

Negation using *wek* in Kamloops Wawa Chinook Jargon in comparison to
negation in the source languages

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0. Introduction

Chinook Jargon (CJ) is a pidgin that arose out of contact of several American Indian languages of Oregon around the beginning of the 19th century (Thomason 1983, Hajda, Zenk and Boyd 1988)¹. It was widely used as a *lingua franca* in the course of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century in Oregon, Washington, British Columbia and southern Alaska in Indian-Indian and white-Indian communication.

The purpose of this paper is lay out the syntactic properties of sentential negation in CJ. I specifically address the issue of the positioning of the negative marker, its categorial status and the relationship of the negative marker with negative NPs within the clause. Subsequently, these features are compared to the characteristics of sentential negation in the source languages, in particular, Lower Chinook (Chinookan) and Chehalis (Salishan) which are chosen as most relevant models. It is concluded that the negative construction and negative words in CJ and the two source languages have close structural parallels, suggesting that properties of negation in the pidgin could be explained as contact influence. The paper ends with short preliminary suggestions on how these findings about syntax of CJ reflect on the process of pidgin/creole genesis and the issue of linguistic constraints on contact influence.

¹ The exact timing of the formation of CJ is an issue that has not been settled yet in the literature. The debate revolves around the question of whether CJ was formed before or after the contact of the indigenous population of Oregon with Europeans and Euro-Americans, see references in the text and Vrzić 1999 for a discussion of the various 'scenarios' of CJ origin.

1. Syntactic properties of (CJ) sentential negation

1.1. Positioning of the negative marker²

The examples in (1) below show that the negative marker *wek* precedes the pronominal subject which is in turn followed by the verb and the object (in 1a), or the non-verbal predicate (in 1b). This word order has no exception, i.e., there are no examples in the data where the negative marker *wek* follows the pronominal subject

- (1)
- a. *Pi wek nsaika nanich yaka*³
and NEG 1pl see 3sg
'And we didn't see him.'
- b. *Wek yaka kwash*
NEG 3sg afraid
'He was not afraid.'

Examples in (2) below show that the same word order holds for embedded sentences. In (2a) *wek* is followed by a pronominal subject which is in turn followed by the verbal predicate. In (2b) the negative marker is followed by a pronominal subject and a non-verbal predicate.

- (2)
- a. *Ika alta yaka mamuk kopa msaika pus wek msaika kopet mamuk masachi*
what now 3sg make PREP 2pl C NEG 2pl finish make sin
'What did he do to you so that you do not stop doing bad things?'
- b. *Tlus msaika kwanesem tlus nanich pus wek msaika tsepe*
good 2pl always good see C NEG 2pl mistaken
'You should always watch that you are not mistaken.'

The fact that pronominal subjects are outside the VP is confirmed in (3) below where the pronominal subject is separated from the verb by a VP-adverb (in bold).

- (3) *Wek kata nsaika ayak kuli*
NEG how 1pl fast go
'We couldn't go fast.'

Based on the data presented in (1), (2) and (3), word order pattern for both matrix and embedded clauses containing pronominal subjects is as in (4) below.

- (4) (C) NEG S_{nom} (Adverb) V (O)
AP

2 The syntactic analysis of CJ negation is based on a corpus of texts that I have compiled, transcribed from Duployan shorthand and translated. The texts were originally published in a publication *Kamloops Wawa* at the turn of the century in British Columbia (see Vrzić 1999, Vrzić forthcoming).

3 The following abbreviations will be used in glossing the examples and in the text:

1sg, etc.	'first person singular'
1pl, etc.	'first person plural'
NEG	'negation'
C	'complementizer'
PREP	'preposition'
DEM	'demonstrative'
S _{nom}	'nominal subject'
S _{pron}	'pronominal subject'
Mpcl	'modal particle'
Qpcl	'question particle'

NP

Examples including nominal subjects are discussed next. Note that a nominal subject, either precedes or follows the negative marker *wek* as in (5a) and (5b) respectively.⁴

- (5)
- a. *[Kopet iht Noe kanamokst yaka tanas] wek memlus.*
only one Noah with 3sg child NEG die
'Noah alone and his children didn't die.'
- b. *Pi wek [S.T.] mash komtaks Noe.*
but NEG God leave know Noah
'But God didn't forget Noah.'

This is also holds for nominal subjects in embedded sentences: in (6a) the nominal subject follows *wek* and in (6b) the nominal subject precedes it.

- (6)
- a. *Yaka mamuk mullait iht lesash kopa ukuk tlus elehe yaka port pus wek*
he make stay one angel PREP DEM good land 3sg door C NEG
[Adam pi Ev] weht kilapai kopa yaka.
Adam and Eve again return PREP 3sg
'He placed an angel on the Heaven's door so that Adam and Eve don't return to it again.'
- b. *Ayu naika mamuk pus [masachi] wek tolo naika.*
much 1sg make C sin NEG win 1sg
'I try hard that sin does not win over me.'

Like pronominal subjects (see (3) above), the nominal subject following *wek* can be separated from the verb by an adverb. One example of this is (6a) above where the adverb *weht* 'again' is given in bold. Another example follows in (7) below where the subject NP is separated from the verb by the adverb *dlet* (in bold).

- (7) *Yaka ukuk pus wek S.T. **dlet** mas nsaika.*
3sg DEM C NEG God truly leave 1pl
'This is so because God didn't truly abandon us.'

If the nominal subject is accompanied by a pleonastic pronominal subject⁵, the nominal subject precedes *wek* as shown in (8a) containing a verbal predicate, and in (8b), which has a non-verbal predicate.

