections on the basis of the possessive construction.

alternatively, there is an NP position which is however empty. The empirical evidence speaks in favor of the latter possibility for the following reasons.

First, we have seen above that we do in fact find the possibility for an overt NP (i.e. the 'pronoun' can act like a determiner). Considerations of economy then suggest that the same phrase structure should be assumed for both uses of the pronoun. This however implies that the NP position is uniformly present, no matter whether it is empty of not.

Finally, Wilschko (to appear) argues for the following universal licensing conditions on NPs:

(29) A. FORMAL LICENSING FOR NP
    NP is licensed iff there is a D^0
    B. IDENTIFICATIONAL LICENSING FOR EMPTY NPs
    Strong AgrD licenses an empty NP

Crucially, the condition in (29)A. posits a 1:1 correspondence between the presence of a determiner and the presence of an NP. This condition supports the assumption that independent pronouns in Halq'eméylem do indeed contain an NP position. On the one hand we have seen evidence for the presence of a determiner, which means that there has to be an NP position. On the other hand, I have argued for the presence of an agreement projection, which can be assumed to be strong enough to license the NP to be empty, as demanded by the condition in (29)B.

I will turn to a comparison of the Halq'eméylem independent pronoun series with English and German pronouns and we will see how the conditions in (29) provide the basis for a simple analysis for the cross-linguistic differences.

2.2. Pronouns in Halq'eméylem, German and English: the cross-linguistic differences.
German has two sets of pronominal forms that are shown in (30). There is the series of personal pronouns, an example of which is given in (30)a. And there is another series of so called "d-pronouns" which is exemplified in (30)b:

(30) a. PERSONAL PRONOUNS: b. "D-PRONOUNS":
    Maria   hat   **ihn**   gesehen.   Maria   hat   **den**   gesehen.
    Mary   has   him   seen   *Mary   has   d-pron   seen*
    'Mary has seen him.'   'Mary has seen him.'

It is noticeable that the "d-pronoun" is of the same form as the definite determiner, which is shown in (31):

(31) Maria   hat   **den**   Mann   beleidigt.
    Mary   has   the   man   insulted
    'Mary has insulted the man.'

Wiltschko (to appear) argues that d-pronouns are in fact definite determiners taking an empty NP complement. Thus d-pronouns are simply full DPs. It is furthermore argued that the determiner can be decomposed into a determiner morpheme and an agreement ending (occupying its own functional projection: $AgrD^0$). It is also shown that personal pronouns are simply the spell out of AgrDP. In other words, if the determiner morpheme is subtracted from the d-pronoun, the result

is the personal pronoun. In (32) the respective syntactic structure of d-pronouns and personal pronouns is given. The proposed structure of d-pronouns and personal pronouns is given in (32):

(32) a. The structure of DPs: b. The structure of personal pronouns:

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        DP                                        AgrDP
      /    \                                        |
    D⁰    AgrDP                                   AgrD⁰
    |    /    \                                     |
    d-  AgrD⁰   NP                                  er
         |      △
         er    Ø/Mann
```

(32)a shows the structure of full DPs including d-pronouns. The head of the DP is occupied by a bound morpheme d-. Its complement AgrDP is headed by the agreement ending $-er$. $AgrD^0$ in (32)a necessarily takes as its complement an NP given the licensing condition in (29)a. However, this NP can either be overt or covert given the fact that German nominal agreement (Agr) is strong enough to license an empty NP (cf. condition (29)b). In the former case we are dealing with a full lexical DP, in the latter case we are dealing with an instance of the so-called d-pronoun.

(32)b shows the structure of personal pronouns: they are simply the spell out of AgrDP, i.e. the spell out of phi features. There is no D^0 and consequently, given the licensing condition in (29) there is no NP: NPs are only licensed by the presence of a DP.

The structure in (32) allows for cross-linguistic variation at least along the following dimensions

(33) Possible sources of cross-linguistic variation:
    a. D^0 is a free morpheme   [+/-]
    b. AgrD licenses an empty NP   [+/-]

If we apply the structures in (32) to Halq'eméylem and English we observe that the possibilities given in (33) are instantiated by these languages:

(34) a. The structure of DPs: b. The structure of personal pronouns:

