Sentential Negation in Upriver Halkomelem
(and what it tells us about the structure of the clause)

Martina Wiltschko
University of British Columbia/University of Vienna

This paper argues that the properties of negative sentences in Upriver Halkomelem follow from two basic assumptions: i) the negative marker is associated with a syntactic head (Neg⁰) located immediately below CP; ii) "subject clitics" are to be analyzed as inflected complementizers. Crucially, this analysis implies that the negative element in Halkomelem is not a predicate and that negative constructions in Halkomelem are not bi-clausal.

0 Introduction

This paper investigates in some detail the properties of sentential negation in Upriver Halkomelem (Stó:lo Halq'eméylem; henceforth UHalk).[1] In particular I will argue that the negative marker in UHalk is best analyzed as a syntactic head (Neg⁰) hosting its own projection (NegP) – consistent with current analyses of negation (see among others Pollock 1989, Ouhalla 1990, Laka 1990, Haegeman 1995, Zanuttini 1997). Under this view, the seemingly complex properties of negative sentences receive a straightforward explanation. Negation interacts with X^0 syntax in a predictable fashion: First, Neg⁰ blocks head movement of lower heads; that is, it acts as an intervening head relevant for the head movement constraint. Secondly, NegP blocks head-government by a higher head.

In as much as the analysis presented in this paper successfully derives the properties of negative sentences, it also sheds some light on the proper analysis of UHalk clause-structure especially on the syntactic position of inflectional material.

The paper is organized as follows. First, I introduce the core property of UHalk negation and the analytical problem it invokes (§1). An analysis that solves this problem is introduced §2. §3 and §4 will motivate the proposal in detail and show how it derives the various properties of UHalk negative sentences. §5 provides additional evidence for the mono-clausal character of UHalk negation. In §6 some special properties of negative sentences with 3ʳᵈ person subjects are discussed. §7 concludes.

1 The Problem

In this section I will introduce the core property of UHalk negation and discuss the theoretical problem it induces. Consider the following negative sentences with 1ˢᵗ and 2ⁿᵈ person subjects, respectively:[2]

(1)   a.   éwe   tsel   lí-l   tl'íls-th-òmè
               neg   1sg.s   aux-1sg.ss   want-trans-2sg.o
               'I don't like you.'
       b.   éwe   chexw   lí-xw   tl'íls-th-óx
               neg   2sg.s   aux-2sg.ss   want-trans-1sg.o
               'You don't like me.'   Galloway 1993: p.186

[2] For ease of exposition, I will for the moment restrict the discussion to sentences with 1ˢᵗ and 2ⁿᵈ person subjects. The analysis I will develop will carry over to sentences with 3ʳᵈ person subjects, which we will discuss in section 6. Abbreviations used are as follows: acc = accusative, aux = auxiliary, cont = continuative, det = determiner, f = feminine, indef = indefinite, Indep = independent pronoun, intrans = intransitive marker, neg = negation, nom = nominalizer, o = object, pass = passive (object) agreement, pl = plural, poss = possessive agreement, Q = question marker, redup = reduplication, s = subject, sg = singular, ss = subjunctive subject agreement, subord = subordinate, trans = transitive marker.

Descriptively, negative sentences are formed according to the following pattern:

(2)   Negation   clitic$_{Subj}$ Aux-subjunctive$_{Subj}$ V

The negative element *éwe* occurs in sentence-initial position, immediately followed by a subject clitic. These two elements in turn precede an auxiliary (*li/í*) which itself carries subject agreement (the so called *subjunctive* endings). Finally, the main verb appears with object agreement in the case of a transitive sentence (see Galloway 1993; p.344 for a detailed description).

In sum, negative sentences in UHalk show the following properties:

(3)   i)   The negative marker (*éwe*) occurs in sentence initial position.
        ii) Subject clitics immediately follow the negative marker.
        iii) An auxiliary (*li*) is inserted.
        iv) The auxiliary agrees with the subject (i.e. it carries subjunctive agreement).

What are the necessities for an empirically and theoretically adequate analysis of negation that these properties impose? We first have to address the question as to which of these properties is particular to negative environments. In order to extrapolate these properties we have to see whether each of these properties is found in positive environments as well. With this in mind consider the following positive counterparts of (1):

(4)   a. tsel   tl'ils-th-òmè   b. tl'ils-th-òmè-tsel
            1sg.s   want-trans-2sg.o   want-trans-2sg.o-1sg.s
            'I like you.'   'I like you.'

        c. chexw tl'ils-th-óx   d. tl'ils-th-óx-chexw
            2sg.s   want-trans-1sg.o   want-trans-1sg.o-2sg.s
            'You like me.'   'You like me.'

Property (3)i trivially distinguishes negative from positive sentences, i.e. positive sentences will not contain a negative marker.

The sentences in (4) show that the relative position of the subject clitic is variable, i.e. it can precede or follow the main predicate. Consequently, it is not obvious whether property (3)ii - the particular slot the clitic occupies in negative sentences - is in fact particular to the negative environment or not.

It turns out that the appearance of an auxiliary (property (3)iii) is not necessarily particular to negative environments as well. The same auxiliary can occur in positive environments, i.e. in yes/no questions (5)a and in sentences with an overt past tense marker(5)b:[3]

(5) a. Yes/no question: b. Past
            lí-chexw   lá:yem   í-lh-tsel   í:mex
            aux-2sg.s laughing   aux-past-1sg.s   walking
            'Are you laughing?'   'I was walking.'

Finally, property (3)iv is particular to negative environments. In addition to the subject clitic, there is a second agreement ending, i.e. the so called subjunctive agreement. The examples in (5) clearly show that the occurrence of the additional subjunctive agreement is indeed particular to the negative context rather than for example to the occurrence of the auxiliary. In yes/no questions and in sentences with an overt past tense marker there is an auxiliary but no subjunctive agreement.

Note however, that it is not the occurrence of the subjunctive agreement by itself which is particular to negation, rather it is the occurrence of the subjunctive agreement **in addition** to the subject clitic which is the relevant property. (From now on I will refer to this phenomenon as "double agreement".) That is the

---

[3] Note in passing that in two of the three environments, English requires auxiliaries as well, i.e. in negative contexts and in yes/no questions:
i)   I *(do) not laugh.
ii) *(do) you laugh?

subjunctive agreement (without the subject clitic) also occurs in positive (hypothetical) environments (see Galloway 1993: 194f):

(6) a. we-lám-**exw**
     if-go-2sg.ss
     'If/when you go.' Galloway 1993: 184

    b. stám te í-xw thíy-t
      what det aux-2sg.ss make-trans
      'What are you making? Galloway 1993: 186

Given this much information, what are the necessities for an empirically and theoretically adequate analysis of negation? To be empirically adequate the analysis has to capture all the properties listed in (3). However, to achieve theoretical adequacy as well, we have to go one step further. Ideally, one would like to reduce all the properties of negation to the syntax of the negative marker. That is, in providing an analysis for (3)i (i.e. the sentence-initial occurrence of the negative marker) we should be able to account for all the other properties as well. This means that they should follow from the **interaction** of the syntax of the negative marker with independently motivated universal principles and language- specific properties of UHalk clause structure. Crucially however, we should not invoke negation-specific principles, since this would amount to positing construction specific statements, which is not an option in the Principles & Parameters framework (Chomsky 1981, 1986) adopted in this paper.

2 The Proposal

It is obvious that an adequate analysis of negation has to be embedded in an adequate analysis of UHalk clause-structure, which is independent of negation. That is, an adequate analysis of UHalk clause-structure has to provide the necessary ingredients for the properties of negation to fall out without further stipulations. In what follows I will provide such an analysis.

2.1 The analysis of UHalk negation

I will argue for the following analysis of UHalk negation:

(7) The syntax of UHalk negation:
    i) The negative marker (*éwe*) is a syntactic head (Neg^0) projecting its own phrase (NegP).
    ii) NegP in UHalk is generated immediately below CP.
    iii) Neg^0 optionally undergoes head-movement to adjoin to C^0.

All three of these assumptions are well-motivated within treatments of negation in current syntactic theory. Consider first property (7)i. It is by now a standard assumption that negation heads its own projection and that certain negative elements can be heads (whereas others are phrasal and therefore located in SpecNegP[4]) (see among others Ouhalla 1990, Laka 1990, Haegeman 1995, Zanuttini 1990, 1997).

As for (7)ii, the position immediately below CP has been identified as a possible position for NegP by Ouhalla (1990) and Zanuttini (1997) among others. Note that Vrzic (1999) argues for exactly this analysis for negation in Chinook Jargon.