- (8)
- a. *Pi [Maik] wek yaka lolo yaka kiutan klaska lains kopa yaka lema.*
but Mike NEG 3ps carry 3sg horse 3pl reins PREP 3sg hands

4 There were 109 negative sentences with negative marker *wek* in the corpus. This is the distribution relative to the subject type:

S _{pro}	NP S _{pro}	NP
96	2	11

The total number of negative sentences is 181, with 13 out of those involving a negative adverb *wek kansih* (*weht*) 'never (again)', 46 a negative + modal particle *wek kata* (*weht*), and 13 another negative marker *elo* that will not be discussed in this paper. The following table summarizes this:

<i>wek</i>	<i>wek kansih</i>	<i>wek kata</i> (<i>weht</i>)	<i>elo</i>
109	13	46	13

5 Pleonastic subjects have been claimed to be quite common in the Oregon variety of CJ (see Jacobs 1936, Thomason 1983, Zenk 1984). This feature is less dramatically present in the British Columbia variety under consideration here (see Vrzić 1999). Only a couple examples exist of pleonastic subjects in negative clauses, see note 4 above.

'However, Mike didn't hold his horse's reins in his hands.'

- b. *[Ukuk iht person] wek yaka ukuk weht iht.*
DEM one person NEG 3sg DEM again one
'The first person is not the other one.'

In summary, the following word order patterns, laid out in (9), can be established based on the data presented in (1) through (8). Note that there are no examples where the pronominal subject precedes the negative marker.

- (9)
- | | | |
|------------------|----------------------|-----------|
| | NEG S _{pro} | Predicate |
| | NEG S _{nom} | Predicate |
| S _{nom} | NEG S _{pro} | Predicate |
| S _{nom} | NEG | Predicate |

NA S_{pro} NEG Predicate

The positioning of the adverb with respect to the pronominal subjects (which always follow the negative marker *wek*) and the nominal subjects (when they follow *wek*) shows that the position of overt subjects in CJ is outside of VP (see examples (6a) and (7) above), presumably, in the canonical surface position of derived subjects--Spec of AgrSP (see Chomsky 1993). It follows that the negative marker *wek* is in a pre-IP position, more precisely, in a position between the left edge of the AgrSP and the position of the complementizer *pus*, presumably CP. This is schematized in (10) below.

- (10) [CP *pus* [*wek* [AgrSP S_{pro/nom} [Adv [VP ...]]]]]

It follows that when the (nominal) subject precedes *wek*, as in (5a), (6b), and (8a, b) above, it must be in the Spec of one of the functional projections of the CP. Assuming the expanded, articulated structure of the CP proposed recently by Rizzi (1997:297), see schema (11) below, these nominal subjects could be in either a Top(ic)P(hrase) or in a Foc(us)P(hrase).

- (11) [ForceP TopP* FocP TopP* FinP [IP ...]]

Expanded CP

With the usual syntactic facts about topic and focus NPs in mind (see Rizzi 1997, and references within), the topic analysis is plausible for examples in which a nominal subject is combined with a pleonastic pronominal subject (as in (8a,b)), and the focus analysis may be applicable to the preposed nominal subjects not followed by pleonastic pronominals (as in (5a)).⁶

6 While this paper will not discuss such structures, note that the topic and focus analysis of the nominals preceding *wek* seems plausible. The interpretation of the nominal subjects followed by pleonastic pronominal subjects such as in (8a) may be indeed related to the change in discourse topic.

On the other hand, the preposed subject nominals (without pleonastic subjects) are likely to be focused NPs. The possibility of such analysis of the variation between the two patterns repeated in (i) below is desirable since it promises to explain an alternation that would otherwise remain an unexplained variation.

- (i) a. S_{nom} (*wek*) S_{pro} V (O)
b. S_{nom} (*wek*) V (O)

The plausibility of this analysis is illustrated in the following example from the Bible History (KW, III:9:154). The relevant sentence involving NP preposed for focus is in italics.

- ii) *Kakwa kanawe telikom memlus kanamokst kanawe hloima mawich: ber. [...], kanawe kalakala pi kanawe ikta kuli kopa ukuk elehe. Kopet iht Noe kanamokst yaka tanas wek memlus pi kanawe ikta mullait kopa yaka ayas knim wek memlus.*

1.2. The categorial status of the negative marker *wek*

The discussion in 1.1. did not touch on the issue of the categorial status of *wek*. Namely, *wek* could be an adverb or an adverbial particle in an adjoined position, or it could be a functional element with its own projection, NegP. In the latter case, the issue is also whether *wek* is a head or a specifier of this projection. Each of these issues is taken in turn in the following discussion.

Since *wek* in CJ has a fixed position as discussed in 1.1., it seems justified to consider *wek* a particle, i.e. a free functional element within its own projection, rather than an adverb adjoining to other phrases. While the position of most adverbs in CJ is quite fixed, for instance, temporal adverbs (e.g., *alta* 'now', *alke* 'later, after', *ankante* 'earlier, before') mostly precede the IP, these adverbs can also come in sentence-final position, or sentence-medially (i.e., between the subject and the verb). No such variation in the positioning of the negative marker *wek* is found, supporting the claim that *wek* has its own projection NegP. Such representation of negative particles is unsurprising and has become very common for many non-p/c languages since Pollock's (1989) article on English and French word order. Other possible consequences of this assumption relative to CJ will be discussed later in this section.