```
        DP                                        AgrDP
      /    \                                        |
    D⁰    AgrDP                                   AgrD⁰
    |    /    \                                     |
       AgrD⁰   NP
               △
```

    A. German: d-   er   Ø/Mann   er
    B. Halq'eméylem: te   tl'o   Ø/swíyeqe   tl'o
    C. Standard English: the   --   *Ø/man   (he)
    D. Colloquial English: th-   em   Ø/cowboys   'em

The cross-linguistic differences in terms of the parameter in (33)a is summarized in the table below:

(35) D^0 is a free morpheme [+/-]

	D^0 = free morpheme	D^0 as determiner	D^0+AgrD^0 as determiner
German	-	* d Mann	✓ d-er Mann
Halq'eméylem	+	✓ te swíyeqe	✓ tú-t'lò swíyeqe
English	+	✓ the man	% them cowboys

We have seen above that the German determiner is a bound morpheme. Consequently, D^0 by itself cannot act as a determiner, i.e. D^0 has to be combined with an appropriate agreement ending ($AgrD^0$) to be used as a determiner. Halq'eméylem is different in that respect: the determiner is a free morpheme, and consequently D^0 without an additional agreement ending can be used as the determiner. However, just like in German, Halq'eméylem also allows the determiner to be combined with an agreement ending. This corresponds to the determiner use of the independent Pronoun that we have seen in section 2.1.

English is partly like Halq'eméylem, in that its determiner is a free morpheme. But it also differs from Halq'eméylem (and German) in that in standard English the determiner does not combine with an agreement morpheme. However, there is a dialectal variation of English, in which the determiner can combine with an agreement ending. Like in Halq'eméylem, this has the result that the personal pronoun can be used like a determiner (*them cowboys*). Notice also, that in this dialect the regular form of the pronoun is actually the short form *–em* as shown in (36):

(36)   Give 'em the guns.

This supports the decomposition of *them* in Colloquial English as indicated in (34)D. It is worth mentioning in this context that of all the personal pronouns, only *them* allows an overt NP even in this dialect:

(37)   a.   *him cowboy
        b.   *her cowgirl
        c.   them cowboys

This pattern follows immediately from the present analysis. Only *them* contains *th*, which can be reanalyzed as a (bound) determiner morpheme since it is homphonous with the regular definite determiner *the*. In addition, I have argued that an NP is only licensed in the presence of a D^0. Thus only *them* which can be analyzed as containing a determiner allows for an NP. Now let us move to the second parameter, which was introduced in (33)b. Languages can differ as to whether AgrD is strong enough to license its NP complement to be empty.[11] The following table summarizes the behavior of the languages under discussion:

(38)   AgrD licenses $\varnothing$ NP [+/-]

	AgrD = available	D^0 as pronoun	D^0+$AgrD^0$ as pronoun
German	+	*d [$\varnothing$]	✓ d-er [$\varnothing$]
Halq'eméylem	+	*te [$\varnothing$]	✓ tú-tl'ò [$\varnothing$]
English	-	*the [$\varnothing$]	* the [$\varnothing$]; ✓ %them

We have already seen the situation in German: AgrD is available and D^0 cannot appear on its own (no matter whether it is used as a determiner or as a pronoun). However, if the determiner morpheme is combined with an agreement ending, both uses are possible. This leads to the conclusion that AgrD in German is strong enough to license an empty NP. This results in the possibility for the determiner to be used as a pronoun (i.e. the so-called d-pronoun).

___
[11] In Wiltschko (to appear) it is argued that the empty NP is in fact an instance of an elliptical NP. It is a well known fact that the licensing of ellipsis (and pro) is dependent on the nature (i.e. strength) of agreement in a given language.

In Halq'eméylem the situation is exactly parallel. We have seen that AgrD is available. Just like in German, the determiner by itself cannot be used as a pronoun even though it is a free morpheme (i.e. no agreement ending is necessary for the determiner use of *te*). Adding the agreement ending results in the so-called independent pronoun. Thus, we can conclude that AgrD in Halq'eméylem is strong enough to license an empty NP.

In Standard English AgrD is not available at all. Thus the determiner can never be used pronominally, even though it is a free morpheme. Again, the dialectal variation we have discussed is an exception to this generalization: *them*, which can be reanalyzed as containing a determiner morpheme *th-* can be used both as a determiner and as a pronoun.

In this section I have provided independent evidence for the assumption that Halq'eméylem independent pronouns contain an empty NP position. I have shown how this follows from an assumption put forward in Wiltschko (to appear) which has the empirical result that whenever there is a determiner there must be an NP.