Finally, movement of Neg^0 to C^0 is independently attested in West-Flemish. Haegeman & Zanuttini (1991) argue that Neg^0 clitizizes onto the main verb in C^0 as shown below:

(8) Valére **en-eet** [NegP niemand [Neg t] gevroagd.
    Valére **neg-has** nobody asked
    'Valére did not ask anyone.' Haegeman & Zanuttini 1991: 247 ex. (32)

---

[4] There are candidates for negative elements that could be located in SpecNegP in UHalk as well. The negative element *ewete* can be immediately followed by a noun and thus looks like constituent negation which is therefore phrasal:
i) éwe-te slháli kw'e íłhtel
    neg-det woman det eat
    'No woman is eating'
This type of negation has different properties than sentential negation. In this paper I restrict myself to sentential negation leaving this type of negation for future research.

In sum, I argue that nothing special has to be said about negation in UHalk. As a syntactic head projecting its own phrase it is predicted to interfere with X^0-syntax (i.e. head-movement and head-government).

2.2 The analysis of UHalk clause structure and the distribution of agreement

As for the analysis of UHalk clause-structure, I will assume the following (abbreviated) structure:

(9)
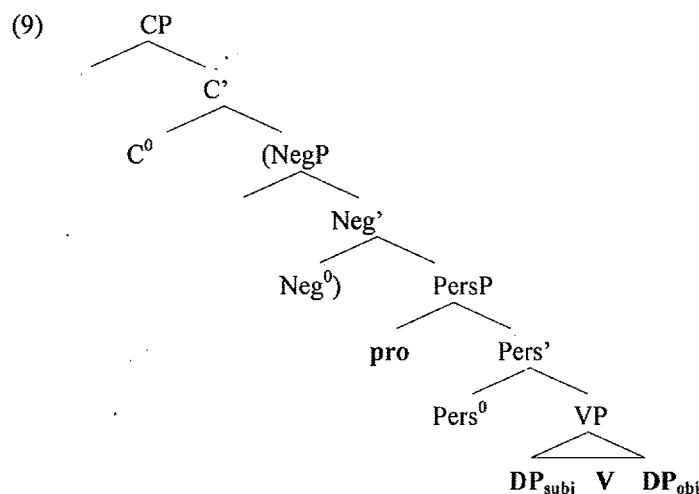
Note that this structure is well-motivated cross-linguistically and from a cross-Salish perspective. First, CP is standardly assumed to be the top-most node in the clause structure (cf. Chomsky 1986). Secondly, PersP has been argued to be the position for subjects and subject inflection in Italian (Manzini & Savoia 1998) and in Algonquian (Déchaine (1999)). Also, it has been argued to be part of the functional structure within UHalk DPs hosting possessive agreement (Wiltschko 1998). Given that possessive agreement is also found in (some) subordinate clauses, we can conclude that PersP appears in the clausal functional domain as well (see also Wiltschko in preparation).

Now consider the distribution of agreement and arguments within the clause structure in (9). In part, following Davis (1999) for a cross-Salish perspective and Wiltschko (in preparation) for UHalk, I will make the following assumptions:

i) Full DP arguments stay within the VP (see Davis 1999)
ii) - PersP[5] is the locus of (subjunctive) subject agreement
    - SpecPersP is occupied by *pro*, which is coindexed with the VP-internal subject.
    - *pro* is necessary to satisfy the requirement that the (functional) subject position has to be filled (=
        Extended Projection Principle (EPP))

In addition to these properties, which have been independently argued for, I will make one further assumption that concerns the distribution of subject clitics in (UHalk) Salish:

(10) UHalk subject clitics are inflected matrix complementizers (and therefore generated in C^0).

Note that this assumption immediately derives the fact that "subject clitics"[6] are restricted to matrix environments – they are in complementary distribution with subordinating complementizers.

From a cross-linguistic perspective there is nothing special about the assumption that a language should have inflected matrix complementizers. First, matrix complementizers are found for example in Standard Arabic (Fehri 1993):

---

[5] This projection corresponds to TP in Davis (1999). But see Wiltschko (in preparation) for evidence that there is no TP in UHalk.
[6] For convenience, I will continue to use the term "subject clitic" even though these elements are analyzed as inflected complementizers.

(11) **ʔinna** baqarat-an   takallam-at
      that cow-acc   spoke-3sg.f
      'A cow has spoken.'   Fehri 1993: 45 ex. (92)

Secondly, inflected complementizers are found in a variety of German and Dutch Dialects (see for example Bayer (1984) for Bavarian, Bennis & Haegeman (1984) for West Flemish, and Zwart (1993) for South Hollandic and Groningen):

(12) a. Bavarian
        Du   sollst song an   waichan Schuah dass-st *pro* wui-st
        you   should say   indef which   shoe   that-2sg.s   want-2sg.s
        'You have to tell which shoe you want.'   Bayer 1984: 237 ex. (63)
     b. Groningen
        of-s   doe   kom-s
        if-2sg   you   come-2sg
        'if you come'   Zwart 1996: 603 ex. (70b)

In what follows I will show how this analysis can derive the properties of UHalk negation.

3 The distribution of the negative marker

In this section I will be concerned with the distributional properties of the negative marker relative to the "subject clitic", i.e. we will be concerned with the first two properties of negation introduced in section 1:

(3)   i)   The negative marker (*éwe*) occurs in sentence initial position.
       ii) "subject clitics" immediately follow the negative marker.

I will now show how the present analysis of negation repeated below can derive these properties.

(7) The syntax of UHalk negation:
       i)   The negative marker (*éwe*) is a syntactic head (Neg^0) projecting its own phrase (NegP).
       ii) NegP in UHalk is generated immediately below CP.
       iii) Neg^0 optionally undergoes head-movement to adjoin to C^0.

3.1 Evidence for Neg^0 to C^0 movement

Consider the structure of negative clauses proposed in section 2:

(13)

```
        CP
       /  \
          C'
         /  \
       C⁰    NegP
      tsel    /  \
           Neg'
          /   \
       Neg⁰   PersP
       éwe    /  \
           pro   Pers'
                /  \
             Pers⁰   ....
```
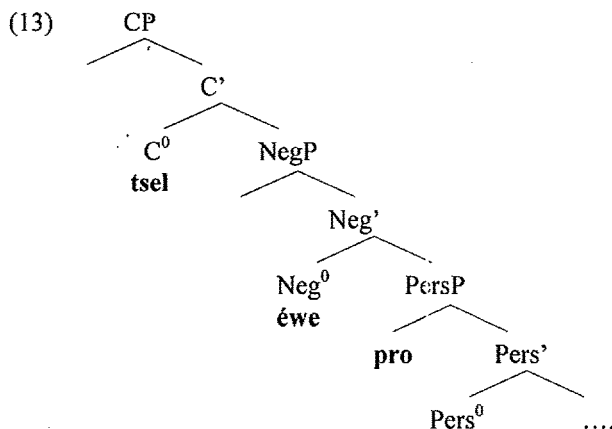
Without further assumptions, the structure in (13) predicts that the "subject clitic" precedes the negative marker. As shown below, this linear ordering is in fact attested providing support for the present analysis:

(14) a. tsel   éwe   lí-l   yóyes   c. tset   éwe   lí-t   yóyes
          1sg.s neg   aux-1sg.ss   working   1pl.s neg   aux-1pl.ss   working
          'I am not working'   'We are not working.'

      b. chexw éwe   lí-xw   yóyes   d. chap   éwe   lí-p   yóyes
          2sg.s neg   aux-2sg.ss   working   2pl.s neg   aux-2pl.ss   working
          'You are not working.'   'You are not working.'

However, as we have seen in section 1, this is not the only possible order. Rather, in the unmarked case the negative marker precedes the "subject clitic". (15) provides the negative-initial counterparts to (14):

(15) a. éwe   tsel   lí-l   yóyes   c. éwe   tset   lí-t   yóyes
          neg   1sg.s aux-1sg.ss   working   neg   1pl.s aux-1pl.ss   working
          'I'm not working'   'We are not working.'

      b. éwe   chexw lí-xw   yóyes   d. éwe   chap   lí-p   yóyes
          neg   2sg.s aux-2sg.ss   working   neg   2pl.s aux-2pl.ss   working
          'You're not working.'   'You are not working.'