Regarding the position of NegP, the facts discussed in 1.1. suggest that it is a functional category (FC) immediately dominating the IP, within the expanded CP (see (11) above).⁷ *Wek*, therefore, is an element that has a complementizer-like status in CJ. This property of CJ negation is not unusual. There is ample evidence for the presence of negative constituents in this position in the clausal structure coming from the analysis of non-p/c languages (e.g. Latin, Celtic, Basque).⁸ Rizzi (1997) does not specifically address the issue of negation perhaps, because languages he discusses (mainly Italian) have IP-internal negation. He does mention, importantly, that negation, like mood, agreement, or tense, is one of the syntactic features, normally associated with and expressed within the IP-system, that can be "replicated" (i.e., also expressed, often redundantly) in the complementizer system (usually using free morphemes, rather than affixation).

In summary, based on the discussion above, the interim CJ clausal structure proposed in (10) can be further refined as in (12) below. The CP-system in CJ consists (minimally) out of three functional projections, CP (in the narrow sense), optionally projecting TopP or FocP (there are no examples involving both at the same time, or several topics), and NegP.

(12) CJ clause structure with the expanded CP

[_{CP} *DUS* [_{TopP/FocP}] *S_{nom}* [_{NEGP} *wek* [_{IP/AGRSP} *S_{plu/nom}* [Adv [_{VP} ...]]]]

1.3. Lack of negative concord in CJ

In this section two issues will be discussed—whether *wek* is a head or a specifier of NegP, and the related issue of whether CJ has *negative concord*. The latter question will be addressed first. Negative concord is a

'Hence, all the people died together with all different animals: bear, [...], all birds and everything that runs on the ground. *It was Noah alone with his children who didn't die, and it was everything that stayed on his big boat that didn't die.*'

7 I will not distinguish in this study between FinP and IP, since the issue of the expression of finiteness (i.e. finite/non-finite distinction) in CJ will not be discussed.

8 For example, Laka (1990) suggested that Basque has a Σ P (Speech Act Phrase) containing features [+negative]. The [+negative] feature is instantiated by a negative complementizer. Culicover (1991, 1993) has posited the existence of PolP (Polarity Phrase) in English negative adverb (or PP) fronting constructions. See further references given by Rizzi (1997) and Haegeman (1995) for a cross-linguistic issues in the syntax of negation. Evidence for CP-iteration or Double-CP constructions (not related to negation) was first given by Platzak (1986) for Swedish double complementizer constructions. Double-CP constructions also exist in Croatian/Serbian, see Vrzic 1996.

phenomenon which requires that in the presence of a sentential negative marker in a sentence all indefinite elements in the sentence also be marked as negative. Hence, negative concord is a kind of "agreement" process (see Zanuttini 1991). The interpretation of the sentence does not, however, reflect the occurrence of multiple negative items, rather it is a simple negative statement. For example, Croatian/Serbian, among many other languages, has negative concord, and, as the English translation of the sentence in (13) shows, the meaning in such cases is simple negation.

- (13) *Nitko nikada nije ništa nikome rekao.*
nobody_{nom} never hasn't nothing nobody_{dat} said
'Nobody has ever said anything to anybody.'

Standard English, on the other hand, as obvious from the translation above, does not have negative concord, and only one negative item per negative sentence is allowed if the interpretation of the clause is to be indeed negative. If, however, two negative elements are present in a clause, they "cancel" each other out, and the interpretation of the sentence is positive. Hence, (14a) and (14b) have two very different interpretations, and the second type of negation is called *double* (or *cancelled*) *negation*.⁹

- (14)
a. I didn't see anything. = I saw nothing.
b. I didn't see nobody. = I saw somebody.

CJ seems to be a language of the English type, namely, it does not have negative concord. The presence of the sentential negative marker *wek* is in complementary distribution with the occurrence of negative indefinites (i.e., negative quantifiers like *elo ihta* 'nothing', *elo klaksta* 'nobody', etc.), as shown in (15) in contrast to (16) below.¹⁰

- (15)
a. *Elo klaksta mamuk kopa ukuk senmokst son.*
NEG anybody work on DEM seven day
'Nobody works on the seventh day.'
b. *Elo ihta masachi nauka mamuk.*
NEG anything bad 1sg make
'I did nothing bad.'
c. *Elo ihta yaka eskom.*
NEG anything 3sg take
'He took nothing.'

In (15a,b,c) the presence of a negative quantifier insures that the interpretation of the sentence is a negative statement in the absence of the negative marker *wek*. In the examples in (16) there is a sentential negative marker *wek* instead, and the indefinite words show up in their positive form, and act as negative

9 There is a rich literature on the syntax of negation, see, e.g., Haegeman 1995 and Zanuttini 1997, and references given therein.

10 Several negative words use a different constituent negative marker — *elo*, e.g., *elo ihta*, *elo klaksta*, *elo ayu*. Used alone *elo* also means 'none, nothing', as in the idiomatic *chako elo* 'become nothing, disappear'. In a few instances, *elo* also seems to be used to mark sentential negation, similar to *wek* as in i).

i) *Kakwa elo yaka mas pepa kopa maika.*
so NEG 3sg send paper PREP 2sg
'So, he didn't send a paper to you.'

The examples of negative sentences involving *elo* represent a small percentage of the total sample as noted earlier (see note 4). Most of these are occurrences of a negative indefinite like *nobody* and *nothing*. Note that *elo* in the function of a sentential negator is not known in Oregon CJ.

polarity items similar to *anybody*, *anything*, etc. in English.¹¹

- (16)
- a. *Pi wek klavka wawa ikta kopa yaka.*
and NEG 3pl say anything PREP 3sg
'And I didn't tell him anything.'
- b. *Wek kata nsaika mamuk ikta.*¹²
NEG anyhow 1pl do anything
'We couldn't do anything.'
- c. *Wek kata weht yaka stop kah.*
NEG anyhow again 3sg stop anywhere
'Again, he couldn't stop anywhere.'
- d. *Wek kata naika saliks kopa klaksta.*
NEG anyhow 1pl angry PREP 3pl
'I couldn't be angry with anybody.'