In this section I have also shown how Wiltschko's analysis can account for the diverse behavior of Halq'eméylem, German and English pronouns and determiners with just two simple parameters.

An important result of this section is that Halq'eméylem independent pronouns, just like German d-pronouns are exactly parallel to full DPs. In the next section I will show that this is a desired result given the external distribution of these two sets of pronouns.

3. INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS AS R-EXPRESSIONS.

In the last section of this paper I will motivate the third assumption introduced in the introduction and repeated below for convenience:

ASSUMPTION III.

Independent pronouns behave like full lexical DPs rather than personal pronouns: they behave like R-expressions w.r.t. binding theory and quantifier binding.

In this section, I will show that this assumption concerning the external distribution of independent pronouns straightforwardly follows from their internal syntax. Again I will rely on Wiltschko's (to appear) analysis German pronouns.

3.1. The Problem.

In section 2.2., we have seen that there are two pronominal forms in German: the personal pronouns and the so-called d-pronouns. I have briefly introduced Wiltschko's (to appear) analysis of these pronouns. Essentially, this analysis boils down to the claim that personal pronouns are the mere spell out of phi-features (AgrD), without a DP or an NP projection. D-pronouns on the other hand are analyzed as determiners containing an empty NP.

It turns out that the external distribution of these pronominals is radically different. Consider the two pronominal forms and their behavior w.r.t. Binding theory:

(39)   a.   Peter$_i$ hat   geglaubt,   daß   er$_i$ dumm   ist.
             Peter$_i$ has   believed   that   he$_i$ stupid   is

'Peter$_i$ has believed that he$_i$ is stupid.'
b. *Peter$_i$ hat   geglaubt,   daß der$_i$ dumm ist.
   Peter$_i$ has   believed   that d-pron$_i$ stupid   is
   'Peter$_i$ has believed that he$_i$ is stupid.'

In (39)a there is a personal pronoun (*er*) coreferent with a c-commanding R-expression (*Peter*). The sentence is well formed, which is expected given that personal pronouns are subject to condition B of the binding theory. In (39)a the pronoun is bound by an R-expression, however it is free within its binding domain (i.e. the immediate clause that contains the pronoun).

Now observe that (39)b is ungrammatical. The only difference between the example in a and b is that in (39)b the personal pronoun is substituted for a d-pronoun. Thus, the presence of the d-pronoun must be responsible for the ungrammaticality of this example.

In Wiltschko (to appear) it is argued that d-pronouns are not subject to condition B like personal pronouns, rather they are subject to condition C, like R-expressions.
This is summarized below:

(40)   The behavior of D-pronouns and Personal pronouns w.r.t. binding theory:
   a.   Personal Pronouns are subject to Condition B.
   b.   D-pronouns are subject to Condition C.

This generalization induces the following non-trivial problem for learnability:

(41)   Confronted with a pronominal form in the target language, how does the child determine
        whether it is subject to Condition B or Condition C?

Given that there are two pronominal forms in German, and they are subject to different conditions of binding theory, it is by no means clear as to how the child knows whether a pronoun is subject to condition B or to condition C. As is clear from the generalization in (40), not every pronominal form is subject to condition B.

3.2. The Solution.
Wiltschko (to appear) proposes a straightforward solution for the problem raised in (38). Notice that we have established the following clear-cut categorical difference between personal pronouns on the one hand and d-pronouns and full (lexical) DPs (=R-expressions) on the other hand.

(42)   a.   Personal pronoun   = AgrDP
        b.   D-pronoun   = DP
              Full lexical DP   = DP

Given (42), it is proposed that R-expressions can simply be defined as in (43):

(43)   R-expressions $=_{def}$ DP
The definition in (43) has a straightforward consequence for the behavior of pronominal forms w.r.t. binding theory:

(44)   a. Any DP is subject to Condition C no matter whether it contains an overt or covert NP.
        b. (Personal) pronouns which are of category AgrDP are subject to Condition B.[12]

The learnability problem is now solved as follows. The only thing the language learner has to determiner is the category of a given pronominal form. From that knowledge, she can conclude whether a given pronominal form is subject to Condition B or Condition C.