As introduced above, I argue that the surface order in (1) and (15) is derived by Neg^0 to C^0 movement of the negative head as shown below:

(16)
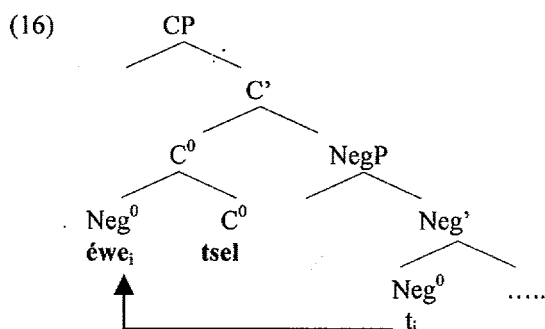
Empirical evidence for Neg^0 to C^0 movement in UHalk comes from negative yes/no questions. One way to construe a yes/no question in UHalk is by means of an interrogative suffix –a. This suffix attaches to the element in sentence-initial position i.e. the auxiliary (l)i. In the absence of this auxiliary, the interrogative suffix attaches to whatever else appears in initial position:

(17) a. lí-a-chexw   kw'ómkw'em
          aux-Q-2sg.s   strong
          'Are you strong?'

      b. lám-a-chexw
          go-Q-2sg.s
          'Are you going?'

      c. skw'áy-a   kw'-a-s   kw'éts-l-exw
          impossible-Q det-2sg.poss-nom   see-trans-3o
          'Can't you see it?'   Galloway 1993: 313f.

Given this pattern, we can assume that the interrogative marker –a occupies C^0, which is standardly assumed to be the locus of the interrogative feature.[7] Consequently, any material moving to C^0 will appear to be suffixed by –a. Crucially, negation can be suffixed by –a as well:

---

[7] Note that under our analysis C^0 is already occupied by the inflected complementizer (i.e. the "subject clitic"). We therefore have to assume one of two possibilities: i) more than one morpheme can be base-generated in C^0 or ii) UHalk has a recursive CP (see among others Zwart 1993, Rizzi 1997 etc.). For the present purpose, nothing crucial hangs on this issue and I will not discuss it any further.

(18) a. ew-á-tsel   (I)í-l   éy
       neg-Q-1sg.s aux-1sg.ss good
       'Am I not good?'
    b. ew-á   lí-s   yéthes-t-òlè-m
       neg-Q   aux-3ss   tell-trans-2pl.o-intrans
       'Weren't you folks told?'   Galloway 1993: 314

Since in yes/no questions the interrogative marker is suffixed to the negative marker we can conclude that the negative marker occupies C^0. Since the negative marker is not base-generated in C^0 it is safe to conclude that the negative marker undergoes head movement to C^0.

In this context, it has to be mentioned that this assumption contradicts a long-standing assumption, namely that negation cannot undergo movement but rather marks a fixed position in the clause structure (see for example Pollock 1989). However, this alleged property of negation lacks a principled reason. In addition, with the introduction of Neg^0 as a syntactic head hosting its own projection, head movement of Neg^0 is rather expected and has been assumed for other languages (see the discussion in section 2). Consequently, the fact that the negative marker in UHalk can undergo head-movement can be taken as indirect evidence for its status as a syntactic head.

3.2 The interaction of negation with head-movement

Another argument for the status of the negative marker as a syntactic head comes from its interaction with movement of other heads. To see this let us consider again the positive sentences introduced in section 1 and repeated below for convenience:

(19) a. tsel   tl'íls-th-òmè   c. tl'íls-th-òmè-tsel
        1sg.s   want-trans-2sg.o   want-trans-2sg.o-1sg.s
        'I like you.'   'I like you.'
     b. chexw   tl'ils-th-óx   d. tl'ils-th-óx-chexw
        2sg.s   want-trans-1sg.o   want-trans-1sg.o-2sg.s
        'You like me.'   'You like me.'

We have seen that the clitic can either precede or follow the main verb. Given the structure of UHalk clauses proposed in section 2 this pattern receives the following simplified analysis:
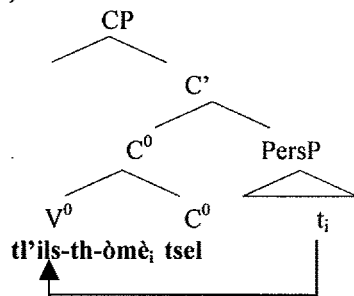
(20) a. V-movement to C^0:   b. no V-movement to C^0:
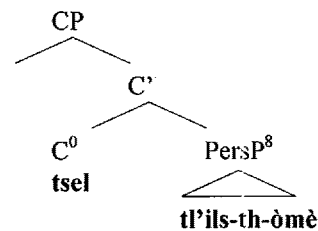
The verb can optionally undergo head-movement to adjoin to C^0. Thus the kind of optional movement proposed for Neg^0 is also found for verbs. I will now show that this kind of verb movement interacts with the presence of other heads (including negation) in a predictable fashion.

First, observe that in the presence of an auxiliary, the auxiliary, rather than the verb undergoes head-movement to C^0:

---

[8] For the present purpose it is irrelevant how far the verb moves in the "clitic"-initial sentences.

(21) Yes/no question:
    a. lí-chexw   lá:yem   b. *lá:yem-chexw lí
        aux-2sg.s   laughing   laughing-2sg.s aux
        'Are you laughing?'   'Are you laughing?'

(22) Past
    a. í-lh-tsel   í:mex   b. *í:mex-tsel   í-lh
        aux-past-1sg.s   walking   walking-1sg.s   aux-past
        'I was walking.'   'I was walking.'

(23)
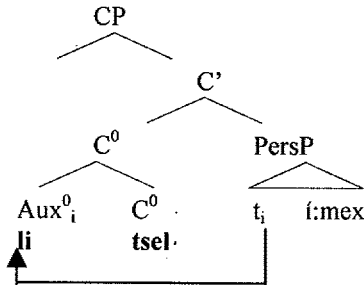
Second, in the presence of negation neither the auxiliary nor the verb can undergo head-movement. Rather, as we have seen above, the negative marker can optionally undergo head-movement to adjoin to C^0:

(24)   a. *lí-tsel   éwe   yóyes
           aux-1sg.s neg   working
           'I'm not working.'
       b. *yóyes-tsel   éwe
           working-1sg.s   neg
           'I'm not working.'
       c. éwe   tsel   lí-l   yóyes
           neg   1sg.s aux-1sg.ss working
           'I'm not working'

The relative position of negation, auxiliaries and verbs w.r.t. "subject clitics" can be summarized as follows:

(25)   a. "subject clitics" immediately follow (or precede) the main verb unless there is an auxiliary.
       b. If there is an auxiliary, "subject clitics" immediately follow the auxiliary unless there is negation.
       c. If there is negation, "subject clitics" immediately follow (or precede) the negative marker.

If we restate this generalization in terms of movement the following picture emerges (abstracting away from the apparent optional character of this movement):

(26)   a. The main verb moves to C^0 unless there is an auxiliary.
       b. If there is an auxiliary, it moves to C^0 unless there is negation.
       c. If there is negation, the negative marker moves to C^0.

This type of generalization receives a straightforward syntactic analysis. The fact that movement of a given element (i.e. the verb) is blocked in the presence of another element (i.e. an auxiliary) follows from the head movement constraint (HMC; see Travis 1984). Head-movement must always precede to the next head-position. With this in mind, consider first, the abbreviated structures in (27):

234

(27) a. CP

b. CP

(syntax trees: (27a) CP → C' → C⁰, [....] → VP → V⁰; (27b) CP → C' → C⁰, [....] → AuxP⁹ → Aux' → Aux⁰, VP → V⁰)
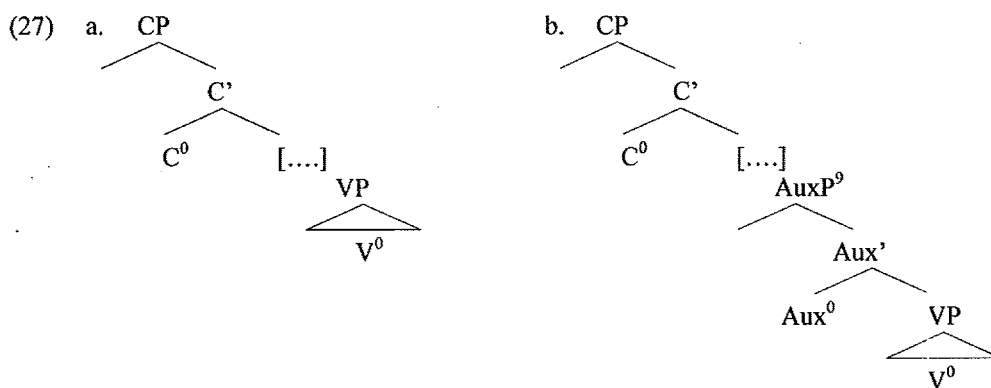
If there is only a main verb it can undergo head-movement to C^0. However, if there is an auxiliary the situation changes. Auxiliaries head their own projection (labeled as AuxP in (28)b). Therefore there is an intervening head between V and C that blocks head movement. Consequently it is not the verb but rather the auxiliary that moves to adjoin to C^0.