Having established that CJ does not have negative concord, the issue of whether *wek* is a head or a specifier of the NegP projection can be addressed. It has been proposed (Rizzi 1996 [1991], Zanuttini 1991, Haegeman and Zanuttini 1991 among others) that the behavior of negative elements can be likened to the behavior of *wh*-words. Namely, in one interpretation (proposed by Rizzi 1996 [1991], and further applied to negation by Haegeman and Zanuttini 1991 (H&Z)), a *wh*-phrase needs to enter into Spec-Head relation with a head carrying a [+*wh*] feature, and each *wh*-head must be in the Spec-Head relation with a *wh*-phrase. This condition on licensing of *wh*-phrases which assimilates the behavior of *wh*-phrases to referential NPs that move for agreement (expressed here informally, see Rizzi 1996 [1991] and H&Z for details) was named a *WH-Criterion*. This criterion was meant to provide a motivation for the occurrence of *wh*-movement and auxiliary raising/do-support in *wh*-questions in English. The *WH-Criterion* is taken to be satisfied at LF in the languages where *wh*-phrases occur in base-generated positions.

H&Z propose to extend the logic of this criterion to the behavior of negative words in languages with negative concord such as West Flemish. Hence, in West Flemish negative words (such as a negative object NP) must precede a negative marker in order for the sentence to be interpreted as a simple negative statement, see (17a) below. In contrast, (17b), where the negative word *niemand* has not been moved in front of *nie*, the reading is that of a double negation equivalent with the English translation.

- (17)
- a. ... *da Valere niemand nie kent.*
that Valere nobody not knows
'... that Valere does not know anybody.'
- b. ... *da Valere nie niemand kent.*
'... da Valere doesn't know nobody.'

Hence, H&Z propose that the negative word has moved into the Spec position of the NegP headed by *nie*, where it is licensed through Spec-Head agreement with the negative head and gets the interpretation of a negative polarity item. In this way, the negative constituent takes the same scope as the negative head, which enables the negative concord reading of the sentence (17a) (see H&Z, and Haegeman 1995 for further details). DeGraff (1993:67), following Zanuttini (1991), applied this theory to Haitian in which negative sentences with

11 CJ negative polarity items, such as *klaksta* 'anybody', *iktá* 'anything', *kah* 'anywhere', etc., are also used as interrogatives (e.g. *klaksta?* 'who') and indefinites (e.g. *klaksta* 'somebody').

12 The use of the marker *wek kata* instead of only *wek* in this and other examples will be discussed below.

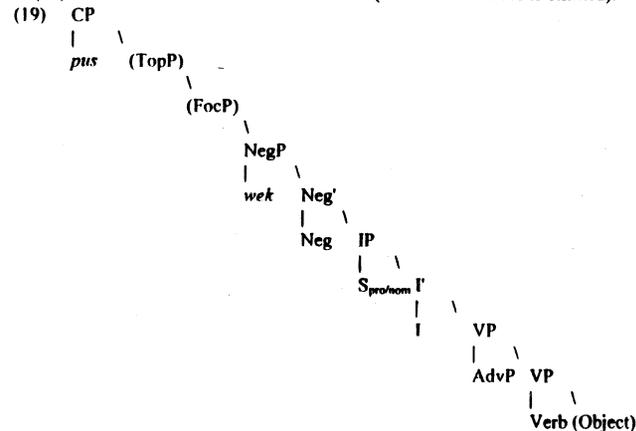
two negative elements have a negative concord reading, as in (18).¹³

- (18)
- a. *Pèsonn pa vini.*
nobody pa come
'Nobody has come.'
- b. *Mwen pas wè pèsonn.*
Isg pa see nobody
I haven't seen anybody.

He concludes from this that Haitian *pa* (unlike French *pas* but like French *ne*) has a head status.

Namely, if negative concord is a type of agreement process as proposed by Zanuttini (1991), then the negative indefinite needs to raise to the Spec of NegP either at S-structure or LF.¹⁴ If the Spec, NegP were filled with the negative marker (which would then be an XP, rather than a head), the raising of the negative word would be blocked, and negative concord in a language like Haitian impossible.

Consequently, if the same logic is applied to CJ, the fact that it lacks negative concord, as illustrated in examples under (15) and (16) above, suggests that the negative marker *wek* is located in the Spec of NegP, and hence it is a phrasal, XP, constituent. Following this and other conclusions, the structure of the CJ clause given in (12) above can be further refined as follows (irrelevant structure is omitted):



1.4. "Complex markers" of sentential negation in CJ

CJ has a number of commonly occurring negative expressions that consist of the negative marker *wek* and another lexical element, such as *wek kansih* (*weht*), *wek kata* (*weht*), *wek kata pus*, *wek tlus pus*, *wek saya*, *wek lili*, etc. The issue of whether these negative constituents represent local or sentential negation will be addressed in this section. The following examples illustrate each of the negative expressions in turn.

13 Note that the negative properties of *pèsonn* are confirmed by the fact that it means 'nobody' in isolation.

14 Judging from the word order in (18b), the raising of the negative quantifier is covert, that is, it happens at LF in Haitian, unlike West Flemish, see (17).