The triggers to analyze German d-pronouns as DPs are straightforward: German d-pronouns are determiners. Thus the null assumption for the child, who acquires the language is that it is subject to Condition C.

Now let us turn to Halq'eméylem. We have seen in section 1 that the triggers for analyzing independent pronouns in Halq'eméylem as containing a syntactically active determiner are straightforward. Thus, the language learner can easily conclude that Halq'eméylem independent pronouns are in fact DPs. With this analysis of the internal syntax of Halq'eméylem independent pronouns it follows from the universal property given in (43) that Halq'eméylem independent pronouns (just like German d-pronouns) behave like R-expressions. This has an effect concerning their behavior w.r.t. Binding Theory as well as quantifier binding. I will discuss both these properties in turn.

3.2.1. A-binding
The first prediction we make is that both d-pronouns in German and independent pronouns in Halq'eméylem are subject to Condition C. This means that they cannot be bound. We have already seen that German d-pronouns confirm this prediction. The relevant example is repeated below for convenience:

(45)   *Peter$_i$ hat   geglaubt,   daß **der$_i$**   dumm ist.
        Peter$_i$ has   believed   that d-pron$_i$ stupid   is
        'Peter$_i$ has believed that he$_i$ is stupid.'

Halq'eméylem independent pronouns behave exactly alike as shown in (46) and (47).

(46)   a.   kw'éts-l-em-cha   the   tá:l-s
              see-tr-pass-fut   det.fem   mother-3poss
              'He will be seen by his mother'[13]
        b.   kw'áts-et-es   te   tá:l-s   te   John
              see-tr-3s   det   mother-3poss   det   John
              i) 'John went to see his mother'
              ii) *'His mother saw John'
        c.   *kw'áts-et-es   te   tá:l-s   **tú-tl'ò$_i$**   te John$_i$
              see-tr-3s   det   mother-3poss   det-3Indep   det John

---

[12] Note that the standard claim, i.e. that personal pronouns are intransitive determiners (cf. Postal 1969; Abney 1987) faces a severe problem here. Under this view, personal pronouns, d-pronouns and full lexical DPs are of the same category. It is thus less clear how binding theory can actually make the right distinction (cf. Wiltschko (to appear) for further discussion).
[13] This example was volunteered as a translation of '*His mother will see him.*'

In (46)b, an overt DP is added. Even though the unmarked word order in Halq'eméylem is VSO the only possible translation for this sentence is the one in i), where *te John* is the subject of the sentence. I do not have anything to say about the reason for this behavior. The crucial example is now given in (46)c. Here an independent pronoun is added in the possessor position of *te tá:ls*. Notice that this sentence is completely ungrammatical under either reading even though the structurally similar example in (46)b is grammatical. Thus the ungrammaticality of this example must have to do with the presence of the independent pronoun. Thus I conclude that independent pronouns in Halq'eméylem behave like R-expressions in that they cannot be bound.

The same can be concluded from the examples in (47):

(47) a. súq'-t-es   te   swíyeqe   te   kopú-s
          look-for-trans-3s det   man   det coat-3poss
          'The man$_i$ was looking for his$_i$ coat.'
      b. súq'-t-es   te   swíyeqe$_i$ te   kopú-s   **tútl'ò$_i$**
          look-for-trans-3s det   man   det   coat-3poss det-3Indep
          'The man$_i$ was looking for his$_{*i/j}$ coat'

In (47)a the non-overt possessor of the object DP (*te kopús*) can be coreferent with the subject DP (*te swíyeqe*). However, once the possessor is realized as an independent pronoun as in (47) coreference is no longer possible.

3.2.2. Bound variables

Let us next turn to the behavior of German d-pronouns and Halq'eméylem independent pronouns w.r.t. the bound variable interpretation of pronouns. R-expressions, including German d-pronouns as opposed to personal pronouns cannot receive a bound variable interpretation (cf. Wiltschko (to appear) for discussion). The relevant German data are shown in (48):

(48) a. Jeder Mann$_i$ glaubt, daß   **er$_i$/ *der$_i$**   stark   ist.
          *Every man$_i$ believes that   he$_i$/ *d-word$_i$ strong   is*
          'Every man$_i$ believes that he$_i$ is strong.'
      b. Kein   Mann$_i$ glaubt, daß   **er$_i$/ *der$_i$**   stark   ist.
          *No   man$_i$ believes that   he$_i$/ *d-word$_i$ strong   is*
          'No man$_i$ believes that he$_i$ is strong.'

As it was the case for A-binding, personal pronouns show a strikingly different behavior than d-pronouns w.r.t. quantifier binding. D-pronouns cannot assume a bound variable interpretation whereas personal pronouns can. This follows, given that d-pronouns are R-expressions, which behave in the same way.