Finally, consider the abbreviated structure of a negative clause:

(28) CP

(syntax tree: CP → C' → C⁰, NegP → Neg' → Neg⁰, ... AuxP → Aux' → Aux⁰, VP → V⁰)
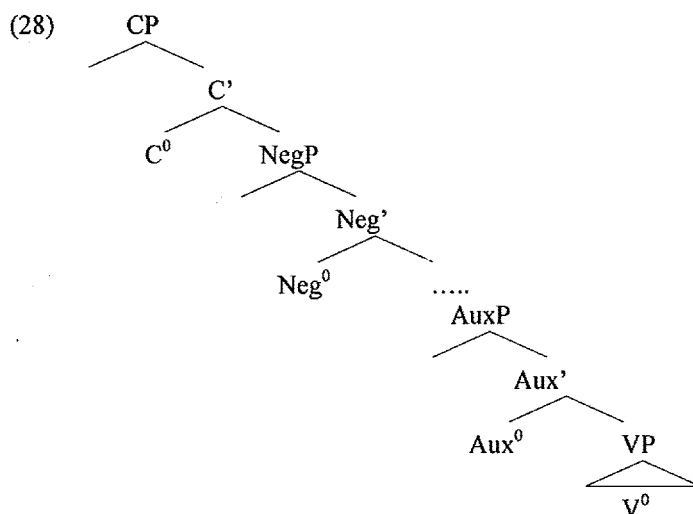
Here, neither the verb nor the auxiliary can undergo head-movement to C^0 since the negative marker occupies a head-position that intervenes between V^0/Aux^0 and C^0 and thus acts as an intervening head for the head movement constraint. Therefore the only head that can possibly move to adjoin to C^0 is Neg^0.

That negation can block head-movement is a well-known fact (see among others Ouhalla 1988, 1990, Pollock 1989). For example it accounts for the phenomenon of do-support in English negative sentences:

(29) a. *John likes not Bill.
       b. John does not like Bill.   Ouhalla 1990: 200 ex. (20)

In Ouhalla's (1990) analysis (29)a would be derived by V-movement of TNS across NEG, which violates the head movement constraint (or Relativized Minimality in Ouhalla's system). Therefore *do* has to be inserted to support TNS/AGR. Consequently, the fact that an auxiliary is inserted in similar environments in English and in UHalk is not accidental.

In this section we have seen that the analysis of the negative marker *éwe* as a syntactic head hosting its own projection NegP, which is located immediately below CP makes the right predictions. The negative

---

[9] For ease of exposition, I represent auxiliaries as being generated in a functional projection called AuxP. This label is not meant to be of any theoretical significance. Also, I don't have anything to say about the exact position of auxiliaries. Suffice it to say that they must be located somewhere below PersP and above VP.

marker *éwe* was shown to have the syntax of a syntactic head: first, it can undergo head-movement to adjoin to C^0. And secondly, it can act as an intervening head for head-movement of an auxiliary or verb.

Note that the possibility for the negative marker to be analyzed as an auxiliary itself is excluded for a number of reasons. First, it is not in complementary distribution with other auxiliaries (as is evident from the discussion so far). Second, its syntax is very different from true auxiliaries. On the one hand, negation always has to precede other auxiliaries, i.e. it appears in sentence initial position (see for example the sentences in (24)a repeated below:

(24) a. *lí-tsel   éwe   yóyes
          aux-1sg.s neg   working
          'I'm not working.'

If both *li* and the negative marker were auxiliaries, this distributional difference would not fall out in a straightforward way.

Third, the presence of negation triggers double agreement (to which I will turn immediately). This is not the case for true auxiliaries. This is exemplified by the examples in (21)a and (22)a repeated below for convenience:

(21) a.. lí-chexw   lá:yem   (22) a. í-lh-tsel   í:mex
          aux-2sg.s   laughing   aux-past-1sg.s   walking
          'Are you laughing?'   'I was walking.'

Given that the syntax of the negative marker is rather distinct from that of auxiliaries, we can conclude that it is associated with a distinct functional position, which I identify as Neg^0 following standard practice in the generative literature.

4 Double agreement

In this section I will discuss the other properties of negation in UHalk repeated below:

(3) c. An auxiliary (*li*) is inserted.
     d. The auxiliary agrees with the subject (i.e. it carries subjunctive agreement).

I will show that these properties straightforwardly follow from the analysis presented in section 2. In particular from the assumption that the negative marker is a syntactic head Neg^0 and that "subject clitics" are instances of inflected matrix complementizers.

4.1 Licensing *pro*

As mentioned in section 2, I assume that SpecPersP is occupied by *pro* as shown below:[10]

(30)

```
        CP
        /\
          C'
         /\
       C⁰   PersP
      tsel   /\
          proᵢ   Pers'
                 /\
             Pers⁰   VP
                     /\
                  DPᵢ   V
```
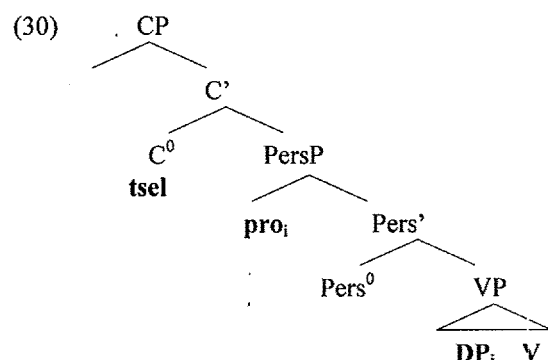
[10] Wiltschko (in preparation) argues that UHalk DPs do not leave the VP and therefore SpecPersP has to be occupied by *pro* to satisfy the Extended Projection Principle (see Davis 1999 for a cross-Salishan perspective).

I argue that the presence of *pro* is crucially responsible for the double agreement found in negative sentences. To show this, let us briefly review standard assumptions concerning the licensing or *pro*.

Rizzi (1986) argues that *pro* is subject to two distinct licensing requirements: formal licensing and identificational licensing. He further argues that formal licensing takes place under government by an appropriate head. The choice of this head is subject to parametric variation. Identificational licensing is known to be tied to agreement (Borer 1983, 1986, 1989; Huang 1984; Rizzi 1986). In particular, the ϕ features on an inflectional head are assumed to identify the content of *pro*.

As for UHalk, I preliminary propose the following licensing requirement:

(31) Licensing requirements for *pro* in UHalk (preliminary version):
  i) *pro* is formally licensed by C^0 under government.[11]
  ii) *pro* is identified by the ϕ-features in C^0

Concretely, this means that *pro* in SpecPersP receives ϕ-features from the inflected complementizer (i.e. the "subject clitic") in C^0.

This analysis is justified from a cross-linguistic perspective. Bayer (1984) argues for exactly this analysis for Bavarian. In Bavarian complementizer inflection is restricted to 2nd person and consequently, *pro* is only found with 2nd person subjects:

(32) I frog mi
  I ask myself
  a. ob-st $[_{IP}pro$ komm-st
     if-2sg.s   pro   come-2sg.s
     'if you come'

  b. ob-ts $[_{IP}pro$ komm-ts
     if-2pl.s   pro   come-2pl
     'if you come'

4.2 NegP as a barrier for licensing *pro*

Given the analysis of *pro* in UHalk we can now turn to negation. Consider the structure assumed for negative sentences:

(33)
```
            CP
           /  \
              C'
            /    \
          C⁰      NegP
          tsel    /  \
                Neg'
                /    \
             Neg⁰      PersP
             éwe       /  \
                     pro    Pers'
                            /  \
                          Pers⁰    ....
```
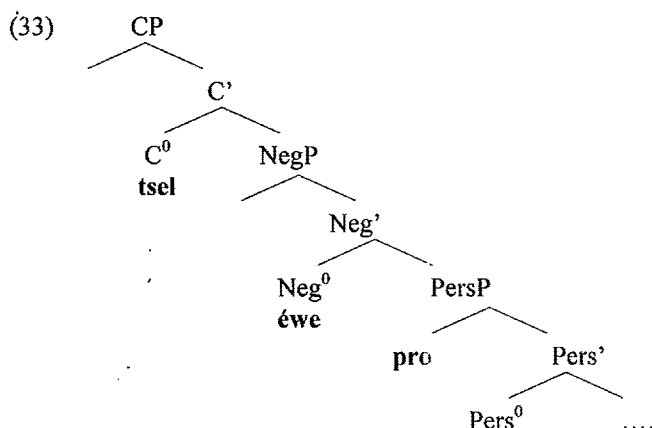
It is obvious that in this configuration the complementizer can no longer identify *pro*. This is because NegP acts as a barrier for government between C^0 and SpecPersP. To save this structure, UHalk makes use of the following strategy: inflectional material is inserted in $Pers^0$. This means that we have to revise the licensing properties of *pro* in UHalk in the following way:

---

[11] For the present purpose I will continue to use *government* as licensing environment even though under minimalist assumptions it is no longer a legitimate relation (see Chomsky 1995). It seems to me that an analysis of the present facts without the relation of government is not straightforward, thus UHalk negation could be taken as indirect evidence for the necessity of government. I will leave this issue open for future research.