- (20)
- a. *Wek kansih naika mumuk taye ukuk kluchmin*
NEG how-much 1sg make chief DEM woman
'I will never bow to this woman.'
 - b. *Wek kansih weht naika kilapai kopa masuchi*
NEG how-much again 1sg return PREP sin
'Never again will I return to sin.'
 - c. *Pi wek kata nsaika mamuk ikta.*
and NEG how 1pl do what
'And we couldn't do anything.'
 - d. *Pi wek kata weht yaka stop kah.*
and NEG how again 3sg stop where
'And he couldn't stop anywhere anymore.'
 - e. *K'el yaka latet Ken, wek kata pus yaka kopet saliks*
hard 3sg head Cain NEG how C 3sg stop angry
'Cain was stubborn; he couldn't stop being angry.'
 - f. *Wek kata pus ukuk pichon tlap dlai elehe, kakwa ayuk yaka kilapai.*
NEG how C DEM pigeon get dry land so quickly 3sg return
'The pigeon couldn't reach the dry land, so it quickly returned.'
 - g. *Wek tlus pus nsaika mamuk memlus nsaika ow.*
NEG good C 1pl make die 1pl brother
'We shouldn't kill our brother/s.'
(Lit. 'It is not good for us to kill our brother/s.')
 - h. *Wek saya pulakli, kakwa nsaika mash ukuk ayus stiwil hows.*
NEG far night so 1pl leave DEM big prayer house
'It was close to the night, so we left the church.'
 - i. *Wek lele S.T. mamuk paya yaka kanamokst telikom.*
NEG long time God make fire 3sg with people
'Soon God will burn it together with the people.'

It is clear that in the examples (20a) through (20f) the negative expressions also affects the polarity of the whole sentence and therefore, function as negative operators taking a whole sentence within their scope. In contrast, in (20h) and (20i) the negation is strictly local and affects only the meaning of the lexical item it modifies. The effect of negative operators (often adverbial elements such as Engl. *never*) has been attested in various languages (see Culicover 1991, 1993, Haegeman 1995, and references therein).

Unlike proposed negative operators in English, CJ negative operators do not trigger auxiliary inversion, presumably because CJ does not have verb movement of any kind (see Vrzić 1997, 1998, 1999). It is not possible to establish whether negative operators in matrix clauses, as would be expected, block the extraction of wh-phrases from embedded clauses. No long extraction of wh-phrases is attested in CJ with or without negation. However, one clear evidence exists that (20a-f) are indeed negative operators. Namely, examples (20c) and (20d) contain items *ikta* 'what' and *kah* 'where' whose interpretation as negative polarity items ('anything' and 'anywhere', respectively) is licensed by the existence of negative operators.

With respect to the positioning of the negative operators, it seems reasonable to assume that they are base-generated in the same position as the negative marker *wek*, i.e. in the Spec, NegP dominating the IP (see

(19) above). Unlike English *never*, for instance, CJ *wek kansih (weht)* 'never (again)' is always found in the position preceding the sequence of the subject and the VP, just like the negative marker *wek*. With regard to *wek kata (weht)*, a few additional remarks are needed. As the English translation suggests (see 20c, d), *wek kata* is not only a negative operator, but also a marker of modality. Since the functional category containing the negative marker in CJ can also contain modal elements, I propose to relabel the NegP in CJ as a PolP.¹⁵ This change is noted in (21) below with only relevant structure represented.

(21) [_{CP} *pus* [_(TOPP/FOCP) *S_{nom}* [_{PolP} *wek/wek kansih/wek kata* [_{(IP/AGRSP ...)]]]]}

Finally, a comment is due on the negative expressions *wek kata pus* and *wek tlus pus* in (20f, g). The issue of their status and positioning must remain open at this point. Since these elements precede the general adverbial complementizer *pus* 'if/when/since/in order to, etc.', they could either be base-generated in the Spec of CP, or alternatively and perhaps more likely, they are adverbial/adjectival predicates of a superordinate clause containing an empty expletive subject. While one can translate them by the use of modal verbs in English, e.g. *wek kata pus*, "it is impossible that XY" can be translated as "X couldn't Y", that by itself, of course, says nothing about their status in CJ. Moreover, their status as negative operators affecting the interpretation of indefinite NP's (in which case they couldn't be superordinate predicates) cannot be confirmed since no relevant examples (containing both *wek tlus pus* and *wek kata pus* and a negative indefinite NP) can be found.

1.5. Positioning of negative indefinites in CJ

Zanutini (1994, also see 1997) proposes that negative markers can be base-generated in different positions in the clause in different languages, and that languages (can) have several functional categories related to negation. One of the positions, the highest in the structure of a clause and obligatorily dominating the T(ense)P, is labeled PolP by Zanutini (1994) (or NegP-I in Zanutini 1997). PolP is a position to which the negative marker moves (either overtly or covertly, depending on the strength of PolP features) in order that scopal relations be interpreted. Zanutini (1997:11) further proposes a typology of negative marking according to which "NegP-I [i.e., PolP] has 'strong' features in the languages that express sentential negation by means of a pre-verbal negative marker which by itself can negate the clause, and 'weak' features in the languages that express sentential negation by means of a negative marker of another kind."

