Table of contents

Acknowledgements ix

Preface

0.1 A Tribute to Miss Lou (1919–2006) xi

CHAPTER 1

Introduction 1

1.1 The Jamaican continuum 1
1.2 Motivation for the present study 6
1.3 Orthography 10
1.4 Pidgin versus Creole 10
1.5 Theoretical framework 13
1.6 Organization of the book 14

CHAPTER 2

IP – The articulation of inflection in Jamaican Creole 19

2.1 Introduction 19
2.2 The architecture of the clause 19
2.2.1 The split-infl hypothesis 19
2.2.2 Cinque (1999) 20
2.2.2.1 A hierarchy of adverbial classes 20
2.2.2.2 Bound functional morphemes 22
2.2.2.3 Free functional morphemes 23
2.3 The articulation of inflection in JC 24
2.3.1 The preverbal markers 25
2.3.2 Modals 26
2.3.2.1 Mod(al) 1 26
2.3.2.2 Mod(al)s 2 & 3 27
2.3.3 Tense 28
2.3.3.1 Past tense 28
2.3.3.2 Future tense 29
2.3.4 Modals, tense and aspect 30
2.3.4.1 Mod1, T and Asp 30
2.3.4.2 Mod 2 & 3 and T 30

2.3.5 Asp(ect) markers 32
2.3.5.1 Progressive aspect 33
2.3.5.2 Prospective aspect 33
2.3.5.3 Retrospective aspect 34
2.3.5.4 Completive aspect and anterior 34
2.3.5.5 Continuative and frequentative aspects 39
2.4 Overall order for TMA markers in JC 41
2.5 Theoretical issues 41
2.5.1 Completive aspect in JC and Fongbè: An SVC approach 41
2.5.2 Completive aspect in JC and Fongbè: VP-movement 44
2.5.2.1 Problem for the VP-movement analysis 53
2.5.3 Multiple base generation of Anterior tense 54
2.5.4 Movement of (extensions of) VP across anterior 55
2.6 Overt functional structure of JC: Evidence for the framework in Cinque (1999) 58
2.7 Conclusion 59

CHAPTER 3
CP – The left periphery in Jamaican Creole 61
3.1 Introduction 61
3.1.1 Theoretical background: Split-CP (Rizzi 1997) 61
3.2 JC topicalization 66
3.2.1 Topicalization in main clauses 66
3.2.2 Topicalization in embedded clauses 67
3.2.3 The Nature of TopP 68
3.2.4 *De* 70
3.3 JC focus 74
3.3.1 Focussing in main clauses 74
3.3.2 Focussing in embedded clauses 77
3.3.3 The nature of [Spec, FocP] in JC 77
3.4 JC wh-questions 83
3.5 Identifying Force° and Fin° in JC 89
3.5.1 Force° 90
3.5.1.1 *se* 90
3.5.1.2 Additonal evidence for ForceP 98
3.5.2 Fin° 99
3.6 The relative orders of topic, focus and wh-constituents in JC 100
3.7 The status of *a* 101
3.7.1 Progressive *a* 102
3.7.2 Prepositional *a* 102

3.7.3 Determiner *a* 103
3.7.4 Equative *a* 104
3.7.4.1 Focus/Interrogative *a* as equative *a* 104
3.7.4.2 Why focus/interrogative *a* cannot be analysed as equative *a* 106
3.7.5 A structural analysis of Foc/Wh *a* in JC 114
3.8 Conclusion 120

CHAPTER 4
DP – JC nominals and their extended projection 123
4.0 Introduction 123
4.1 The framework: Functional structure in the DP 123
4.2 The extended projection of nominals in JC 127
4.2.1 D(eterminer) P(rojection) 127
4.2.1.1 [+ Def] 127
4.2.1.2 [–Def] 127
4.2.2 K(Case) P(rojection) 128
4.2.3 N(ume)ral P(rojection) 131
4.2.3.1 *Wan* 131
4.2.4 Num(ber)P: *Som* 133
4.2.5 Q(uantifier) P(hrase) 136
4.2.5.1 Reduplication of numerals: Distributive 136
4.2.5.2 *Evri* 138
4.2.5.2.1 Distributive *evri* 138
4.2.5.2.2 Collective *evri* 138
4.2.5.3 Reduplication of adjectives: Adjectival Focus 141
4.2.6 Dem(onstrative) P(hrase) 144
4.2.6.1 Demonstratives and articles 144
4.2.6.2 Demonstratives and deictics 146
4.2.6.3 Demonstratives and accompanying deictics in JC – an analysis 149
4.2.7 Plurality and inclusiveness: Cl(assifier) P(hrase) 154
4.2.8 Adj(ectival) P(hrase) 159
4.2.8.1 A cartography of AdjPs 159
4.2.8.2 JC adjectives 161
4.3 Nominal structure and telicity 162
4.3.1 Nominal marking and temporal interpretations 163
4.3.1.1 Direct objects and tense 163
4.3.2 Previous accounts 166

4.3.2.1 Tenny (1987): Grammaticalizing aspect and affectedness 166
4.3.2.2 Fitzpatrick (2005): The factative effect 170
4.3.3 Nominal structure and telicity effects in JC: An account 174
4.4 Conclusion 176

CHAPTER 5
Conclusion 179

References 181

Index of names 187
Index of subjects 189