(34) Licensing requirements for *pro* in UHalk:
    i)   *pro* is formally licensed by $Pers^0$ under Spec-Head-Agreement[12]
    ii) *pro* is identified by the ϕ-features in either C^0 or $Pers^0$.

(35)
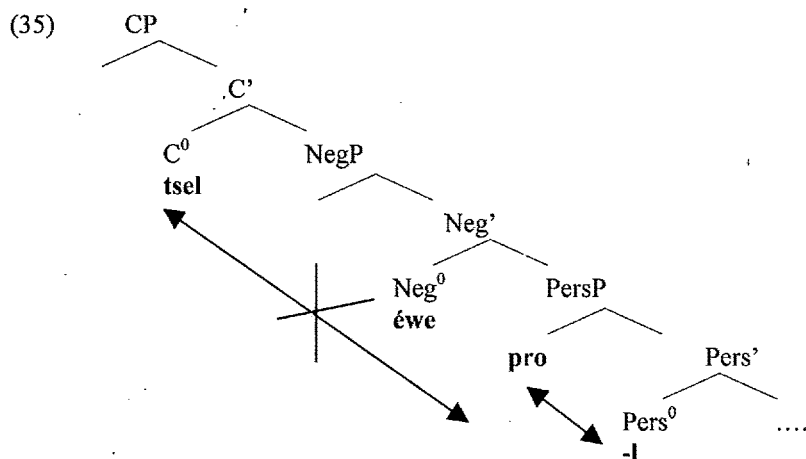
    This means that "double agreement" is a direct result of the syntax of negation in interaction with the licensing properties of *pro:* NegP being located immediately below CP in UHalk interferes in the licensing relation between C^0 and *pro.*

    This immediately makes a prediction for Bavarian. Bavarian has the same licensing properties for *pro* as UHalk but differs with respect to the position of negation. In particular the negative head is rather low in the tree (see among others Ouhalla 1990). The exact position does not play a role here, suffice it to say that it is not located between C^0 and TP. Thus, it is predicted to not interfere with the licensing of *pro* and indeed the presence of negation does not have any effect comparable to UHalk:

(36) I frog mi
      I ask   myself
      a. ob-st [_{IP}*pro* net komm-st   b. ob-ts [_{IP}*pro* net   komm-ts
          if-2sg.s pro not come-2sg.s   if-2pl.s pro not   come-2pl.s
          'if you come'   'if you come'

4.3 The presence of the auxiliary

Note that we have not yet accounted for the presence of the auxiliary (i.e. property (3)b). To do so we have to make the reasonable assumption that the inflectional material in $Pers^0$ is a bound morpheme, and therefore triggers head-movement of an adequate verbal head. This can be an auxiliary.
    If this is correct, we predict that in the absence of an auxiliary, the verb will carry the subjunctive agreement ending. This prediction is borne out as shown below: [13]

(37)   a. éwe-chap t'ílem-**ap**   wáyeles
          neg-2pl.s sing-2pl.ss   tomorrow
          'You folks won't be singing tomorrow.'
     b. éwe-tset   t'ílem-**et**   wáyeles
          neg-1pl.s   sing-1pl.ss   tomorrow
          'We won't be working tomorrow'

---

[12] We could equally assume a disjoint formal licensing requirement (*pro* is formally licensed by C^0 under government or by $Pers^0$ under SHAGR. The choice between the two versions is irrelevant for the present purpose and I therefore choose the simpler formulation without a disjunction.

[13] For some reason movement of the main verb is associated with a future interpretation as indicated by the English translations in (37). At present, I have no account for this phenomenon.

c. éwe-chexw   kw'ákw'eth-eth-óx-**exw**
   neg-2sg.s   looking-trans-1sg.o-2sg.ss
   'You are not going to be looking at me'

As expected, in the absence of an auxiliary, the main verb undergoes head movement to adjoin to $Pers^0$ whereas the presence of an auxiliary blocks this movement by means of the head movement constraint (just like the presence of negation blocks movement to C^0; see section 3.2).
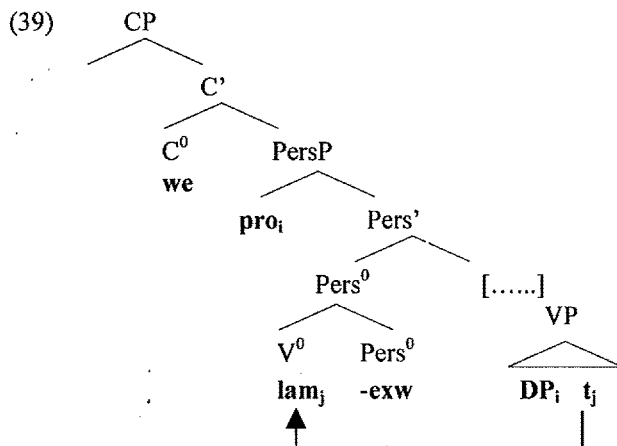
4.4 Single subjunctive agreement

Given the revised licensing requirement for *pro* we predict that (subjunctive) agreement in $Pers^0$ should suffice to identify *pro*. Thus the analysis predicts that there should be instances of "single" (subjunctive) agreement. This prediction is in fact borne out as shown below:

First, we have already seen in section 1 that subjunctive agreement is found in non-negative hypothetical contexts. Crucially, in this case the "subject clitics" are missing. The relevant example is repeated below for convenience:

(38)   we-lám-**exw**
      if-go-2sg.ss
      'If/when you go.'   Galloway 1993: 184

In (38)a the subjunctive agreement appears in an *if* clause. The absence of the inflected complementizer in this configuration follows if we make the reasonable assumption that *we* ('if') is a complementizer occupying C^0:

(39)

Therefore it is predicted to be in complementary distribution with the "subject clitics". Given that *we* is not inflected it cannot identify *pro*.[14] Therefore the other strategy for identifying *pro* has to be used: "subjunctive" agreement is inserted in $Pers^0$.

Given that agreement in $Pers^0$ suffices to license *pro* we predict that negative sentences can occur without the inflected complementizers as well (since they are no longer crucial for the identification of *pro*). This prediction is indeed borne out as shown below:[15]

(40) a. éwe   í-l   teló:mét
            neg   aux-1sg.ss understand
            'I don't understand.'

---

[14] Note that we have to assume that UHalk complementizers differ as to whether they can inflect or not. See section 6 for some evidence that the "subject clitic" is inserted as a syntactic atom.

[15] Note that this means that the presence of the inflected complementizer must be governed by a restriction that is independent of the licensing on *pro*. However, the possibility to drop the matrix complementizer seems to be restricted to negative sentences. I will have to leave this matter for future research.

b. éwe í-t híkw
   neg aux-1pl.ss big
   'We are not big.'
c. éwe t'ílem-el wáyeles
   neg sing-1sg.ss tomorrow
   'I'm not going to sing tomorrow'

Also, this pattern seems to be the unmarked option for sentential negation in Squamish (another Central Coast Salish language):

(41) a. hau ku-7an c'ic'ap'   b. hau ku-7ax c'ic'ap'
         neg irr-1sg.ss work   neg irr-2sg.ss work
         'I'm not going to work.'   'You are not going to work.'   Kuipers 1967: 194

Note also that Bavarian and UHalk differ crucially in the distribution of agreement endings. Recall that in Bavarian agreement endings have to appear both on the finite verb and in C^0. UHalk has more options: i) agreement can appear only in C^0 (main positive clauses) or ii) agreement appears on a verbal element (in embedded clauses) iii) in the presence of negation, agreement can also appear on both, the complementizer and the verbal element.

Note that the UHalk pattern which displays some form of optionality is also attested in Polish (see Richter 1979). Here agreement can either be realized in C^0 or on the verb :

(42) a. gdzie byl-em?   b. gdzie-m byl?
         where was-1sg   where-1sg was
         'Where was I?'   'Where was I?'   Bayer 1984: 246 ex (91)

4.5 A potential problem: the lack of subjunctive agreement

Galloway (1993) observes that there is one environment where the presence of negation does not trigger the occurrence of subjunctive agreement. This is in the context of the past tense marker *lh*:

(43) a. éwe-lh-tsel kw'á:y   b. éwe-lh-tsel xwlalá:m
         neg-past-1sg.s hungry   neg-past-1sg.s listen
         'I am never hungry'   'I never listen'   Galloway 1993: 321

Given our analysis, these sentences are not expected to be well-formed since the presence of negation should interfere in the licensing relation between the matrix clitic and *pro*.