CJ, having a single, pre-verbal negative marker, is expected to have a PolP with strong features according to Zanutini's typology. The strong features of PolP need to be "checked off" through overt syntactic movement. This checking requirement seems to be trivially satisfied in CJ in negative sentences containing negative marker *wek* (or others mentioned in 1.4. above) because it is, as argued for above, base-generated in PolP. However, when negative indefinites are present in a CJ clause, because the pidgin does not have negative concord and negative indefinites function as negative quantifiers, i.e. operators, the existence of the sentential negative marker *wek* is precluded. In this case, the expectation that PolP has strong features that need to be checked overtly by an appropriate element is confirmed by a look at the positioning of negative quantifiers, in particular, objects. Object normally follow verbs in CJ. However, as shown in (22), the negative quantifier serving as an object is proposed, presumably, raised to Spec of PolP position in satisfaction of the checking requirements of the negative head. This then results in the unusual (OSV) word order.

(22)

- a. *Elo ikta masachi naika mamuk [..]*
NEG what bad-thing 1pl do
'I did nothing wrong...'

¹⁵ There is ample evidence for the existence of such a phrase (with either negative or modal properties) across languages. In addition to references mentioned earlier for negation, see also Dobrovie-Sorin (1994), Rudin (1985a) and (1985b), Rivero (1994), among others, for its modal properties.

- b. *Elo ikta yaka eskom*
 NEG what 3sg take
 'He took nothing.'

The examples in (22) above contrast with the closely parallel example given in (23) below where the negative marker *wek* is present and the positive indefinite NP object (i.e. the negative polarity item) *ikta* "anything" remains in its original position.¹⁶

- (23) *Pi wek klaska wawa ikta kopa yaka*
 And NEG 3pl say what PREP 3sg
 'And they didn't tell him anything.'

In summary, a negative sentence with an indefinite NP object can be expressed in CJ either by a) preposing a negative quantifier *elo ikta* (see (22)), or b) by using a negative polarity item *ikta* in a sentence introduced by the negative marker *wek* (see (23)).

1.6. Summary of the section

Several syntactic properties of CJ negation have been established in this section. First, the negative marker *wek* is located in the pre-IP position in CJ, the position I label PolP following much related work. CJ has no negative concord, and the negative marker *wek* is a Specifier of PolP, the phrase it is generated in. CJ has other negative operators, e.g., *wek kansh* (*weht*) and *wek kata* (*weht*), which are generated in the same position as *wek*. Both of these have the same distribution as *wek* alone. *Wek kata* also has an additional modal meaning. When *wek* (or other negative markers) are not present in the clause, the sentence can be negative by virtue of existence of a negative quantifier. This negative quantifier needs to raise overtly to check off the strong features of PolP: when a negative quantifier is an object NP, this results in the non-canonical, non-SVO word order.

2. Negation in CJ source languages

2.0. In this section, basic properties of sentential negation found in two model source languages, Chinookan and Chehalis will be discussed. The positioning of the negative marker in these languages can be made out with considerable certainty. As with regard to the other properties, since no detailed analyses are available, I can only suggest what these might be based on my own, cursory observations of the sources available. It should be noted that, in addition to the languages to be discussed here, Thomason (1983:855) gives examples from various other American Indian languages of the Pacific Northwest. She shows that all have "sentence-initial negatives" which can be either particles (e.g., Chinookan) or auxiliary verbs (e.g., Nookta).

2.1. Chinookan

In Lower Chinook the negation marker was *nikt* (*nēkt* in Boas' (1910/11) spelling), a free morpheme. Boas classifies this negative marker as an adverb, and a particle, i.e. a non-inflected lexical form, see example

16 There seems to be a third, much less common, way of expressing a similar meaning, see (i) below.

- (i) *Yaka elo tomtom ikta*
 3sg NEG thing what
 He didn't worry about anything.

Interestingly, neither of the following ways of expressing the similar meaning is attested:

- (ii) Subject Verb *elo ikta* (the negative quantifier doesn't move)
 (iii) *Elo* Subject Verb *ikta* (*elo* is in pre-IP position)

As noted before (see note 10), *elo* as a marker of negation is very rare, and I have set aside its description in this paper.

(24a,b) below (p. 668).¹⁷ It is clear from the examples, that the negative marker precedes the verb (see (24a)) or the attribute complement (see (24b)).¹⁸

(24)

- a. [...] *nēkt L:pāx aqLāx*.¹⁹
 not well someone
 makes him
 'He is not made well.'
- b. [...] *a'lia nēkt qa'nstix t'ayā' aqLāx*.
 now not (any)how well someone
 makes him
 'He cannot be made well at all.'

Boas does not discuss the properties of negation in Chinook beyond this, including the structure (or function) of negative words in Chinookan. However, the example (24b) the negative operator *nēkt qa'nstix* is made by combining the negative marker *nēkt* with the question word *qa'nstix* quite similar to CJ. In his discussion of Wishram (an Upper Chinook dialect), Dyk (1933) is equally brief on the negative particle(s). He mentions two of them--*k'aya* 'no' and *naql* 'not', and gives the following example, see (25) below, where it is clear that the negative marker also precedes the V.

- (25) *K'aya, naql a-m-d-u-x-a*.
 'No, not thus you will do, make them.'²⁰

2.2. Chehalis

As in Lower (and Upper) Chinook the negative particle precedes the verb and "it occurs as the first element in a sentence or embedded clause" (Kinkade 1976:19), see (26a). There is some uncertainty with regard to the categorial status of the negative marker. Kinkade (1963:345) classifies the Chehalis negative marker *mika* among particles, the "only major morpheme class which does not have affixes". On the other hand, Thomason (1983) and Kinkade (p.c., 1999) note that the negative marker in all Salish languages, and in Chehalis specifically, is an intransitive verb with restricted inflectional properties. The negative marker is usually followed by a particular construction, a kind of nominalization²¹, that is introduced by a prefix *s-* and can be preceded by indefinite particle *i*.²² Based on the examples found in Kinkade (1976), it can be concluded that the negator also precedes any free modal or tense markers that may occur in front of the verb, see (26b). On the other hand, the conditional particle *ʔdma?* 'if' precedes the negative marker in (26c).

