

- (11) *Héchkim ders-ga kel-may qoy-di-ghu
 Nobody class-DAT come-NEG put-PST-EMPH
 Intended: “Nobody up and came to class.”

Neg selecting Voice/*v* We posit that high V2s occupy a high Auxiliary head between Voice and Progressive Aspect, and a Neg head may be merged below it in a head dominating Voice and *v*. When V1 is negated followed by a high V2, the Neg head is able to c-command both the object and subject, licensing both object and subject NCIs.

- (12) U héchneme-ni yaz-may tur-di-ghu
 3SG nothing-ACC write-NEG stay-PST-EMPH
 “(S)he kept not writing anything.”
 (13) Héchkim ders-ga kel-ala-may tur-di-0-ghu
 Nobody class-DAT come-ABIL-NEG stay-PST-3-EMPH
 “Nobody’s been making it to class.”

It is also possible for a low V2 and a high V2 to co-occur in a clause, and for the lower V2 to be negated, further demonstrating that negation is available in this medial position.

- (14) U kitab-ni oqu-(i)p qoy-may tur-wat-i-du
 3sg book-ACC read-(I)P put-NEG stay-PROG-NPST-3
 “(S)he’s still not reading up the book.”

Neg selecting Aux Negation may appear between a high V2 and Progressive aspect, licensing both NCI objects and subjects.

- (15) Héchkim kel-(i)p tur-may-wat-i-du.
 Nobody come-(I)P stay-NEG-PROG-NPST-3
 “Nobody is coming.”
 (16) Héchnerse ye-(i)p tur-may-wat-i-men.
 Nothing eat-(I)P stay-NEG-PROG-NPST-3
 “I’m not eating anything.”

Neg selecting Prog Recall that negation may also follow progressive aspect (4).

Negation may appear in this position because the progressive marker is itself a grammaticalization of a bleached verb (Ibrahim 1995). Negation in this position licenses subject but not object NCIs. We hypothesize that the latter restriction is due to Prog being a phase head (Harwood 2015), with negation in a higher phase unable to license an NCI object (even in its derived position) in a lower phase.

- (17) Héchkim kel-iwat-ma-i-du (18) *Héchnerse ye-iwat-ma-i-men
 Nobody come-PROG-NEG-NPST-3 Nothing eat-PROG-NEG-NPST-1SG
 “Nobody is coming.” Intended: “I’m not eating anything.”

Selected references: N. Chomsky. Derivation by phase (mitopl 18). *Ken Hale: A Life in Language*, pages 1–52, 2001. G. Cinque. The interaction of passive, causative, and restructuring in Romance. *The syntax of Italian dialects*, pages 50–66, 2003. S. Fukuda. Aspectual verbs as functional heads: evidence from Japanese aspectual verbs. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory*, 30(4):965–1026, 2012. P. Hagstrom. Phrasal movement in Korean negation. In *Proceedings of the 9th Student Conference in Linguistics (SCIL 9)*, pages 127–142, 2000. W. Harwood. Being progressive is just a phase. *Natural Language & Linguistic Theory* 33(2): 523-573, 2015. A. Ibrahim. *Meaning and usage of compound verbs in modern Uighur and Uzbek*. PhD thesis, University of Washington, 1995. M. Kuno. *Focusing on negative concord and negative polarity: Variations and relations*. Harvard University, 2007. L. Tuohuti. *Zuì jiǎn fāng’àn: ǎ’ěrtài yǔyán de jùfǎjiégòu*. China Minzu University Press, Beijing, China, 2017. H. Yamashita. On the distribution and licensing of negative polarity items in Japanese and the phase-impenetrability condition. In *Proceedings of the Fourth Tokyo Conference on Psycholinguistics*, pages 313–337. Citeseer, 2003.