In order to solve this potential problem I would like to suggest that *éwe* in (43) is NOT to be analyzed as a syntactic head (Neg^0). Rather I propose that *éwelh* forms a syntactic atom and is to be analyzed as an adverb in a position adjoined to CP:

(44)
```
          CP
         /  \
   éwelh     CP
            /  \
               C'
              /  \
           C⁰     PersP
          tsel    /  \
              proᵢ    Pers'
                      / \
                    kw'ey
```
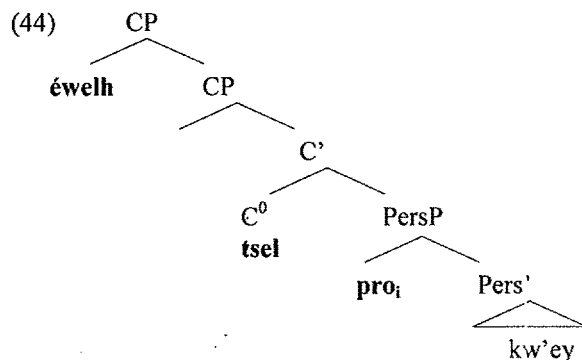
If so, then the absence of subjunctive agreement is expected, since there is no NegP that would act as a barrier for the licensing relation between C and SpecPersP.

This analysis receives independent motivation from the following consideration. As the translations of the sentences in (43) indicate, they necessarily receive a past habitual interpretation (see Galloway 1993), which is best translated with *never*. If the negative marker (and the past tense marker *lh*) would be syntactic heads, one would expect that a simple past interpretation would be possible as well, contrary to facts. The simple past interpretation necessarily triggers the standard negative pattern with the subjunctive agreement present:

(45) a. éwe-tsel   í-l-elh   t'ít'elem
         neg-1sg.s aux-1sg.ss-past sing.redup
         'I didn't sing'
      b. éwe-chexw   lí-xw-elh   t'ít'elem
         neg-2sg.s   aux-2sg.ss-past sing.redup
         'You didn't sing.'

I take this to indicate that *éwelh* is the equivalent of English *never*. As such it does not support the simple past interpretation and moreover it is not associated with a syntactic head (Neg^0) that would interfere with the licensing of *pro*.

Unfortunately, this analysis does not straightforwardly carry over to the following example:

(46) éwe-tsel-lh   qwà:ls-th-òmè
      neg-1sg.s-past   speak-trans-2sg.o
      'I never speak to you.'   Galloway 1993: 321

The past tense marker *lh* can also appear attached to the "subject clitic". Again the interpretation is past habitual. This sheds doubt on the above proposal that *éwelh* is to be analyzed as a negative adverb. One might take (46) to indicate that *éwe* by itself does not necessarily head its own phrase (NegP). I have to leave this issue for future research.

5 On the mono-clausal character of UHalk negation

In this section, I would like to present additional evidence for one assumption crucially implied by the present analysis, i.e. that negative sentences in UHalk are mono-clausal (rather than bi-clausal).

5.1 A bi-clausal analysis?

The phenomenon of double agreement might lead one to analyze negation in UHalk as a bi-clausal construction with the negation as a predicate taking a clausal complement as shown below:

(47) a. [$_{S1}$ éwe-tsel   [$_{S2}$ lí-l   tl'íls-th-òmè]]
      b. [$_{S1}$ Neg-1s ... [$_{S2}$ Aux-1sV]]

The analysis in (47) would in fact receive support from a cross-Salish perspective. That is, in other Salish languages negation does in fact act like a predicate taking a clausal complement. For example Kinkade (1976) shows that the presence of the negative marker in Upper Chehalis (*míłta*) requires a following dependent (i.e. subordinate) construction:[16]

(48) míłta t   ʔa-s-ʔax-śc
      not   indef   2sg.poss-cont-see-1sg.o
      'You didn't see me.'   Kinkade 1976: 19 ex. 25

Note crucially that in (48) it is not the phenomenon of "double agreement" that would lead one to propose a bi-clausal analysis. Rather the negative marker is immediately followed by a (subordinate) complementizer. In addition the clause introduced by this complementizer shows possessive (=subordinate) agreement morphology. Finally, the matrix clause does in fact not agree with the agreement in the subordinate clause.

---

[16] A similar pattern is found in St'át'imcets (Henry Davis, p.c.).

Rather there is no overt agreement ending, which can be interpreted as to saying that there is 3ʳᵈ person agreement (which is ∅ in matrix clauses). This type of construction receives the following abbreviated syntactic representation:

(49)   a. [$_{S1}$ míłta   [$_{S2}$ t   ʔa-s-   ʔaẋ-ə́c]]
       b. [$_{S1}$ Neg-...   [$_{S2}$ Comp-2poss-nom   V]]

It is worth noticing that this construction of negation is reminiscent of the logical treatment of negation. In logic, negation is often analyzed as sentential operator taking a full proposition as its complement:

(50) a. Logical representation: ¬ p
       b. Plain English: **It is not the case** that p.
       c. Syntactic representation: S
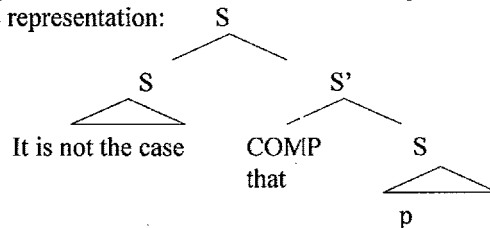
These considerations seem to make a bi-clausal analysis of UHalk negation at least plausible. In what follows I will provide empirical evidence that a mono-clausal analysis (like the one presented here) does in fact fare better for UHalk.

5.2 Double agreement as a non-argument for a bi-clausal analysis

Recall that the sole empirical motivation for positing a bi-clausal structure for UHalk negation is the "double agreement" phenomenon. Notice however, that exactly this phenomenon is not found in languages where a bi-clausal analysis is justified. Rather in these languages the negative predicate (which corresponds to the matrix predicate) inflects for 3ʳᵈ person. This is a first indication that "double agreement" should not be taken to indicate a bi-clausal structure. I.e. under the bi-clausal analysis, it is not clear why the "subject clitic" (=matrix agreement) and the agreement on the auxiliary (embedded agreement) have to match in person and number. Even if this "matching requirement" could be implemented in the bi-clausal analysis, there is one major drawback having to do with 3ʳᵈ person subjects in transitive sentences. First, consider a positive transitive sentence with a 3ʳᵈ person subject:

(51)   may-th-óx-**es**   (tú-tl'ò)
       help-trans-1sg.o-3s   (det-3Indep)
       'He helps me.'

In transitive clauses the verb shows agreement with a 3ʳᵈ person subject. Crucially 3ʳᵈ person agreement is not realized as a "subject clitic" but rather it is instantiated by a suffix on the verb (-*es*). This is known as the 3ʳᵈ person ergative marker (cf. for example Gerdts 1988). Now consider what happens in negative sentences with a 3ʳᵈ person transitive subject:

(52)   éwe   lí-**s**   tl'ils-th-óx-**es**
       neg   aux-3s   want-trans-1sg.o-3s
       'He/she/it/they doesn't/don't like me.'   Galloway, 1993: 186

We still find "double agreement". However, in this case the two agreement endings co-occur on the auxiliary and the main verb. Let us assign the bi-clausal structure in (47) to the sentence in (52).

(53)   a. [$_{S1}$ éwe   [$_{S2}$ lí-**s**   tl'ils-th-óx-**es**]]
       b. [$_{S1}$ Neg... [$_{S2}$ Aux-3s V-obj-3s]]

Note that in the case of transitive sentences a bi-clausal analysis would have to assign two agreement endings within one clause. This however means that a bi-clausal analysis does not provide a principled solution for the double agreement phenomenon, since it would have to be assumed that there are two occurrences of agreement within one clause. But if this is so, then the "double agreement" phenomenon cannot be taken as an argument for the bi-clausal analysis in the first place. Then however, there is no argument left to assume a bi-clausal analysis in UHalk (since "double agreement" was the only empirical evidence that was suggestive of a bi-clausal analysis). That is, UHalk does not show any other indication that negation could be bi-clausal: first, there is no (subordinating) complementizer (recall that "subject clitics" are analyzed as inflected **matrix** complementizers). Secondly, the material following the clause does not bear the agreement typical for subordinate clauses: We do not find possessive agreement but rather subjunctive agreement which is not indicative for subordination.[17]

Note that UHalk does have predicates that can take a clausal argument. These pattern with subordinate clauses just like the negative sentences in Upper Chehalis:

(54) skw'áy   kw'-el-s   kw'éts-l-exw
      impossible   det-1sg.poss-nom   see-trans-3o
      'I can't see it.' (lit. 'It's impossible that I see it.')   Galloway 1993: 181

Here, *skw'áy* is the main predicate taking a clausal complement introduced by the complementizer *kw'*. Moreover the subordinate clause bears possessive morphology indicative of the subordinate status of the clause. Finally, the main verb does not match in subject agreement. Thus, even though UHalk makes use of the same strategy for subordination than Upper Chehalis, UHalk negation crucially does not.