17 Glosses and translations are given by Boas.

18 Note that Chinookan, like Chehalis, is a VSO language. Hence, the order in negative sentences that have both a subject and an object NP is expected to be Neg VSO.

19 The verb *aqLāx* can be analyzed as follows:

a- 'aorist'; q- 'subject SOME ONE'; L 'object IT'; -ā- 'directive'; -x 'stem TO DO'

20 This gloss is given by Dyk (1933). The meaning is likely to be 'You will not make them so/in such a manner.'

21 The subject is possessive in these constructions which are always continuative and can be transitive.

22 See Kinkade (1963/64, 1976) for more details on the complexities of the constructions following the negative, and two alternative negation strategies less common than the one presented here. See also Boas (1934).

- (26)
- a. *Miika t n-s-?ə-x-ci*
not indef. my-cont.-see-you
'I don't see you.'
- b. *Miika q'al s-yucá-y-tt*
not MOD IM-kill-TR-PASS
'He could not be killed.'
- c. *ʔima?miika t s-wi-nš ʔac-k"ə'na-x"*
if not indef. cont.-be-his stative-take-it
'If he doesn't take it...'

Kinkade (1976) provides a couple of examples involving negative quantifiers. In both cases these have, like those in Chinookan and CJ, a transparent structure and are formed with interrogative pronouns preceded by a negative marker, the latter being identical in form to the one used for sentential negation, see (27).

- (27)
- a. *Miika ʔənəm t qals-k"áx"-s.*
not how indef. subj. cont.-arrive-his
'There's no way to get there.'
- b. *Miika pən-áka s-q"ə'i'-s t šəwł*
not time-where unrealized cont.-burn-its indef. trail
'A trail will never burn.'

2.3. Comparing CJ negation with the negation in source languages

As shown in the previous sections, CJ negation shows basic syntactic similarity with Chinookan and Chehalis, its source languages in terms of the positioning of the negative operator and the structure of negative words. In this section, further illustrative, as closely parallel examples as possible are provided from the three languages for several different constructions.²³

Examples (28) to (32) illustrate the issue of word ordering, in particular the ordering of the negative marker with respect to other clausal constituent. Further similarities between CJ and the two source languages, in particular Chinookan, are shown in these examples. A question particle follows the negative marker in both CJ and Chi, see (28);²⁴ a wh-word precedes the negative marker in both CJ and Chi, see (29)²⁵; the modal particle precedes the negative marker in both CJ and Chi, see (30);²⁶ the conditional conjunction precedes the negative in Chi, Che and CJ, see (31); the negative marker precedes the verb in imperatives in Chi, Che and CJ, see (32).

23 Note that in the examples that follow Chinookan is abbreviated as 'Chi', Chehalis as 'Che'.

24 According to Kinkade (1964:59) *-na* is an interrogative suffix that can attach to various syntactic constituents including particles "when no interrogative word [...] is present". Hence, it is "not strictly a verbal suffix" and "[it] goes on the word or words about which the question is being asked". The interrogative marker in Chehalis does not seem to be necessarily in a "word second" position, as in CJ and Chinookan (according to examples provided in Boas 1910/11).

25 Kinkade (p.c. 1999) reports that the negative marker is never preceded by a wh-word in Chehalis.

26 Chehalis seems to be different in this respect. The modal marker normally follows the negative marker as in the following example:

- (i) *Miika q'al s-yucá-y-tt*
not MOD IM-kill-TR-PASS
'He could not be killed.'

(28) Yes-no questions and negation

- a. Chi *Nəkt na inərxix?*
NEG Qpcl know-it
'Do I not know it?' (Boas 1910/11:650)
- b. Che *Nəwena we syóscex"oʔ'*
'Are you (sg.) working yet?' (Kinkade 1964:59)
- c. CJ *Wek na msaika komiaks naika?*
NEG Qpcl 2pl know 1sg
'Don't you know me?'

(29) Wh-words and negation

- a. Chi *Q'adaqa nəkt ʔnqatə amištXam?*
why not long ago you told me
'Why did you not tell me long ago?' (Boas 1894:67)
- b. CJ *Klaksta wek millait kopa Noe yaka ayas knim, ...*²⁸
who NEG stay PREP Noah 3sg big boat
Whoever didn't stay in Noah's big boat,...

(30) Modal particles and negation

- a. Chi *...pəs nəkt ʔka atci'lxax.*
Mpcl not thus he-us-direct.-to do
'...he would have not done so to us.' (Boas 1910:650)
- b. CJ *Thus wek msaika krai kopa naika.*
good NEG 2pl cry PREP 1pl
'You shouldn't cry for me.'

(31) Conditional conjunction and negation

- a. Chi *Qə nəkt mairxa iməq'atxala, pəs nəkt ʔka atci'lxax.*
if not your badness [if] not thus he did to us
'If it had not been for your badness, he would not have done so to us.' (Boas 1910:650)
- b. Che *ʔima?miika t s-wi-nš ʔac-k"ə'na-x"*
if not indef. cont.-be-his stative-take-it
'If he doesn't take it...'. (Kinkade 1976:20)
- c. CJ *Pus wek msaika eskom ukuk naika wawa...*
if NEG 2pl take DEM 1sg word
'If you do not accept my words,...