Given that Halq'eméylem independent pronouns behave much like German d-pronouns in that they are R-expressions, we expect the same behavior: the bound variable interpretation should be excluded. This prediction is borne out as shown by the examples in (49) and (50):

(49) a. mékw' ye   sewíyeqe xwoyí:wel lhi-s
          every det.pl   men   happy   when-3s singing

          'Every man$_i$ is happy when he$_i$ sings.'
      b. mékw' ye   sewíyeqe$_i$ xwoyí:wel lhi-s   t'í:t'elém **tú-tl'ò$_i$**
          every det-pl   men   happy   when-3s singing det-3Indep
          'Every man$_i$ is happy when he$_{*i/j}$ sings.'

In (49)a, a bound variable interpretation is possible: the 3rd person subject of the adjunct clause is not realized as an independent pronoun but merely by means of an agreement ending on the verb. If an independent pronoun is added as in (49)b, a bound variable interpretation is no longer available.

Similarly in (50):

(50) a. kw'áts-et-es mékw' ye   sewíyeqe ye   pékw-s
          look-tr-3s   every det.pl   men   det   book-3poss
          'Every man$_i$ looked at his$_i$ book.'
      b. kw'áts-et-es mékw' ye   sewíyeqe$_i$ ye   pékw-s   **tútl'ò$_i$**
          look-trans-3s every det-pl   men   det   book-3poss det-3Indep
          'Every man$_i$ looked at his$_{*i/j}$ book'

In the sentence in (50)a, a bound pronoun interpretation is possible: the coreferent pronominal is merely realized as possessive agreement. As soon as the possessor is realized as an independent pronoun, the bound variable reading is excluded as shown in (50)b. Note that this might have to do with a mismatch in number, the quantified NP being plural whereas the pronoun being singular. However, a plural pronoun can still not be used in this context:

(51) a. mékw' ye   swíyeqe kw'ákw'átsetes   te   stóles
          every det.pl   man   looking   det   wife
          'Every man is looking at his wife'
      b. mékw' ye   swíyeqe$_i$ kw'ákw'átsetes te   stóles tú-tlò$_{j/*i}$
          every det.pl   man   looking   det   wife det-3Indep
          'Every man is looking at his wife'
      b. mékw' ye   swíyeqe$_i$ kw'ákw'átsetes te   stóles tú-tlòlem$_{j/*i}$
          every det.pl   man   looking   det   wife det-3Indep.pl
          'Every man is looking at his wife'

In sum, Halq'eméylem independent pronouns do not only share the internal syntax with German d-pronouns. They also share their external distribution: both pronominal forms behave like R-expressions. This supports the analysis in Wiltschko (to appear) in that it shows the correlation between the internal syntax (being a full DP) and their external distribution (behaving like an R-expression w.r.t. binding theory and quantifier binding).

4. SUMMARY

In this paper I have provided an analysis of the internal syntax of Halq'eméylem independent pronouns, that also derives their external syntax. I have argued that independent pronouns in Halq'eméylem consist of a syntactically active determiner hosting its own (DP) projection. This determiner takes an agreement projection (AgrDP) as its complement. I also argued that even if there is no overt NP, AgrDP uniformly takes an NP complement. Given that this NP can be either overt or empty, it follows that independent pronouns can function pronominally or as a determiner.

In addition I followed Wiltschko (to appear) in assuming that R-expressions are strictly defines as DPs. Given that Halq'eméylem independent pronouns are DPs, it follows that they behave like R-expressions. Therefore they are subject to Condition C of the binding theory. Also they cannot by used as bound variables.

Thus, the internal analysis of Halq'eméylem independent pronouns straightforwardly accounts for their external distribution. This is a welcome result, given the learnability problem. The language learner only has to determine the category of a given pronoun in order to have knowledge about their syntactic behavior, which as we have seen, can be quite different cross-linguistically.

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APPENDIX.

KEY TO THE ORTHOGRAPHY:

Orthography	IPA	Orthography	IPA
a	æ or ɛ	p'	p'
ch	tʃ	q	qʰ
ch'	t'ʃ	q'	q'
e (between palatals)	ɪ	qw	qʰʷ
e (between labials)	ʊ	qw'	q'ʷ
e (elsewhere)	ə	s	s
i	i	sh	ʃ
k	kʰ or kʲ	t	tʰ
k'	k' or k'ʲ	t'	t'
kw	kʰʷ	th	θ
k'w	k'ʷ	th'	tθ'
l	l	tl'	tɬ'
lh	ɬ	ts	c
m	m	ts'	c'
o	a	u	u
ō	o	w	w
p	p	x	x or xʲ
xw	xʷ		
x̱	x̣	x̱w	x̣ʷ
y	j	ʿ	ʔ
ʹ	high stress	ˆ	mid stress

See ref. to Galloway for detailed discussion, allophonic variation etc.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS (in alphabetical order)

Adj   = Adjective
det   = determiner
fem.   = feminine
Indep.= independent pronoun
N   = Noun
obl   = oblique
pl.   = plural
poss. = possessive
sg.   = singular