The lack of subordinate morphology in negated clauses can also be observed in passive clauses to which I will turn in the next subsection.

5.3 Subordinate morphology in UHalk passives

In UHalk passive morphology differs in a way that splits matrix vs. embedded clauses (see Galloway 1993). This is exemplified below:

(55) a. ó-th-àlèm   c. skw'áy   kw'e-s   máy-th-àlèm-èt
          call-trans-1sg.pass   impossible   det-nom   help-trans1sg.pass-subord.
          'I was called.'   'I can't be helped'

      b. ó-th-òm   d. skw'áy   kw'e-s   máy-th-òm-et
          call-trans-2sg.pass   impossible   det-nom   help-trans-2sg.pass-subord.
          'You were called.'   'You can't be helped.'   Galloway 1993: 189

In subordinate clauses we find passive agreement with an additional ending (-*et*) that is absent in matrix clauses.

We can therefore use passive as a test for the subordinate character of a given clause. Under a bi-clausal analysis passive is predicted to show subordinate morphology whereas under the mono-clausal analysis we expect matrix passive morphology. As (56) shows, the mono-clausal analysis makes the right prediction:

(56) a. éwe   ís   kw'éts-l-àlèm   b. *éwe   í-s   kw'éts-l-àlèm-et
          neg   aux-3s see-trans-1sg.pass   neg   aux-3s see-trans-1sg.pass-subord.
          'I wasn't seen.'   'I wasn't seen.'

---

[17] There might in fact be a cross-Salish correlation between these properties. That is, in UHalk (as well as Squamish, Sechelt and Sliammon) there is no subordinating determiner introducing a subordinate clause. This is indicative of a mono-clausal analysis. Secondly, in these languages subjunctive agreement is found (rather than possessive agreement). In Chehalis (as well as other interior Salish languages for example St'át'imcets) a subordinating determiner introduces an embedded clause, which is indicative of a bi-clausal analysis of the negative construction. This goes along with possessive agreement in the embedded clause. It seems that the bi-clausal pattern is in fact the older form, the mono-clausal construction being an innovation (Henry Davis, p.c.). At this point it is not clear what the trigger for this kind of reanalysis could be. I leave this open as a matter of future research.

In negative sentences with a passive predicate we observe that the verb takes the matrix passive agreement. Adding –et, which would be indicative of the subordinate character of this clause, results in ungrammaticality.

Thus, passive morphology shows that subordinate morphology is specifically excluded in negated sentences. This crucially supports a mono-clausal analysis of UHalk negation.

5.4 Against negation as a predicate

We have seen above that there is strong empirical evidence against a bi-clausal analysis of UHalk negation: the negative marker cannot be treated as a predicate taking a clausal complement. However, we have not specifically ruled out the possibility of treating *éwe* as the main predicate of the matrix clause. Note that UHalk, like other Salish languages, allows for non-verbal categories to be used as a main predicate in sentence-initial position:

(57) a. adjectival   híkw   te   swíyeqe
                      big   det   man
                      'The man is big.'
      b. nominal   swíyeqe te   í:mex
                      man   det   walking
                      'It's the man that's walking.'
      c. pronominal   élthe   te   í:mex
                      1sg.Indep det walking
                      'I am walking.'

Note that even pronouns can be used as the main predicate of a sentence (57)c. Thus, it might be argued that the negative marker is to be analyzed as the main predicate in negative sentences. This analysis seems to be implied by Galloway's categorization of the negative marker as a "negative verb" (Galloway 1993: 344).

There are empirical arguments against such a view. First, under this analysis the special properties of negative sentences discussed in previous sections would be rather unexpected. That is, verbs do not show any of the syntactic effects triggered by the negative marker (double agreement, effects of the HMC, etc.)

Secondly, note that the predicates in (57) take an argument that is necessarily introduced by a determiner (*te*). In fact it is a general property of Salish languages that arguments have to be introduced by a determiner (see Matthewson 1998). As we have seen in previous sections, the negative marker crucially is not followed by an argument introduced with a determiner. This is especially clear if we look at negative sentences involving a nominal predicate:

(58)   éwe-tsel   lí-l   stseláxwem
       neg-1sg.s aux-1sg.ss   spirit dancer
       'I'm not a sprit dancer.'   Galloway 1993: 185

Thirdly, Salish is famous for its "predicate-argument-flexibility. That is lexical elements that can function as predicates can also function as arguments. Crucially, UHalk negation, if it was a predicate would be quite special in that it does not participate in this kind of flexibility. That is its use would have to be restricted to that of a predicate. There are no sentences where the negative marker serves as an argument (**imex tsel te ewe* – 'I didn't walk')

It is therefore safe to conclude that the negative marker in UHalk is not a predicate. Neither does it behave like a predicate taking a clausal argument nor does it behave like the main predicate of the matrix clause. The observed behavior of the negative marker is however consistent with the present analysis as a syntactic head Neg^0 hosting its own projection (NegP).

6 Negation and 3rd person subjects

Wiltschko (this volume) argues that –es is not an "ergative" marker (see also Matthewson 1993, Roberts 1994, Davis 1994, 1999 for related work on St'át'imcets and Kinkade 1989, 1990 for a cross-Salishan

perspective).[18] The behavior or −es under negation constitutes part of the evidence discussed. Consider the following sentences:

(59) a. éwe   lí-s   í:mex
          neg   aux-3ss   walking
          'He/she/it/they is/are not walking.'
      b. éwe   lí-s   tl'ils-th-óx-es
          neg   aux-3ss   want-trans-1sg.o-3s
          'He/she/it/they doesn't/don't like me.'   Galloway, 1993: 186

If −es really was an ergative marker, i.e. regular subject agreement, the behavior of 3rd person subjects in negative clauses would constitute a problem for the proposed analysis. It would have to be assumed that -es suffices to license pro in positive sentences. However, since in negative sentences with 3rd person subjects we still find the additional (subjunctive) agreement on the auxiliary we would have to conclude (on basis of our analysis) that −es does not suffice to license pro in negative sentences. However, given that the −es appears suffixed to the verb it must be lower in the tree than the subjunctive agreement. This implies that we cannot assume that negation acts as a barrier for government between −es as the licensing head for pro in SpecPersP. This means however, that −es cannot be assumed to license pro in the first place. This is consistent with the assumption that −es is not in fact an ergative agreement marker (see references above).

However, if −es does not license 3rd person pro in positive sentences, then what does? Given the logic of our analysis we are forced to assume that the proper licensor is in fact located in C^0 just as for 1st and 2nd person pro. Otherwise it would be unexpected that negation can intervene and trigger the insertion of subjunctive agreement in $Pers^0$. Consequently I will assume that 3rd person pro is licensed by an empty inflected complementizer. This means that the paradigm of inflected complementizers is as follows:

(60) Inflected complementizers ("subject clitics") in UHalk:

	sg	pl
1	tsel	tset
2	chexw	chap
3	∅	∅

Given (60), there are a few remarks in order. First, the fact that a zero element suffices to identify pro might seem problematic. However, it is reasonable to assume that what is crucial for licensing pro is paradigmatic oppositions. In this respect 3rd person inflected complementizers are actually distinct and therefore it can be assumed that it suffices to identify pro.

Secondly, if the analysis so far is on the right track the fact that 3rd inflected complementizers are ∅ provides us with indirect evidence that 1st and 2nd person "subject clitics" are in fact base-generated in C^0 as syntactic atoms[19]

Consider the alternative analysis. We could assume that "subject clitics" can be decomposed into a complementizer morpheme [č/c] and the appropriate agreement endings:[20,21]

(61) Decomposing inflected complementizers.

	sg	pl
1	c + əl	c + ət
2	č + əx^w	č + æp

---

[18] Of course this view has to explain why this mapping to topic is only necessary for 3rd person but not for 1st and 2nd person.

[19] This contrasts with inflected complementizers in Bavarian. Here inflectional features (i.e. 2nd person) are base-generated in C^0 as well, the inflected complementizers do not form syntactic atoms (see Bayer 1984). That is any material that appears adjacent to C^0 bears inflectional endings:

i) Du sollst   song   an   waichan   Schuah-st   pro wui-st
    you should say   indef   which   shoe-2sg   want-2sg
    'You have to tell which shoe you want.' (Bayer 1984: 235 ex. (60a))

[20] Note that some dialects only make use of either [č] or [c], thus generalizing the same complementizer across all persons.