27 Kinkade (1964) doesn't provide any examples where the interrogative marker *-na* follows the negative marker. Kinkade (p.c. 1999) confirms the lack of such examples in the Chehalis sources. This example is given here to illustrate the use of *-na*, see also note 24.

28 An example with a wh-questions is a not available, and I give this relative sentence (interrogative pronoun is identical in form to the relative pronoun) as the closest correlate.

(32) Imperatives

- a. Chi *Nāct m'va iau'a'*
not go there
'Don't go there!'
- b. Che *Mīta ('a-s-yd*
not indef. your-cont.-go home
'Don't go home!'
- c. CJ *Wek eskom ukuk!*
NEG take this
'Don't take this!'

The facts presented in (28) through (32) suggest the structure of CP of Chinookan and Chehalis might be quite similar to that of CJ (see (19) and (21) above). Additional syntactic properties of negation suggest that the properties of CJ negation might be explained by contact influence through conflation of structures in the source languages. Further examples are provided in (33)²⁹ to show that the negative indefinites are formed in the parallel ways in all three languages--by combining the negative marker with the interrogative pronoun.

(33) Negative quantifiers in Chi, Che and CJ

- a. Chi *nikt ēkta* 'nothing'
NEG what
nāct qa'nstx 'not (any)how'
NEG (any)how
- b. Che *mīta wa* 'noone'
NEG who
mīta tam 'nothing'
NEG what
mīta pən-ti 'never'
NEG when
- c. CJ *elo klaksta* 'nobody'
NEG who
elo ikta 'nothing'
NEG what
wek kansih 'never'
NEG when

In addition to this, in Chi and Che, as in CJ, only one negative operator per sentence is possible. Hence, the source languages, like CJ, lack negative concord, see examples in (34) below. Furthermore, these examples also show that, as in CJ, in Chinookan (and Chehalis), as the object negative operator in (34a) (or adverbial negative operator in (34b)) has to be preposed.³⁰

(34) Negative quantifier position

- a. Chi *qē'wa nikt ēkta l'lap aqā'yax*
...as not anything find I did it
'... because I did not find anything.' (Boas1894:75)

29 None of the sources give full paradigms of these items.

30 In all three languages objects normally follow the verbs. The issue of their exact placement (i.e. whether VP internal or not) will not be addressed here.

- b. Che *Mīta ʔnəm i qals-k' dx' s*
not how indef. subj. cont.-arrive-his
'There's no way to get there.'
- c. CJ *Elo ikta masacht naika mamuk [...]*
NEG what bad 1pl do
'I did nothing wrong...'

Note that CJ and seemingly, Chi and Che, exhibit properties that correspond with those identified by Zanuttini for a number of Romance languages (1997:15ff.). Namely, Zanuttini has established that "pre-verbal negative markers that can negate a clause alone" cannot be used in front of the morphologically distinct imperative form; they always precede the pre-verbal pronominal clitic; and, they obligatorily cooccur with the negative indefinite following the verb; if the negative indefinite is preposed, the negative marker is not necessary.

CJ seems to have the last property, i.e. when negative indefinites are preposed the negative marker is not necessary.³¹ Furthermore, the negative marker precedes the subject pronouns (which are, however, not clitics in the dialect of CJ under consideration). Finally, in CJ imperatives the negative marker precedes the imperative (which has no distinct imperative morphology). Based on preceding cursory analysis, the three properties also seemed to be shared by Chi and Che, suggesting that the line of analysis followed here might be on the right track.

Following the preceding discussion, it can be concluded that CJ has consistent similarities with its source languages with respect to the syntactic properties of negation in terms of the syntactic position of the negative marker and its ordering in relation to other clausal constituents, the lack of negative concord, the positioning of negative indefinites and the inner structure of negative words.

3. Summary and conclusions

This paper started with the description of the CJ negative construction. The sentential negative marker *wek* in CJ is base-generated in the PolP within the expanded CP. CJ has no negative concord and the negative marker *wek* is a phrasal element in the Spec of PolP. Negative quantifiers in CJ must raise to PolP overtly for checking. Subsequently, CJ negation was compared to the properties of negative constructions in Chinookan and Chehalis (to the extent that data on these languages are available). Sentential negation in the pidgin and its two source languages have the following properties in common: negative markers precedes the IP, there is no negative concord, negative quantifiers are preposed and negative quantifiers are composed out of the negative marker and the *wh*-word.

The structural congruence of the contact languages has clearly enabled the retention of the feature in the process of p/c genesis in accordance with the proposals made by Thomason and Kaufman 1988 and Singler 1988 among others. It is interesting, however, the linguistic homogeneity was not a sufficient factor to warrant retention of VSO order (dominant in the source languages), since CJ is an SVO languages as discussed in Vrzić 1997, 1999.

This contrast in retention of features characterizing the languages in contact directly appeals to the issue of linguistic constraints on language contact and substrate influence in pidgin/creole genesis. As a preliminary guide for the research of this issue that hasn't been addressed in this paper, several linguistic factors that might have contributed to possibility of contact influence in the syntax of negation could be mentioned. First, the negative marker is a free morpheme in all languages in contact relevant for formation of CJ; next, it is a functional morpheme associated with a functional category containing scopal features, i.e. syntactic features

31 Unlike in languages discussed by Zanuttini (1997), the preposing of negative indefinites in CJ, Chi and Che seems to be obligatory.

relevant for the semantic interpretation of the sentence; and finally, it is base-generated in a structural position into which it would need to move at some point in the derivation for feature checking if it were not already in it. In such a way, the base-generation of the negative marker in this position is the most economic "move" from point of view of economy principles.

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