[21] Kuipers (1967) suggests a similar kind of decomposition of "subject clitics" in Squamish. He analyses č- as an auxiliary related to the main verb 'cha' (to do, to make)

This possibility is supported by the fact that the agreement endings on the complementizer are exactly the same as the "subjunctive agreement" markers repeated below for convenience:

(62) "subjunctive" agreement

	sg	pl
1	-əl	-ət
2	-əx^w	-æp

However under this view, 3rd person agreement would differ in an unexpected way. First, the subjunctive 3rd agreement is –es whereas the agreement on the inflected complementizer is ∅. Secondly, it would have to be assumed that the 3rd agreement forces the complementizer to be covert as well. For this reason I will not pursue this possibility any further and keep assuming that inflected complementizer are unanalyzable units, at least as far as syntax is concerned: i.e. inflected complementizers are analyzed as syntactic atoms.[22]

7 Conclusion

In this paper I have argued for a mono-clausal analysis of UHalk negation. Assuming that the negative marker heads its own projection (NegP) located immediately below CP derives the observed properties of negative sentences once it is assumed that "subject clitics" are located in C^0 and consequently are to be analyzed as instances of inflected (matrix) complementizers. With these assumptions the properties of UHalk negation fall out without further stipulation.

It remains to be determined what is responsible for the cross-Salishan difference between mono-clausal and bi-clausal negative constructions.

References

Bayer, Josef 1984: COMP in Bavarian Syntax. *The Linguistic Review* 3: 209-274.
Bennis, H. & L. Haegeman 1984. 'On the status of agreement and relative clauses in West-Flemish' W. de Geest & Y. Putseys (eds.) *Sentential complementation*. Dordrecht: Foris.
Borer, H. 1983. *Parametric Syntax*. Dordrecht: Foris.
Borer, H. 1986. 'I-subjects' *Linguistic Inquiry* 17, 375-416.
Borer, H. 1989. 'Anaphoric Agr.' O.Jaeggli & K. Safir *The Null Subject Parameter*. Dordrecht Kluwer. 69-109.
Chomsky, N. 1981. *Lectures on Government and Binding*. Dordrecht: Foris
Chomsky, N. 1986. *Barriers*. Cambridge: Mass.: MIT Press.
Chomsky, N. 1995. *The Minimalist Program*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
Davis, H. 1994. A configurational pronominal argument language. in *Proceedings of WECOL*, Seattle: University of Washington.
Davis, H. 1999. 'Subject inflection in Salish.' *UBC Working papers in Linguistics I: Current Research on Language and Linguistics*. 181-240.
Déchaine, R.-M. 1999. 'What Algonquian morphology is really like: Hockett Revisited.' Bar-el, Déchaine & Reinholtz (eds.) *MIT Occasional Papers in Linguistics* 17: 25-72.
Fassi Fehri, A. 1993. *Issues in the Structure of Arabic Clauses and Words*. Studies in Natural Language and Linguistic Theory. Dordrecht: Kluwer.
Gerdts, D. 1988. *Object and Absolutive in Halkomelem Salish*. New York: Garland Publishers.
Haegeman, L. 1995. *The syntax of negation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Haegeman, L & R. Zanuttini. 1991 'Negative Heads and the Neg Criterion.' *Linguistic Review* 8: 233-251.
Hoekstra, J. & L. Marácz. 1989. 'On the Position of Inflection in West-Germanic.' *Working Papers in Scandinavian Syntax* 44: 75-88.
Huang, J. 1984. 'On the Distribution and Reference of Empty Pronouns.' *Linguistic Inquiry* 15, 531-574.

---

[22] This contrasts with the analyses of inflected complementizers in terms of I to C movement (see Hoekstra & Marácz 1989; Zwart 1993, 1996)

Jelinek, E. 1994. 'Transitivity and voice in Lummi', paper presented at 29th *International Conference on Salish and Neighboring Languages*, Pablo, Montana

Kinkade, M.D. 1976. 'The copula and negatives in Inland Olympic Salish. *IJAL* 42(1): 17-23.

Kinkade, M.D. 1989: When patients are topics: topic maintenance in North American Indian languages. *International Conference on Salish and Neighboring Languages* 24

Kinkade M.D. 1990: Sorting out third persons in Salish discourse, *IJAL* 56, 341-360.

Kratzer, A. 1994. 'On external arguments,' E.Benedicto and J Runner (eds.) *Functional Projections*, UMOP 17, Amherst, MA: GLSA

Kuipers, A. 1967. *The Squamish Language*. The Hague: Mouton.

Laka, I. 1990. *Negation in syntax: On the nature of functional categories and projections*. Doctoral dissertation. MIT.

Matthewson, L. 1993. A preliminary investigation of whquestions in Northern Interior Salish. ms. UBC

Matthewson, L. 1998 *Determiner Systems and Quantificational Strategies: Evidence from Salish*. The Hague. Holland Academic Graphics

Manzini, R. & L. Savoia 1998 'Clitics and Auxiliary Choice in Italian Dialects: Their Relevance for the Person Ergativity Split.' *Recherches linguisitques de Vincennes 27*: 115-138.

Ouhalla, J. 1988. *The syntax of head movement* doctoral dissertation. University College London.

Ouhalla, J. 1990. 'Sentential Negation, Relativised Minimality and the Aspectual Status of Auxiliaries.' *The Linguistic Review* 7: 183-231.

Pollock, J.-Y. 1989. 'Verb movement, universal grammar and the structure of IP. *Linguistic Inquiry* 20: 365-424.

Richter, H. 1979. 'Personenmarkierte Einleitung von Nebensaetzen in deutschen Mundarten und als umgangssprachliches Randphaenomen' H. Weydt (ed.) *Die Partikeln der deutschen Sprache*. de Gruyter Berlin.

Rizzi, L. 1986. 'On the Status of Subject clitics in Romance.' O.Jaeggli & C. Silva-Corvalan (eds.) *Studies in Romance Linguistics*. Dordrecht: Foris. 391-419.

Rizzi, L. 1997. 'The Fine Structure of the Left Periphery.' L. Haegeman, *Elements of Grammar*. Dordrecht: Kluwer.

Roberts, T. 1994 *Topic and Focus in St'át'imcets*. MA thesis, UBC

Tomasselli, A. 1990 'Comp° as a licensing head: an argument based on cliticization.' J. Mascaró, M. Nespor (eds.) *Grammar in Progress. Glow Essays for Henk van Riemsdijk*. Dordrecht, Foris. 433-446.

Vrzić, Z. 1999. 'Negation using *wek* in Kamloops Wawa Chinook Jargon in comparison to negation in the source languages.' *Papers for the 34th International Conference on Salish and Neighboring Languages* (Secwepemc Cultural Education Society, SFU). 267-284.

Wiltschko, M. 1998. 'Halq'eméylem Possessives.' *Papers for the 33rd International Conference on Salish and Neighboring Languages*. University of Washington.448-473.

Wiltschko, M. (this volume) 'Is Halkomelem split ergative?'

Wiltschko, M. (in preparation) 'The lack of TP and its consequences for Case Theory. Evidence from Halkomelem.' ms. UBC.

Zanuttini, R. 1991. *Syntactic properties of sentential negation: a comparative study of Romance languages*. Doctoral dissertation. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.

Zanuttini, R. 1994. 'Re-examining negative clauses.' G. Cinque, J.Koster, Y.Y. Pollock, L. Rizzi and R. Zanuttini (eds.) *Paths towards universal Grammar: studies in honor of Richard S. Kayne.*427-451.

Zanuttini, R. 1997. *Negation and clause structure: A comparative study of Romance languages*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Zwart, C. J.-W. 1993. *Dutch Syntax. A Minimalist Approach*. Doctoral dissertation. University of Groningen.

Zwart, C. J.-W. 1996. 'Clitics Scrambling and Head Movement in Dutch.' A. Halpern & A.Zwicky (eds.) *Approaching Second. Second Position Clitics and Related Phenomena*. CSLI Publications. Stanford.

Key to the Halq'eméylem Orthography:

Orthography	IPA	Orthography	IPA
a	æ or ɛ	p'	p'
ch	tʃ	q	q^h

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
õ	o	w	w
p	p	x	x or xʲ
xw	xʷ		
x̱	x̣	x̱w	x̣ʷ
y	j	ʻ	ʔ
´	high stress	`	mid stress

See Galloway (1993) for detailed discussion, allophonic variation etc.